

Herbert

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BRITANNIA
AFTER THE ROMANS,
ETC.

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All of them by Hon. Algernon Herbert, Barrister at Law, son of the first Earl of Carnarvon, & brother of William Herbert, Dean of Manchester. The Dean wrote "Attila" & several other works in poetry & prose. The second Earl of Carnarvon was their elder brother.

Algernon, born 12 July 1792. died 1855. The *London Gentleman's Magazine* for Decem. 1855 contains a sketch of him describing him as "a man of extraordinary learning & very acute understanding & certainly the foremost writer in that line of research in which he was engaged."

The III d of the above was printed before the II d. In the "Advertisement" to this III d. p. III he speaks of wishing to cancel pp. 21 & 22 of Vol. I. He speaks ("Advertisement" p. IV. to this III d portion) dubiously as to completing the Essay on Neo-Druidism. It was, we believe, never in fact finished.

He was the uncle of Henry Wm Herbert, who emigrated to the United States, & who there wrote his own name & the pseudonym of Frank Forester issued so many volumes in prose & in verse.

The three branches of the Herberts, the Earl of Pembroke, the Earl of Powis & the Earl of Carnarvon all derive their titles from Welsh territory.

*William & William
47, White Horse Lane, London E.C. 4*

Britannia
After the Romans;
BEING
AN ATTEMPT TO ILLUSTRATE
THE
RELIGIOUS AND POLITICAL REVOLUTIONS
OF THAT PROVINCE
IN THE
FIFTH AND SUCCEEDING CENTURIES.

by
Algernon Herbert

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ADVERTISEMENT.

THIS volume exhibits the beginning of an attempt to illustrate, in a manner somewhat different from what has hitherto been done, one of the most obscure and unknown portions of human history. At the same time it should be premised that this is not a history, but merely an essay upon history, which presupposes in such few readers as it is likely to have some previous familiarity with the narratives, such as they are, of which the world is in possession. It was undertaken under the impression, that the subject has bearings by no means unimportant.

The materials out of which the truth is to be elicited are singularly meagre in their amount and unsatisfactory in their character. An author pursuing this path has the vexation of seeing at every step, that his doubts and imperfect information do not arise merely from the

distance of time and the wreck of empires and their monuments, and of perceiving in many quarters an intention to deceive accompanying the profession to instruct. The following beautiful verses seem perfectly adapted to describe the nature of his task,

*Quale per incertam lunam, sub luce malignâ,
Est iter in sylvis ; ubi cœlum Jupiter umbrâ
Condedit et rebus nox abstulit atra colorem.*

To restore to those things their true colour requires, so far as it can be done at all, not only penetration and acumen, but the strength of a moderating judgment to keep those faculties within their due bounds. And those who have been thus gifted have found the subject too distasteful to invite much of their attention, and so have left it to the first occupant.

There is, to unskilful hands at least, no small additional difficulty, in arranging and marshalling the topics in question to the best advantage. Whether to give the precedence to this more historical part, or to the more doctrinal exposition of that Neo-Druidic heresy or apostasy, which governed the course of events, and cannot be separated from the consideration of them, was a perplexing

question. And the order here used was only adopted, as seeming the least awkward and difficult of the two.

The whole execution of this attempt is too little satisfactory even to the partial judgment of its author, to afford any sanguine hope of its giving satisfaction to readers. Yet it must entirely depend upon the encouragement given to this portion of it, whether it shall be carried further, or not.

CONTENTS.

INTRODUCTION.

PAGE

CHAP. I.

The Welsh Bards.—Arthurian Romance.—The Triads.—Gildas, Nennius, and Marcus.—Tysilio and Geoffrey ap Arthur.—Mabinogion, etc.—Modern Etymologists.—Modern Celtic Literature i

CHAP. II.

Names of Britannia; Prydain, Brython, Prydyn, and Brittia.—The Ducalesions, Vecturions, and Scots.—Names of Albion, Alwion, and Alban.—Names of the Cymmry, the Cumbrians, the Cimbrians, and the Brigantes.—Names of Wales, of the Galli, and of the Galatæ.—Important passage of Pausanias.—Names of Micosmia, Lloegyr, etc. xlix

CHAP. I.

Britain under the Roman Emperors.—Elevation of Tyrants, and its tendency towards separation.—Carausius.—Maximus and his Wife.—Colony of Little Britain in Armorica.—Vindication of its History.—Marcus.—Gratianus Municeps 1

CHAP. II.

Constantinus, Constans, and Gerontius.—Revolt of Britannia.—Eugenius, son of Maximus, First King.—Symptoms of religious Apostasy.—Gwrtheyrn or Vortigern.—His Treaty with Hengist, and Marriage with Hengist's daughter.—Protracted Rebellion and Disasters.—Banquet and Massacre at the Stonehenge.—Vindication of Hengist and Gwrtheyrn.—Misfortunes and Death of the latter 25

CHAP. III.

Mythological History.—Bardic Theocracy.—Emmrys Gwledig or Aurelius Ambrosius, otherwise Merddin.—Reign of the Sun.—Immolation of Hengist.—Reign of Uthyr Pendragon or Gorlassar, the Jupiter of the Greeks and Romans 71

	PAGE
CHAP. IV.	
<u>Mythological Reign of Arthur.—Attributes of that Deity.—The Monkish imposture at Glastonbury.—Medrawd Mythological.—Not Two Arthurs.—Arthur identical with Hercules, and called Hercules.—Attila the object of the honours paid to Arthur.—Nature of the pretended Battle of Camlan and other similar Battles.—Exposure of Bran's Head.—Arthur son of Algothus.—Daniel Dremrudd.—The Hobgoblin Dynasty, its policy, and downfall</u>	82

CHAP. V.	
<u>Constantine son of Cador.—Election of Maelgwn.—His Style.—Character of Maelgwn.—His Chronology.—He was the Nephew and Murderer of Vortigern.—Concerning Caradig and Gwrthevyr Gendigaid.—Reigns of Cadvan and Cadwallon.—Cadwaladyr.—His Conquests in England.—He is the Cedwalla of English History.—His Abdication.—The Bard Golyddan.—Cadwaladyr's Baptism and Death.—Recapitulation</u>	141

DIGRESSIONS.

<u>On the Nation of Gildas</u>	176
<u>Upon Owen's Dictionary</u>	181
<u>On the Vecturions or Gwyddel Fiehti</u>	185
<u>On the Battle of Cattraeth or Godelin</u>	187
<u>Upon Caer Conan</u>	215
<u>Upon British Coinage</u>	218

INTRODUCTION.

CHAP. I.

THE WELSH BARDS.—ARTHURIAN ROMANCE.—THE TRIADS.—GILDAS, NENNIUS, AND MARCUS.—TYSILIO AND GEOFFREY AP ARTHUR.—MABINOGION, ETC.—MODERN ETYMOLOGISTS.—MODERN CELTIC LITERATURE.

I. THE state of religion, manners, and opinions in general, among the Britons of the 5th and 6th centuries, are best to be conjectured from the poetical remains of those men whom they called Bards. I do not propose to add much to what Mr. Sharon Turner, and Mr. E. Davies, followed up by Mr. Probert in his Preface to *Aneurin*, have written in demonstration of their authenticity, or at least of the more important portion of them.

Yet I wish to remove one objection which, though it has not been raised, may one day rise up to their prejudice.

The *Avallennau* of *Merddin* contains the Ambrosian prophecy concerning *Cadwallader* and *Conan*. "Sweet^a Apple-tree with yet sweeter fruits, growing in secret in the woodlands of *Celyddon*! all shall seek it with unavailing faith for the sake of its produce. But when *Cadwallader* comes to the conference at the ford of *Rheon* with *Conan*, in opposition to the movements of the Saxons, the *Cymmry*

^a Arch. Myvyr. i. 163. See E. Jones's *Relicks*, p. 10. Davies' *Myth*, p. 489.

become supreme, and brilliant is their leader." The like occurs in the *Armes Brydain* bearing Taliesin's name,

^a Conan in Gwynedd
Is the omen before the slaughter,
And Cadwallader is
A joy unto Cymmry.

Another poem of the same Bard describes the Ambrosian prophecies in general, as being "of (i. e. not *by* but *concerning*) Cadwallader and Conan."

^b It is intimated in the prophecy,
In the long cry abundantly poured forth,
In the long public Chief-Song
Of Cadwallader and Conan,
Let the heat of the sun consume
The benefactor Microcosm.

In Elphin's consolation he says,
When he flies from the judgment
What is the bard or his song,
When Conan is called
To the chair of citation
Before the presence of Cadwallader,
And he flies from decease in the earth
To Conan son of Bran?

Conan and Cadwallader occur in the *Armes of Golyddan* (c. 163) and are a Bardic common-place.

I have always understood this part of the predictions of old Merddin Ambrose to express that, at some future time, the several fragments of the British empire should be reunited in a successful league against the Saxons. When Arthur returns as a grey-headed old man on a white-horse, "then Cadwallader shall call on Conan and take Albany into alliance." North Britain or Albany, Little

^a Arch. p. 49.

^b Gwawd Lludd. p. 74.

^c Proph. Merl. ab Alan. de Ins. p. 101.

Britain, signified by the name of its founder Conan of Meriadawg, and Wales, signified by Cadwallader, the last of its princes who titularly reigned over all Britannia, shall be confederated together, and the others shall obey the citation to do homage before the throne of Cadwallader. Geoffrey had been taught to understand it thus, and so explained it; "the Britons shall lose their kingdom for many ages, till Conan^a shall alight from his Armorican chariot, and Cadwallader, venerable chief of the Cambrians, which two shall unite the Scots, Cambrians, Cornubians, and Armoricans in a firm league, and restore to their own people the lost crown, expel the enemy, and renew the times of Brutus." Upon that notion, we should conclude these poems to be of a date subsequent to the dereliction of his crown by Saint Cadwallader, which happened in^b A.D. 664 or 688.

The difficulty may be cleared up in this manner. Cad-Gwaladyr (i. e. the *Disposer of Battles*) was a name actually occurring in the Ambrosian Prophecies, in their original shape, and as it now stands in them. Cadwallon ap Cadvan imposed that name upon his child, either thinking the time was ripe for the fulfilment of those predictions, or that the name itself, by its inspiriting influence, might in some measure verify them. Upon that principle, a Prince of Armorica was baptized *Arthur*, and more lately the second son of the Czar Paul, *Constantine*. The circumstance, that King^c Cadwallader, together with Alan Prince of Brittany, searched the Ambrosian prophecies, in order to learn whether they might endeavour the reconquest of Britain, and decided in the negative, confirms my view of the subject. And the historian who relates it as a simple fact, makes no allusion to Cadwallader's name being actually mentioned in the volume which was searched. By this hypothesis another point may be elucidated. The very name of the British Monarchy was abolished by Cadwallader's resignation, and from thenceforth the Princes of its various fragments were contented with mere local appellatives. No

^a Gaufrid. Merlin c. 966. p. 23.

^b The first date is in the Chronology of the Red Book of Hergest, and the second in Tysilio.

^c Brut Tysilio, by Roberts, p. 189.

history suggests, that the regal honours of Britain were abandoned on the demand of the Saxons, or by a treaty with them. Why, then, should so proud a race have given up the only thing they could easily keep, their name of dignity and reservation of right? My answer is, that Cadwallader and his family were undeceived, and their minds turned towards God by the failure of the Ambrosian prophecies in his person; so [that they then ceased to be the *cyhoedd cyngban* and national oracles, though vulgar superstition long continued to cherish their delusive promises.

The poems in question widely differ in their style and subjects from those of the bards in the 12th and 13th centuries. They descant with boldness on topics to which the latter but occasionally drop an allusion; and some of them, such as the *Gorchans* of *Maelderw* and *Cynvelyn*, and the *Marwnad Uthyr*, breathe an open paganism without the dissembling cloak of Christianity. Several were written when the language of the Romans was yet vernacular, and contain many specimens of it, not taken from books, but exhibiting the uninflected Celtified Latin of the ruder Provincials. For instance, the verse

A welaist y Dominus fortis,

(didst thou see the mighty Lord?) belongs almost as much to the *Britannia Secunda* as to modern Wales; and in this line,

O waith rex rexedd,

(the work of the King of kings,) we have an uninflected Latin singular and a Celtic plural formed upon it, while other instances of barbarous hybrid language seem to baffle interpretation. These remarks include among other poems the *Dyhuddiant Elphin*, the *Prif Gyvarch*, *y Byd Mawr*, *yr Gwynt*, *Angar Cyvyndawd*, and *Llath Moesen*. The *Meib Llyr*, not older than *Cadvan's* accession, can scarcely be much later, since it speaks of the *Romani* as a distinct class of inhabitants in Britain. When the *Prif Gyvarch* was written, the *Morini* of Northumbrian Britain retained that appellation,*

Rhag Fiehti llewon

Morini Brython.

* Richard of Cirencester says that the *Durotriges*, or men of Dorset, were otherwise called *Morini*, c. 15. But the people here mentioned as resisting the *Picts* are

In the days of the Cynveirdd the Lloegrian Britons were still a nation, and the Germans were still intruders, designated as Saxons, Angles, and Franks. To say, that the bards of the middle ages, who frequently cite the Cynveirdd, also forged their works, and in so doing used all these precautions to give their fictions verisimilitude, would argue an obstinate will to disbelieve, and a sad misconception of the critical and intellectual resources of those minstrels.

An author in the Cambr. Qu.^a Magazine has impugned the obscure Gododin upon two grounds. The first is, that Dyvynawl or Dyvnwal Vrych, mentioned there, is Donald Brec, a Scottish Prince who lived in the succeeding century to Aneurin. That is a mere conceit. The names Dyvynawl and Dyvnwal are of distinct etymology from the Gaelic Donull. The second is, that the words "*er pan aeth daear ar Aneurin,*" *since the earth went on Aneurin*, allude to his death and sepulture. It proves too much; for the forger could not impute such an allusion to Aneurin, any more than Aneurin could use it. The earth came upon Aneurin when (as he says) he was a captive down "*in the earthy house, with an iron chain around his knees,*" in which sad plight he composed his Gododin.

In point of doctrine, it is of inferior moment whether a given poem is from the very Cynvardd whose name it bears, or from a subsequent one. One doctrine was carefully preserved and handed down in succession, and what the one did say, the other would have said. Therefore authenticity, in its most rigorous sense, is not indispensably necessary to make them useful. Meib Llyr is not the less

more probably the descendants of the Morini cohort, who were stationed above the wall in the neighbourhood of Morpeth.

Time shall be, when the stars
Shall clearly preasege
The Morini Britons
Against the ravenous Picts,
And the harvest of the valiant
Round about Severn river.—Arch. 1. p. 33.

^a Vol. 1. p. 352.

so, for having been indisputably composed a generation or two later than Taliesin, whom the author of it has thought fit to personate.

II. The Arthurian Romances divulge more than the Bardic odes, and are less obscure in their drift. Without them, we should be less fully aware what manner of people the authors of the former were. In the first instance, their matter was derived from Welsh or Armorican originals. Christian of Troyes^a avows that he took his Lancelot and his Perceval from such documents, furnished to him by the Countess of Champagne and the Earl of Flanders. But he observes in his *Erec Fils de Lac*,^b that the Minstrels were then in the habit of altering and corrupting the originals from which they borrowed. The Romance entitled, *Prophecies de Merlin*, has probably engrafted its variety of strange contents upon some original stock; in folio xlii Christians are termed "believers in *Fitz-Mary*," which appellation, so unusual in French discourse, is an exact version of the usual Welsh phrase *Mab Mair*.

The great work, and as I may say the Alcoran, of Arthurian Romance was the Book of the Saint Greal. In truth, it is no romance, but a blasphemous imposture, more extravagant and daring than any other on record, in which it is endeavoured to pass off the mysteries of Bardism for direct inspirations of the Holy Ghost. The author was dozing in a lonely place, when he was aroused by a beautiful man, who said, I bring you the true doctrine of the Trinity. He blew in the author's face, who presently felt many tongues in his mouth, and when he opened it to speak there came forth a flame of fire. Then the man said, "The fountain of all certainties is before you. . . . I am the fountain of wisdom. . . . I am the perfect Third One of the *Masters*, and I come to you, for I will that you should have knowledge of all these things." Then he gave him the book to read, saying, "I wrote it with my own hand, and it must be believed that it is made by the tongue of spiritual fire, and not by tongue of natural mouth. . . . It is the way of the soul." Afterwards the *Grand Master* appeared to him, and commanded him to write a copy of it on parchment. Some

^a Cit. de la Rue, *Bardes Armoric*, p. 18.

^b Cit. *ibid.* p. 36.

doubt^a exists with respect to the translations of it. Perhaps it was translated into Latin by Walter de Mapes, our first great scholar in the Celtic tongues, and the French translation made from that in 1220. But the original work was composed in Welsh in the year 717. The volume begins, "Seven hundred and seventeen years after the passion^b of Christ, I, a sinner, was in a lonely place, etc." Greal is a Welsh word, signifying 'an aggregate of principles, a magazine; and the elementary world or world of spirits was called the *Country of the Greal*. From thence the word Greal, and in Latin Gradalis, came to signify a vessel in which various messes might be mixt up. The *Quest of the Saint Greal* is alluded to by David ap Gwilym, "I have travelled to find him as if for the Greal," and the book of it is mentioned and recognised by another poet, Guto'r Glyn, "for one book he is complaining which he loves more than gold and precious stones, the fair Greal of this country, a book of the famed knights, a book of the Mystery of all the Round Table." The 121st Triad of the 3rd series says that three knights guarded the Greal in the Court of Arthur. It is also said that the Greal is frequently mentioned in the Mabinogion.

And who was guilty of writing the Llyvyr y Greal? Wales had, in the days of Cynddelw, obscure, abrupt, and somewhat short lyric poems, some tales, and fables, and brief sentences called Triads, containing morsels of history or legislation. But she had no entire volumes of prose composition, that we know of, except Tysilio's History of the Kings, his History of the Church, and the Greal. Supposing, what is just possible, that the original Greal may have been a poem, it was a long heroic poem; and still it remains true, that

^a See Helinand. Frigidimont. cit. Vinc. Bellov. Spec. Hist. 23. c. 127. Usher Brit. Eccl. p. 9. Biogr. Univ. in *Mapes*.

^b In Bardic divinity, the entire condescension of the Word to the condition of humanity, and not his crucifixion only, constitutes his passion, which latter consequently is said to commence at his conception in the womb. See Meilyr Brydyt, *Marw*. c. 10, 20. This was in harmony with the Platonizing, Origenian, and Neo-Druidic heresies, which make the birth of a man the death of a pre-existent being, his soul, and his death the resuscitation of that being.

^c See Owen Diet. in *Greal*, and authors cit. *Ibid*.

those three are the only works of magnitude and substantive volumes in Welsh that we know of. The Archaeology places the florescence of Tysilio from 660 to 720. Llyvyr y Greal was written in 717. Therefore the two book-writers (as distinguished from Bards and Triadists) of ancient Wales were Tysilio and an anonymous writer his contemporary; or else, Tysilio himself wrote the Greal. The latter is the fact. Tysilio is reproached for having written that which too plainly unfolded the hidden secrets of Bardic doctrine. Now, *First*, the Chronicle of Tysilio does not unfold it, but abstains from all such allusions with remarkable scrupulosity. *Secondly*, his Ecclesiastical History, now lost, is not likely to have done so; inasmuch as we know that Welsh Church history has come down to us under a disguise, and its real nature has not yet been disclosed, which shall abundantly be shewn when we treat of the Saints. *Thirdly*, the Greal does contain, in language somewhat obscure, but still far from discreet, and, in parts, very comprehensible to the competent reader, the chief mysteries of the Bards or (as Guto terms it) of the Round Table. And, *Lastly*, no other book in prose or verse, that I have heard of, does so. Cynddelw, who flourished five centuries later than the son of Brochvael and Saint Arddun, composed a poem on him, comparing that author to Satan in Eden.

Undeniable God of the city of heavenly peace,
 God! thy sanctuary covers the blame of my iniquity.
 God, wise in the perfection of thy kingliness!
 Fair is the Queen of the servants of truth.
 God and our leader! for our full portion of honour
 There is *the fair* ^a *country*, there is grace, there is dominion,
 In gladness, in peace, in tranquillity,
 In enjoyment, in apparent ease,
 And the recompense to reward equity,
 And the retribution to requite iniquity.
 Let me sing to my Lord by virtue of ^b *my station*,

^a Gwenwlud; not Britannia, but the Avallon or Elysium of the mystics.

^b Yn rhagwedd, i. e. *the place in which I am present*.

Rather than with favour, or with hostility.
Tysilio, beyond all controversy,
Touching my sanctuary declares far too much.
 God produced out of the number of snakes
 An huge viper extremely erratick,
 The son of Arddun the nine-times honoured,
 The fostering preserver of his childhood,
 Son of generous-breasted Brochvael, defying the sun.
 A heaven did he make on the earth of Eivyonydd,
 Serpent of assault, of prison, of exile,
 Of exile from the central perfect place of meeting ;
 A serpent, whom to seize on, were a serious experiment,
 The chief reward would be to deserve pity.
 The serpent was born of a noble race,
 Great sovereign of the great land^a of the Society.
 The serpent occasion'd the dismissing
 Of sadness, and of God's commandment unto women.
 By the famous woman, audacious in the transgression.
 His pervading course was through truth.
 Of a small space small is the produce.
 The space is almost choaked with thistles.
 The people of earth cannot keep up what is right.
 The rectitude of God, despised is its greatness.

This is in the style of one wishing to express much, yet afraid to make himself understood. Does not Cynddelw appear to regard both the Devil and Tysilio with feelings of qualified disapprobation, and with a sort of regret that two such accomplished personages should have committed such serious indiscretions? We learn, that as the Devil was indiscreetly communicative to our general mother, so Tysilio communicated more to the world than they had any business to know. The same author is severely spoken of in the following verses :^b—

^a Powys, where Cynddelw presided over the Bardic association.

^b Cynddelw, Privileges of Powys, printed in Arch. Myvyr. l. 257 and in the introductory pages to B. Lhuyd's Etymologicum.

A songster possessing skill in harmony praises thee,
 In a song uninterrupted, not deceitful ;
 A song lofty, vociferous, not silent,
Not the detested song of the followers of Tysilio.

The tendency of this passage is less obvious than that of the preceding. But they both of them revile Tysilio (whose poetical works are next to nothing, and whose followers or *gogordd* in poetry are quite unknown) for introducing some novel and bad system. The Book of St. Greal and the system of *Romance Bardism*, originating from that impure source, must be the object of their alarm or disapprobation. The date, the indiscreetly mystical character of the Book, and the similar character of Tysilio, combine to prove it. It might have been supposed that the Cambrian Biography art. Tysilio would illustrate what relates to him; but the reader will find there rather less than he knew before.

The legend of Lancelot du Lac contain passages of the occult philosophy sufficient to shew that it was not written in mere play, but that its authors knew more than they should. That philosophy enters into the Romances both Arthurian and Carlovingian, and they most of them convey portions of the Bardic mystery, though under a diversity of names and symbols. But the Saint Greal may be regarded as the primary model of that literature, equally odious and tedious, and, probably, the only work of that description of which the original was entirely written in the ancient Welsh.

III. The Triads are valuable, notwithstanding the folly and cabalism which suggested such a mode of recording facts and precepts. Useful matter may be elicited from them. But Dr. Owen, said too much, in calling them "documents of undoubted credit," and not ear enough, in saying that they come down to the "beginning of the 7th century." The compilation is not ancient. It mentions Hoel Dda, William the Conqueror, and lastly, the betrayal of Llewellyn^a ap Gryffydd to Edward the First. That date is of cardinal importance.

^a Williams on Pelagianism, p. 53. Triad 22. Ser. 3. Arch. 2. p. 62.

The first question a sober critic would ask is,—“before or after Llewellyn's death?” The Neo-British literature existed with some sort of continuity from Honorius to Llewellyn. Then it was persecuted, its books destroyed or concealed, and its professors slain or driven into hiding places. Whatever is of a subsequent date is an attempt to collect and patch together fragments. The name ^a *Llawnsloet dy Lac* is not Welsh at all (so as to make sense) but is the French title *Lancelot du Lac*, taken out of the Romances. The Triadists sometimes betray their ignorance of the Bardic hieroglyphy, which they have the simplicity to accept in a literal sense, and so betray, at the same time, the little tricks they have themselves been guilty of to promote their fantastical plan. The *Triad of Oren* quaintly interweaves with its prose the 39th verse of the *Preiddeu Annwn*, probably with no more notion than its readers what those strange words imply. A Triad is cited by Dr. Owen in his *Biography*, which relates that Gwgawn Cleddi-frudd, of whose death Taliesin speaks in one of his undoubted poems, was one of three sentinels at a battle in 603; whereas, by his own shewing, Taliesin ceased to flourish in 570,^b and therefore his life could not have extended over that battle. But the Triadist failed of observing that the aforesaid is but one out of four consecutive titles^c given, poetically or mystically, to Arthur himself. The British name *Flamdwyn* is repeatedly used by Taliesin, and it is agreed on all hands that he means to imply *Ida*, first king of Northumberland, and calls him *Flame-Bearer* on account of his incendiary ravages. The Triadist, meeting with that purely Welsh name, thought it the name of some British chief, and as it was a spare name, unappropriated by historians, and available for a Triad, he hatched the following production. “Three Unchaste Wives^d of the Isle of *Prydain*, who were the three daughters of *Culvynawyd Prydain*, *Eesylt Fyngwen* the adulteress with *Trystan ab Tallweh*, *Penarwen* the wife of *Owain ap Urien*, and *Bun* the wife of *Flamdwyn*.” By this account, the ferocious Angle, the destroyer of

^a Tr. 61. p. 14. 105. p. 73.

^b Camb. Biogr. in *Taliesin*.

^c *Milwyr* st. 44. p. 81.

^d Tr. 56. p. 14.

Northern Britannia, and its defender, Owen of Reged, married two sisters, while the third sister was married to March^a King of Cornwall, and was La Belle Yseult of that wildly fabulous character Sir Tristan de Leonnois! We shall have occasion to shew that no such man ever existed. Ida, meanwhile, unconscious of these family connexions and of his own disgrace, continued to devastate the domains of Urien and his allies, and lived with Bebbu his consort in whose name he founded his capital city Bebbanburg. The author's courage deserted him when he had to find a proper name for Flamdwyn's wife, and so he styled her *bun*, i. e. a woman. It is in vain to reply that the invader might perhaps have married an islander; for, admitting that a British lady had gone over to the couch of the detested Flame-bearer, none would have cared to inquire whether or not she had defiled it, and she would not have been a *Wife of Britain*. The whole collection is of Trioedd Ynys Prydain; and these are three wives of Ynys Prydain—according to the writer's intent—and upon the face of his statement—which sets forth a British father, three British daughters, and three British names of husbands. Had he guessed that Flamdwyn was Ida, he would either not have mentioned him, or have called him by his name. A lyric epithet, in a strange language, is not a name, and is not substituted for a man's name in prosaic history, unless by mistake; *superadded* to it, it may be, even in prose. I will give another instance of simplicity in the Triadists. It was said, in Bardic phrase, that certain clans of Britons fought battles in fetters, having their legs linked together, by two and two. And the thing signified is, that they were united together by the solemn pagan sacrament of Brotherhood in Arms, which was ratified by drinking of each other's blood, and bound the two warriors to stand by each other through good and evil fortune, either for a single adventure or for life, as the compact might run. In the most extreme cases, like that of Asmund and Aswit, it was like the contract of a Brahminical wife,

^a March, a horse, son of Meirchion, the horses, and husband to Fyngwen, the mare with a white mane!

and precluded survivorship. Such was the form of it among the heathen Celts^a, who called such united brethren *Soldurs* or *Silodurs*, i. e. Devoted. Six hundred such were attached to the life and fortunes of the Gaul *Adcantuan*, and the like number to the Gaul *Adiatomus*. None were ever known to survive the object of their vow, whether he died in battle or in his bed. The fettered clans, according to the *Triads*^b, were that of *Caswallawn Llaw-Hir*, when he drove the Irish out of *Mona*, that of *Rhiwallon ap Urien* in his battles with the Saxons, and that of *Belin ap Lleyrn* in his campaign against *Edwin* in *Rhos*. But it is added, that they took off the leg-bands with which their horses were adorned, in order to fetter themselves together by two and two! The author, being unable to understand an allegory of no great depth, has been led into the monstrous absurdity of supposing that those Britons waddled into action with their legs tied, and offering an easy prey even to women and boys.

The very nature of *Triads* is apt to generate fiction or perversion of truth. When only two of any given category were forthcoming, the author would not be scrupulous in providing himself with a third. On the other hand, I should vindicate him from an injustice the translators do him in rendering *Tri* by "The Three," when he has put no *the* at all. The number was accounted fortunate, and they took a pleasure in binding up all their ideas into little sheaves or fasciculi of three, but in so doing they did not mean to imply that there were no more such. The practice is pitiful enough without thus exaggerating its folly. For instance, the *Triads* of chaste maidens and chaste wives of Britain, cannot mean to calumniate the chastity of all Britain besides. But, let us even admit that there were only three chaste wives, and then there must have been more than *three unchaste* ones. No negative can be inferred from a *Triad*, and the article which implies one is an interpolation of translators. Very rarely there is a distinct negation; which exception proves the rule.

^a *Cæsar* B. G. 3. 22. *Nic. Damasc.* ap. *Athen.* G. p. 240.

^b *Tr.* 40. p. 12. *Owen's Triads* in *Gent. Mag.* Jan. 1780.

The Triads reflect, in a small and moderately faithful mirror, various passages of Bardic composition which are lost.

IV. Next to the Bards themselves, the name of Saint Gildas the Wise is the most celebrated and authoritative. He was of a Bardic family and connexion, and originally an esteemed poet and bard himself. He was son to a Prince in the parts of Cumbria, by name Caw, grandson to the Plymouth Admiral Geraint ap Erbin, and brother to the Bard Aneurin. He was a disciple of the British Doctor, Catwg the Wise. In his younger days he went over to Ire (Ireland), where he visited the schools of the learned, and inquired their^a opinions in philosophical and divine matters. But in the course of his life he became a sincere and zealous Christian minister, and is thought, by some who identify Aneurin with him, to have exchanged the name Aneurin, i. e. Not Golden, for Gildas, i. e. Productive or Useful, when he abjured the errors of the Bards to follow and teach a better way. Some lists of the sons of Caw include Gildas, and some Aneurin, but none is found to contain both names, which circumstance, coupled with their both being reputed eminent poets, led Messrs. E. Williams and W. Owen into that notion. The following objections form an answer to it. It is true that Gildas had a bardic name, while he followed that profession; but it was a different one, viz. Alawn. Lilius Gyraldus says, the most famous poets of Britannia were Plemmydius, Oronius, and *Gildas*, and a Triad says,^b the three primary bards were Plennyd, *Alawn*, and Gwron, which latter in syntax is written Wron. Aneurin died a violent death by the hands of an assassin in this island, but no such thing is recorded of St. Gildas, whose worshippers would not have neglected so fair a pretext for giving him a martyr's crown; neither did Gildas, nor could Gildas, return to the island after what he had written of its princes, clergy, and people. He passed over from Great to Little Britain, and is said to lie buried there in^c the Cathedral of Vannes.

There are extant in his name a short History of the Britons, and

^a Vit. Gild. ap Mabillon Act. Benedict. 1. p. 144.

^b Tr. 58. p. 67.

^c Britannia Sancta. p. 61. 2.

an Epistle to the Tyrants of Britain, both in the Latin language, rather abusive and jejune productions, which derive their chief value from the extreme paucity of our authentic materials. Mr. P. Roberts contended, with shrewdness and elegance of criticism, that they were forgeries concocted by some zealous Romanist to render odious the schismatic Church of Britannia, and to shew against them, out of the mouth of an eminent Briton, an authority in favour of the Papal supremacy and apostolical succession of St. Peter. He argues upon the ground of Gildas asserting the rights of the Chair of St. Peter (*sedes Petri*), and treating those who were not in communion with Rome as schismatics. The fraud must have been done, if at all, before the days of Beda and Alcuin. Mr. Roberts sought to fix the fraud upon St. Adhelm of Shireburn, who was a professed apostle for converting the Britons to conformity; and a happy coincidence of phraseology assisted him in that endeavour. But I am satisfied that all this is mere ingenuity, and not sound stuff. Adhelm was as conversant with Gildas, as were Beda and Alcuin, and copied some of his pompous phrases. It was incumbent on Mr. Roberts to shew that, in or about the year 544, the Church and Bishop of Rome had not yet asserted a superiority by Apostolical right over the whole Church or, at the least, the whole Western Empire. This he leaves untouched, though it involves the entire essence of his argument; and in fact he durst not touch it. In the third century St. Cyprian^a spoke of "the Chair of Peter, and the principal Church whence arises the unity of the priesthood," and termed the Bishop of Rome "the Vicar and Successor of the Martyrs." In the fifth century, and about 100 years before Gildas wrote, St. Leo the Great, Bishop of Rome,^b asserted, that "principal episcopacy resided in Peter as the principal Apostle," that "the care of the Universal Church devolved upon the one seat of Peter, in order that no part of the church might any where dissent from its head," and again, that he "bestowed his care by Divine appointment upon the Universal Church." He received from the

^a Ep. 35. and 67.

^b Ep. ad Episc. Prov. Vienn. Ep. ad Anastas. Ep. ad Africanos.

Emperors Theodosius and Valentinian, the legal^a enactment of his supremacy in the Western Empire, and protested^b against the decision of the Council of Chalcedon, which gave the Bishop of Constantinople the like authority in the East. Ennodius, Bishop of Pavia,^c some fifty years before Gildas, told Pope Symmachus, that "the Apostolic seat was regulated by the care of his crown, and that he ruled the summit of the celestial empire." Symmachus (he said) is esteemed the Vicar of the Apostle Peter. And the successors of Peter, according to Ennodius, were not endowed with *peccability* (*peccandi licentia*) because Peter bequeathed to them an everlasting dowry of merits and an hereditary innocence. Thus Mr. Roberts's whole structure is undermined and falls, for the language of Gildas on these heads is milder than that of his precursors.

The address to Constantine and the other obscure princes of that time is penned with all the bitter feelings of a contemporary, with the minute knowledge of a contemporary, and on topics unconnected with Romanism; whereas, it is not probable that Adhelm could have rehearsed even the names of those ancient tyrants. If it were true that he said, "*Dei contemptor sortisque ejus depressor, Cuneglasse, Romanâ linguâ lanio fulve,*" the writer would seem to be an impostor, because *Cynglas* does not signify, in any dialect, "a tawny^d butcher;" but those words contain a slight error of the text, such as the pages of Gildas^e are besprinkled with, and the real words are, *Romanæ linguæ lanio fulve*, "thou red-haired barbarian, who makest a butchery of the Latin language whenever thou speakest it."

The violence of his invectives against the British nation is no indication of Saxon forgery. Gildas had the warmth of a Celt, and

^a Novell. Theod. tit. 24. Valent. tit. 17.

^b Leo Epp. ad Marcian. Pulcher. et Anatol.

^c Ennod. L. 5. Ep. 10. pro synodo p. 324.

^d How could Mr. Turner imagine that *lanio fulvus* meant "a yellow bull-dog"? Hist. Anglos. 1. 196. ed. 4.

^e For *catule* *Leoline* *Aureli* *Conane*, you must read *catule* *Leollni*, whelp of Llewelyn; else *catule* will stand out of syntax and without meaning, and *Aurelius* *Conan* will obtain a third name which no one else bestows upon him.

the fury of a Bard, converted into that of a Christian zealot, but not extinguished; and he had abandoned his country to lay his bones in Armorica, from which secure station he bitterly reviled both the princes and people of his native land. He was no calumniator, as we shall see in the sequel. They *were* apostates from their God, they were seditious, turbulent, and perfidious, and honoured wicked tyrants more than just men, yet murdered even them to elect others as bad, they did love lies and the fabricators of lies, they did take Satan for an angel of light, they did anoint their kings *but not by God*, and they had done in Gildas's latter days (as they did afterwards) all that a nation can do to work out its own extermination. All this did St. Gildas affirm with truth, and if with an unsaintly violence, we may remember the observation made with much simplicity^a by Giraldus, that "as the people both of Hibernia and Cambria are more ireful and vindictive than others when living, so, in their life after death the saints of those countries are more vindictive than any others."

The invectives lavished upon the Emperor Clemens Maximus, one of the more respectable of those generals whom their soldiers arrayed in the faded purple, prove the authenticity of the *Historia*. Maximus is a man upon whom the Romanists look with respect, on the authority of Orocius and St. Sulpicius Severus. He bears no such reputation for tyranny, cunning, perjury, and falsehood, as Gildas gives him; but the Britons, and afterwards the Welsh, never pardoned him for that which he did with no evil intent, but with consequences unhappy to their nation, taking over to Gaul a large army of their most able-bodied warriors, who by his ultimate bad success were entirely lost to the island, and left it stripped (as Gildas saith) "of all armed soldiers and military forces." There can be no doubt that a Briton here speaks, and in almost the same words as the Triadist,^b who says, that the expedition of Macsen Wledig left the nation of the Cymry so *devoid of armed men*, that they were invaded by the Gwyddel Fichti, and obliged to call in the Saxons, &c. "By him (says^c a speech in Tysilio) we have been deprived of all our warriors."

^a Itin. Camb. 2. c. 7. Top. Hib. c. 55. ^b Tr. 14. p. 60. ^c P. 104. Roberts.

But this is the main point, to shew that Gildas is no forgery of Adhelm's. When Hengist arrived (saith Gildas) he was forewarned by a prophecy, which he accounted certain, that he should obtain possession of the land on which he was disembarking for the term of 300 years. The author, without averring his own belief in the prophecy, quotes it with a respect that seems to imply as much. That prophecy purports, that the Saxons should be expelled from the whole island, even from Kent, in the year 749. But St. Adhelm flourished about 700. It is a wild incredibility for any man to propound, that the princely Bishop of Wessex, nephew to King Ina, forged a book in the name of Gildas, announcing on prophetic authority the speedy expulsion of his own family and nation from the British Island! The same prophecy offers a chronological proof of the antiquity of the *Historia*. It says, that the desolation of Britannia by the Saxons was destined to endure for 150 years, i. e. till the year 599 or 600. But at that epoch the struggle between the two nations was yet raging, and continued to do so for nearly ninety years more. Thereby it is manifest, that the treatise was composed *before the close of the sixth century*.

The argument founded upon the reputation of the man as contrasted with the merit of the work has no weight with me. The Bards of that century, especially his brother Aneurin, have left great names, with slender pretensions to enjoy them. Ruined Britannia contained but few Latinists, who could hammer out even such fustian periods as those of Gildas. Lilius Giraldus says, that his elegies were written with great facility and "therefore were not totally contemptible." Whether the Elegies which bore his name were contemptible or not, may be judged from a fragment of them, which Mr. Roberts found in John of Fordun, and cites with some degree of triumph,—

Antiquos reges, justos, fortes, locupletes,
Largos, famosas, Scotia mæsta luget,
Ut Merlinus ait, post reges victoriosia, etc.

* Collect. Cambr. p. 196. Fordun. p. 624.

Historiæ veteris Gildas luculentus orator
Hæc retulit, parvo carmine plura notens.

The following quatrain is nearly of the same quality :

Ut profert aquila veteri de turre locuta,
Cum Scotis Britones regna paterna regent.
Regnabunt pariter in prosperitate quieta
Hostibus expulsis iudicis usque diem.

Can it be said of such a poet that any prose is too bad for him? In fact, the prose of Gildas is greatly superior, nor could its author have descended to such base trash as this. Probably the Muse of Gildas is neither guilty, nor quite innocent, of these screech-owl tunes. They are bald translations^a of British verses composed by Gildas, when he was a Bard, and was engaged in those heathenish and Anti-Roman fictions, to which the verses relate, and which same with the entire system to which they belonged were in his after-life the objects of his most intense hatred. Gildas had excelled in such literature as the Cumbrian Britons possessed, and confined himself to the use of Latin when he was of mature age and had devoted himself to the offices of religion and the study of the Vulgate; so that he never acquired any excellence as a Latinist proportionable to his prior reputation as a Briton.

One passage only bears the manifest stamp of interpolation, seemingly anterior^b to Beda; but is inserted by an enemy rather than a friend to Rome. It is the exclusive praise bestowed (in the *Historia*) upon one "Ambrosio Aureliano, viro modesto qui solus fuit comis,^c fidelis, fortis, veraxque, *fortè Romana gentis*, qui tantæ tempestatis collisione, occisis in eâdem parentibus purpurâ nimirum im-

^a *Judicis usque diem*, seems to be the Bardic common-place *Hyd braied*.[†] In the *Marwnad Milvelb* the same words are expressed by

"*Usque in diem iudicii*."—Arch. 1. p. 171.

^b Some MSS. of Paul Warnfrid have been interpolated with words closely similar. The same may have been done to Beda. *Sed qu.*

^c *Vulgo comes*, which is nonsense.

butis, superfuerat, cujus (viz. ^a Romanæ gentis) nunc temporibus nostris soboles magnoperè avitâ bonitate degeneravit." Gildas wrote his Epistle from Armorica in 543, or 544, Cystennin ap Cadwr being King of Britannia. The story of his opening a school at Bath in 555 may, therefore, be rejected as a fiction. I also disbelieve his having lived to so late a date as 570, or having been born so late as 500. But the reign of Ambrose ended in 500, the time of the birth of Gildas, or, rather, when Gildas was a young man. He lived and flourished in the succeeding reigns of that king's brother and nephew. It is, therefore, incredible that he should say, "*perhaps* he was a Roman," knowing, so well as he did, all about him. It is the phrase of a much later author, conjecturing the nation of Ambrosius Aurelianus, from the apparent Latinity of his name. The Welsh appellation, there rendered Aurelianus, is rendered Aurelius by Gildas in his Epistle. Moreover, the assertion that his father was an emperor, means the common legend of his being son to Constantine of Arles, a thing so very ^b fabulous, that Gildas could not have written it, nor any contemporary of Gildas.

The lost work of Gildas entitled "On the Victory of Aurelius Ambrosius" must be condemned as spurious on the same ground. Besides that little work, there existed formerly a more extensive but fabulous history of Britannia in the most ancient times, sometimes ascribed to Gildas. In it the author of Geoffrey's Brut had read the history of Nennius, or Niniaw, brother of Cassivellaunus, who fought with Julius Cæsar and took his sword, and had a controversy with Cassivellaunus, whether or not Troynovant should be called London; which controversy was related in the said history with copious details. The same work also treated of Dyvnwal Moelmud and his laws. But it could not have come down later than Cæsar's time, because there once existed an idle belief that the same Nennius, who took his sword, wrote the history.

A great obscurity hangs over the name of the historian Nennius.

^a For Ambrose left no posterity. No legend speaks of him as having either wife or child.

^b Of which more hereafter.

The work printed in Gale under his name bears in some MSS. the name of Gildas, and used formerly to be quoted under that name; yet the preface of the author avows that he wrote it in A. D. 858, and in the 24th year of the reign of Prince Mervyn Vrych. But the work published by Mr. Gunn from the Vatican, being slightly different from that in Gale, bears the name of Mark the Hermit. That author mentions, that the Picts then continued to hold one of the three divisions of Britannia, which proves it to have been written anterior to A. D. 841, in which the Pictish nation was abolished by Kenneth King of Scots. Niniaw himself is said to have escaped from the massacre of the monks of Bangor^a in 613, and to have written his^b history about 620. To him we should ascribe the history which came down to Julius Cæsar, and contained the great actions and discourses of his namesake (and, no doubt, pretended ancestor) Niniaw, brother of Caswallawn. It contained (as we learn from Ponticus Virunnius) those elegant verses which adorn the Latin version of Geoffrey, and which Gildas could neither have written nor duly appreciated. But neither the work of Mark nor the Galæan Nennius can boast of such an early date. They contain a very brief summary of the more ancient British History, and the subsequent part of their chronicle is perhaps intended for a continuation of that of Niniaw. There appear to have been these several true and false productions of Gildas:—

1. Latin Poems—British Doctrine—probably translated from the British.
2. British Poems—Ditto—cited in Welsh Poetry, A. D. 510—540?
3. History and Epistle—Catholic Doctrine—written by St. Gildas in Armorica, 543 or 4.
4. *Historia Britonum*—British Doctrine—by Niniaw of Bangor, Gildas of Geoffrey, 620.
5. Victory of Ambrosius—Ditto—Gildas of Geoffrey, A. D. — ?

^a Bale cit. Gunn in Pref. xx. The precise year of that massacre is disputed.

^b R. Vaughan in Cambr. Reg. p. 477, 8.

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|----------------------|----------------------------------|-------------------------------|
| 6. History | —Ditto | } Gildas of Sir {—circ. 800 ? |
| | —by Marcus Eremita | |
| 7. Ditto | —Ditto | |
| | —by Gale's Nennius. ^a | J. Price, &c. {—A. D. 858. |

A man should be somehow pre-eminent to have credit for the compositions of others, and that superiority should be of a kind analogous to the nature of what is fathered upon him, as Epics were upon Homer, Hymns upon Orpheus, Tragedies upon Shakespeare, and Bardic poems upon celebrated Bards. Why the productions of other men should have been assigned to him, and in particular such fabulous and profane legends, does not appear from any thing in the known portion of Saint Gildas's life. But the reader may understand why the name of Gildas was considered worthy of being inscribed on fictitious works of British antiquity, when he considers him under his name of Alawn, and duly weighs the full meaning of the Triad in which he is so called. The *primary organization* of the Bards in fabulous ages is there imputed to Alawn and two others. But Alawn was Gildas; and we are therefore to understand the *re-organization* of their body at the close of the 5th or beginning of the 6th century. That consideration also does away with the argument of literary merit inadequate to personal celebrity. The conspirators who agitate and change the face of nations are rarely men of great excellence in their several lines. Who now reads the trumpery books of Mirabeau, or the vapid orations of Robespierre? Low cunning, brutal courage, a brazen brow, a seared conscience, and just knowledge and skill enough to deceive the vulgarest minds and work upon the vulgarest passions, are the requisites for such a task as Alawn and his confederates executed. We must return to Gildas and his affairs when we come to speak of *The Saints*.

V. The Bruts or Chronicles are in the form of regular histories, giving the successive reigns of the ancient kings of Britannia. Brud, in construction Brut, is Reputation or Rumour, and, in the secondary sense, a Chronicle or History. It retains that original sense in the

^a This later Nennius was a pupil of Elbod and of Samuel Beulan or Beular.

French and English word *bruit*,^a and though it is curious that all the Welsh Chronicles begin with the reign of Brutus, we must not be seduced by that accident into etymological trifling. They were first made known to the English and French by the Latin version which Geoffrey ap Arthur, Archdeacon of Monmouth, and afterwards Bishop of St. Asaph, made from a MS. which Walter de Mapez, otherwise called Calenius, Archdeacon of Oxford, brought out of Little Britain. Geoffrey was a man of much simplicity and candour, and slender scholarship, and states that he carefully translated it in his own simple style. The dialect in which it was written does not appear, as his MS. is not forthcoming. But a version from his Latin into Welsh is printed in the Archæology, and entitled the Brut G. ap Arthur. It was quite anonymous; Geoffrey does not attempt any conjecture as to the author; and Alfred of Beverley, who lived at the same time, and was a shrewd inquiring man, was able to give him no other title than Britannicus. Geoffrey received from the same hands a narrative of the emigration of the British clergy into Armorica, which interesting tract he expressed his intention of translating; but he never did, or we have lost the translation.

The same Walter (to whom, of all foreigners, British literature is most indebted) possessed the Brut or Chronicle of Tysilio, which he translated into Latin, and again (as he says) from the Latin into the Welsh. The latter only seems to be now in existence. It is impossible to say why he did so. It may have been because he had lost the original, or rather because the language of Tysilio was growing obsolete, and not easy^b to understand among the modern Welsh. Tysilio flourished between^c A.D. 660 and 720. He was a priest, who built the Church of Llandysilio in Anglesea, and a saint to whom various

^a That word is pronounced *brut*, *brudi*, and *broudi*, in the French of the Southern Provinces. Dict. Limousin de Beronie.

^b In one respect he studied conformity to the original. The proper names have a British form, as *Egannys*, *Sylhys*, *Bryttys*, *Lattins*, *Bendrasys*, etc.; instead of *Ascanius*, *Sylvius*, *Brutus*, *Latynus*, and *Pandrasus*, which we read in the Welsh version of G. ap Arthur's Latin.

^c Arch. Myv. I. xxiii.

churches were dedicated. A few verses of his are in existence; and Rowlands^c mentions that he wrote an Ecclesiastical British History, of which some fragments had lately been seen, but were lost when Rowlands wrote. I have already pointed him out as the anonymous author of a most infamous blasphemy. His Brut is a History of Britain, from Brutus to Cadwallader, and is the prototype of all those anonymous histories which differ from it only in some particulars, seven of which are enumerated by Mr. Roberts, and their variations observed in his translation of Tysilio.

The most celebrated of these is the one which Geoffrey ap Arthur translated. It cannot, I think, be doubted, that Geoffrey was not a licentious translator of Tysilio, who assumed the liberty of altering to what extent he pleased; but the translator of a different Chronicle. Walter de Mapes would not have translated into Latin the same MSS. which his friend Geoffrey had already translated. If that great Celtic scholar had done so, because he was dissatisfied with Geoffrey's inaccuracy, his own more excellent version must have superseded the other in the estimation of the public, whose attention was engrossed by the book, beyond all example in the literary apathy of those times; whereas it never seems to have seen the light. Nor would Geoffrey have published, as an anonymous work, that MS. which bore the name of Tysilio.

Giraldus Cambrensis and William of Newburgh, men whose writings are a scandal to the credulity of any age, besides their own private jealousies, were so utterly devoid of the elements of criticism or logic, as to assail the veracity of Geoffrey, not for misrendering the original, which same they had never read, but because the facts contained in the book were fabulous and incredible. Upon that principle old Sandys, the translator of Ovid, must have been the greatest liar England ever saw. He begins with telling us that a lady was turned into a laurel bush! Mr. Sharon Turner is incapable of such a confusion of ideas. But that author has in several places intimated his opinion, that Geoffrey was an original fabulist, and a gross lite-

^c *Mona Antiqua*, p. 189.

rary impostor. An opinion, expressed without any reasons assigned for it, and seriously impugning a moral character as pure and undamaged as that of him who delivers the opinion, does not, upon general principles, present matter for controversy. But the weight and just celebrity of the author may require it.

This fact, which every one, from William of Newbridge to Mr. Turner, has omitted to set forth, must be called into mind. The production of the *British History* was no act of Geoffrey's own, but the joint act of himself and Walter de Mapes; and if the work was a forgery, it was forged by the latter. If there was fraud at all, it was conspiracy. Caradoc of Llancarvan was a friend of Geoffrey, and wrote his *Chronicle of Welsh Princes*, as a *professed continuation of the *Brut* of Geoffrey. He was a Welshman who composed in his native tongue, and, if it were false that Geoffrey possessed an original of his Latin book, the falsehood of it could not be unknown to Caradoc, and the latter must be added to the list of literary conspirators. To suppose conspiracy, we must have strong improbabilities to contend with, so strong, as to deprive three learned men^b of the ordinary presumptions in favour of their common honesty. But the monk of Llancarvan does not rely on mere ordinary presumptions. No motive but national vanity could dictate such a fraud in the 12th century; and from that weakness Caradoc was nearly exempt. I am not aware that he has magnified, extenuated, or distorted, any fact, either from dishonesty or from credulous partiality.

There is no improbability in the existence of such a *Chronicle*. The principal matters contained in it were notoriously extant before Geoffrey's time. Taliesin twice recognizes the descent of the Britons from the Trojans. Their voyage to Britain was remembered by the poets under a Bardic name, quite different from the Brutus of the *Bruts*, and connected^c with their mysteries, though perhaps capable

* See the concluding section of Geoffrey, where he says, "Caradoco Lancarbanel, contemporaneo meo in materia scribendi, permitto" the series of princes who succeeded Cadwallader.

^b To the literary character of one of whom, Walter, Giraldus himself bears respectful testimony. *De Libris a se scriptis*, p. 440.

^c See *Triad* 97. p. 71.

of being ultimately identified with Brutus, *Nevydd Nav Neivion*; David ap Gwilym, compares the sousing he got upon a foul winter's night to

* "The floating that old Neivion performed,
From great Troy over to Mona."

Giraldus Cambrensis (whose folly and malevolence went so far, as to assert in earnest, and confirm it by a disgusting narrative, that Geoffrey's History, laid upon a man's breast, would raise up a 'legion of devils) was well acquainted with the legend of 'Brutus and Camber. Mr. Gunn's Marcus and the Nennius of Gale are witnesses (of the 9th century or earlier) to the whole succession, nearly as it is given by Geoffrey, and their work is a *Brut y Breninodd*, nothing more or less. Neither was it the first such. Niniaw (Pseudo-Gildas of Geoffrey) had gone before them in the beginning of the 7th century. Nor was he, as their own account shews, the only precursor of Mark and the Galean writer. For they quote a variety of kingly successions derived from Brutus, which they call *experimenta*, one of which contains names of kings no where else to be found, such as *Hisichion and Alanus. Henry of Huntingdon is commended by Geoffrey as a good Saxon historian, but is said to be a bad British one, because he was unacquainted with his British MS. It would follow from thence that Henry did not borrow any part of his British History from him; even

* *Erech i Forfudd*, etc. v. 27. p. 106.

† Melerius was freed from the presence of the devils when the Gospel of John was laid on his breast, but when it was removed, and the History of Geoffrey substituted in its place, they instantly re-appeared in greater numbers, and remained a longer time on his body and on the book. Colt Hoare's *Giraldus Itin.* p. 106, 7. Giraldus was cotemporary with Geoffrey, and acquainted with Melerius, whom he had probably tutored in dishonesty.

‡ *Gir. Descr.* Hoare 2. 287. *Iliaudabilia Wallie*, c. 7. p. 451.

§ In S. H. Meyrick's *History of Cardigan the Chronicle of Tysilio* is quoted as placing Hisichion, first in the succession of Kings and anterior to Brutus; and the same author takes the liberty of identifying king Hisichion with Hu Gadarn. Pref. p. xvi. Nothing of the sort is to be found in Tysilio either as edited by the Myvyrians, or as translated by Mr. Roberts. It is for the historian of Cardigan to justify his assertion.

if his succession did not contain a nomenclature unknown to Geoffrey, such as Dardanus, Troius, Posthumus, and Bruto. Yet Henry had read and copied a regular *Brut of Kings*. I cannot imagine, why the existence of all these fabling Bruts should be thus certain, and yet the existence of one more be a manifest falsehood.

Geoffrey' states, that Molmutius Dunwallo compiled the Molmutian laws "*famous among the English to this day*." You may falsely assert a fact relating to times past, but you cannot produce a new fact, and assert its previously existing notoriety. That is so prominent an argument in Mr. Faber's *Horæ Mosaicæ*, that I need not labour it. Therefore, he did not invent the history of king Dyvnwal Moelmud. But if his story was then in existence from of old, why not also that of Ferrex and Porrex his predecessors, and Belinus his successor, and their predecessors and successors? He surely did not stand as an insulated point in indefinite time, or like Melchisedech, "without father, without descent," but belonged to an historical succession. The same argument, which arises upon the Molmutian laws, applies to the praises of the British Kings, and of Arthur in particular; for he says in his preface, "their actions are by many nations firmly retained in mind, and recited from memory with pleasure;" if, therefore, their fame has outgrown its just dimensions, it was not by his act and contrivance.

The behaviour of Geoffrey argues sincerity and good faith. He details how he obtained the book, and why, and how, he rendered it. He declares that the very long Ambrosian prophecy, which forms his 7th book, was no part of that MS. but a separate piece inserted therein by desire of the Bishop of Lincoln. When he comes to the Aquiline Prophecy at Shaftsbury, he says, "I should not have failed of transmitting the speech to posterity, had I thought it as true^c as the rest of the history," and omits it. That shews that he was not even willing, as he well might have done, to translate the fictions of others. At the commencement of book XI. he says, that his account of Arthur's last war with Medrawd was not translated from his MS. with exact-

^c G. M. L. 2. c. 2.

ness, but epitomized from that in conjunction with the information he had obtained from Archdeacon Walter. I will proceed to some more minute illustrations, the number of which might, I suppose, be much increased.

The martyrdom of 11,000 virgin pilgrims at Cologne is asserted in the Martyrology of Beda (12 Cal. Nov. in Colonia^b Sanctarum Virginum 11,000) and the Ephemerids of Wardalbertus Abbas in the 9th century speak of the maidens,

“Of whom, in the Agrippine city, impious rage^c
Butcher'd the illustrious thousands with their holy leaders.”

At the precise time when Geoffrey and Walter flourished, St. Elizabeth of Schonau, spoke^d of their festival as an established holiday. But the Bruts distinctly shew, that the women who fell into the hands of the barbarians were shipwrecked on the sea-coast, that they never went near Cologne, that they were engaged in no pilgrimage or pious office, but in the worldly business of laying aside their vaunted virginity, and had no pretensions whatever to canonical honours. Nay, the primary work, Tysilio's, ^e gives no intimation of their murder or other ill treatment, but only says, that *some of them* were taken, and furnished useful information to the Pagan enemy—a most unmartyrlike act, and at variance with the notion of their being massacred. Yet 11,000 martyrs were annually worshipped at Oxford by Tysilio's editor Walter. It is incredible, that the Archdeacons of Oxford and Monmouth should have fabricated such gratuitous insults to the Church of which they were dignitaries; it was even a bold act of probity, thus faithfully to translate the words of another.

If the inserted Ambrosian prophecies be removed, the context of the original work remains entire, and such as to shew that it is faithfully rendered; unless, anticipating the opposite remark, he was wary enough to contrive it thus.

^b Beda 3. p. 462. Basil.

^d S. Eliz. Vision 2. c. 2.

^c Ap. Bed. 1. p. 261.

^e See Roberts's Version of it, p. 23.

The Brut of Geoffrey says that Homer has given an account of the foundation of Tours in France by Brutus. Geoffrey could neither have been so utterly ignorant of the drift and matter of Homer's two poems as to think this, nor would he have been so rash as thus to engraft one imposture upon another. But the truth is that the author of this passage, and of one still more extraordinary in the Book of Basingwerk, spoke not entirely without foundation. Forgery was employed in Britannia for the purpose of setting up their fabulous origins. Of this the laws of Dyvnwal Moelmud are one instance, those of Queen Marcia another; and they were not ashamed even to fabricate an Apocalypse in the name of St. John the Divine, for Taliesin says,

John the Divine
Hath call'd me Merddin,
At length every king
Will call me Taliesin.

These passages of the Bruts intimate to us that Homeric poems were forged in order to support the splendid fiction of Brute in Britannia. They have long since perished, as it is to be feared. But, if Colonel Vallancey was not imposed upon, some similar productions are upon record among the Irish. "It is worthy of observation that the Siege^a of Troy has been written in Irish in a very ancient dialect, and is esteemed by the Irish bards as the greatest performance of their Pelægian and Magogian ancestors." Geoffrey calls the language which the Trojans spoke *Græcum^b curvum*; meaning a corrupt dialect, or patois, of Greek. That is not classical Latin, nor is it Monkish, or any Latin; but it is pure Welsh. From^c gwyr, oblique, curved, or bending, comes gwyrw, to pervert, turn aside, or distort, and a great family of ulterior derivatives. A solecism is gwrthun-iaith, i. e. bent or crooked speech. This instance shews how closely Geoffrey followed the original before him. Mr. Roberts has pointed out an in-

^a Vallancey Collect. 3. p. 29.

^b G. M. L. 1. c. 18.

^c See Owen Dict. in Vocabulo.

stance where he gave the wrong sense to a word of equivocal meaning, putting a hazel-bush for a cave.

The translator has occasionally added a remark of his own, but then it is palpably of his own; as where he says that Alfred had consulted the laws of Moelmud, and where he quotes that verse of Lucan

Territa quæsitis ostendit terga Britannis.

In the same spirit, Walter, in his *Tysilio*, has styled the city of *Rotomagus*, *Dinas Roam y Normandi*. These things were introduced by Geoffrey without any idea of dishonesty, or of being suspected of fraud, or of any one's taking them for the words of his author. If he had been such as some would have him to be, nothing of the sort would appear in his pages. But I am persuaded that from his days down to our own a stone has not been flung at him by one better than himself. Time, in the abstract, can make no difference. To stop a man in the streets, and say to him, "You are a liar and a knave, and your friend is another," is all one as to say, "Geoffrey and Walter are knaves and liars." It may offend more against the public peace, but in justice and charity, and before Him to whom seven hundred years are as one day, it is all one. So far as the main argument in such cases is concerned, the non-forthcoming of MSS. and genuine vouchers, that is strong against a contemporary who fails in those particulars, but it has no force in such a case as this. Geoffrey declared his possession of it, he made what lawyers call a *profert in curiam* of that document, and must have exhibited it to scores of persons. Geoffrey Gaimar, a Norman, translated the *Brut* of the Kings into French before 1146, and he refers to certain manuscripts which he^b made use of to correct Geoffrey's history. He calls one of them the *History of Winchester*, and the other (which was in English) the *Book of Wassinburc*. I suppose the latter was the *Book of Basingwerk* in Flintshire (which is still extant in Welsh) translated. Gaimar is, therefore, an authority to shew that other *Bruts*, not consulted by Geoffrey, were extant at the time when he produced his. Of course we might cast upon

^b *Archæologia*, 12. p. 310.

him the same imputations which Geoffrey ap Arthur has incurred under the like circumstances; but (as it has been well said by a Frenchman)^a to do so "would be throwing a scepticism upon the testimony of ancient writers equally dangerous and unjust."

I cannot imagine why Mr. Turner^b says, that Geoffrey's Merlin contains "more of real British traditions than his History." The latter contains nothing else, if indeed *tradition* be a word justly applicable to those Trojan fictions, and to the chicanery of Tysilio the Briton. But the former were become traditions by Tysilio's time. On the contrary, his Merlin is an original composition, in which he displays his ignorance of the nature of his subject and his limited capacity. With respect to the legend of Arderydd, he transposes the actors in the drama, and marshals Merddin and the other chief combatants in the ranks of their enemies.^c He regards Merddin as a Christian in the ordinary sense of the word, and a Romanist, and makes him praise St. Austin of Kent, and revile the Britons in the vein of Gildas. He confounds him with the elder Merlin or Ambrosius, and makes him assert that he had prophesied to Vortigern! He puts into his mouth a long tissue of extracts from Pliny or Solinus. And he represents Taliesin as having studied under Saint Gildas in Armorica. His ignorance of British traditions, both in particular, and as to their general spirit, is extreme. That production ill entitles its author to exclaim, as he does in the simplicity of his heart,

Laurea sarta date Gaufrido de Monumetâ !

and fully shews that he was no man to execute a deliberate and methodical fiction, such as he has been charged with.

The Brut y Breninodd not only contains those extravagant fictions, which had passed into tradition and were believed by many

^a De la Rue in *Archæologia*, 13. p. 51. De la Rue *Bardes Armoricains*, p. 57.

^b *Hist. Anglos.* 1. p. 282.

^c An Iliad which represented Hector, King of Greece, besieging Menelaus in Troy would scarcely be more absurd.

in the commencement of the eighth century. But it is also the work of an artful and fraudulent dissembler. The motives that animated Tysilio of Powys to this work of falsehood have been misapprehended. There was more of national shame than pride in them. He alludes briefly to the introduction of Christianity, and of necessity must allude to the prior existence of Paganism. But his slight and rare allusions to that topic are all in language adapted to the classical or Roman heathenism. No hint of the renowned and powerful colleges of the British Clergy, neither Druid, Bard, nor Ovate, neither oak, nor mistletoe, nor anguine egg, nor woad-painted skin, may be met with even incidentally in the pages of Tysilio. For some reason or other he looked upon Druidism as a thing *de quo silere pium est*. He flourished in the period immediately following the simultaneous extinction of the British monarchy and Ambrosian magic by the renunciation of Saint Cadwallader. British history, if truly told, was become a tale of humiliating misfortune and almost incredible folly and crime. But circumstances were favourable enough for a falsification of history; which he effected by collecting fabulous legends of facts that never happened, and by giving as literal facts the allegorical expressions in which Bardism delighted, and which it had long made use of for motives analagous to his own. This will appear more clearly in the sequel both as respects him and others.

VI. The Mabinogion are tales in prose, narrating strange and preternatural occurrences, nearly if not entirely exempt from Christian doctrine and allusions, extremely immoral, and strikingly illustrative of the state of mind and feeling in Britannia after the decline of the Roman power. They have never been printed, either in Welsh or English. The Cambro-Briton and Cambrian Register contain the Mabinogi of *Pwyll*, and the Cambrian Quarterly Magazine that of *Math ap Mathonwy*. The name of these tales is derived from Mab, a child; and it has been said, "the Mabinogion^a or Juvenile Amusements are examples of the species of instruction calculated to improve the mind of the Druidical pupil at a mature period." It is

^a Camb. Reg. 3. 97.

sufficiently obvious that these strange and by no means inoffensive compositions could never have been adapted to childhood; the childhood alluded to in their title is an early and preparatory stage of initiation. They were calculated to inflame curiosity, to exercise ingenuity, and lead the aspirant gradually into a state of preparation for things which ears, not long and carefully disciplined, were unfit to hear. A complete collection of these would gratify the learned and amuse the ordinary reader, and I am persuaded a rapid and extensive sale would reward the labours of a faithful translator, belonging to no sect or party.

The *Damhegion*, or *Æsopian Fables* of the Welsh, were translated and prepared * for the press by Mr. Evan Evans; but have never been printed to this day. These things are not right. The public does not want scraps and specimens, but critical editions of these very curious works. A complete and scholarlike edition and version of the Old Bards, with various readings, indexes, and notes, explaining and justifying the editor's interpretations or amendments, executed with care, and with no taint of *bardism*, and no misplaced patriotism, but with such critical method and apparatus as is applied to Pindar or Æschylus, would be a desirable work and should long since have been executed. If a want of encouragement has prevented these works from being hitherto completely executed, that reason will I hope no longer operate; and if there have been any who have had the inclination and the influence to prevent a full disclosure of their contents "before the light of the day and the eye of the sun," I should hope that such influence was now upon the wane.

VII. Having premised so much upon the original materials, I will venture to add that the style of criticism employed upon them has not on the whole been good or useful. Derivations of words and things must be attempted with care. I am not now quite so easily led away by systematists or into their courses, as the mind is apt to be in the earlier years of life. Etymology is well enough, when it is applied to the comparison of words in the same dialect, or in the

* Camb. Reg. 3. 96.

cognate dialects of one language, and, even so, is executed with care and a just sense of analogy. But when it is raked up from all various æras and climates, and when a faint similitude of sounds, or even an occasional agreement of words, is made the basis for facts, important and general in their nature, remote in their supposed date, unknown, and unattested, it becomes as Lord Coke termed it "*scientia ad libitum*," or as Buchanan said, "*quodlibet ex quolibet*."

Men and their languages have been so intermixed by various causes, that any two copious languages will furnish a copious list of parallels. As the critic becomes less dainty, either as to the degree of resemblance in sound, or of agreement in sense, the list will lengthen. If they whose vocation it is so to do, cannot prove *by such means as those* that Latin is Gaelic, or that German is Latin, or that Welsh is Slavonic, they can prove nothing, and are unworthy to sit in any society of antiquaries.

Derivation of things, though not such a mere quodlibetical science as that of words, is very liable to be abused. Men all, as men, resemble one another in nature and tendency. As descendants from a common origin, they all resemble one another in transmitted usages. Religious and civil customs were in many respects similar among all the Pagans; and they all had several usages of civil life and of religious ceremony in common with the patriarchal and Levitical worshippers of God. Thus it is easy to get up lists of parallel facts (as well as words) which truly prove nothing, but may be used to prove any thing, e. g. that the Magi were Druids, the Druids Hindoos, the Irishmen Phœnicians, the Jews Heathens, and the Cherokees and Iroquois the Ten Tribes of Israel. This easy task requires the possession or loan of a little learning, and may be said to require no acuteness. It appertains to the school for whose use Irish schoolmasters compose Ibero-Seythic oghams, and the pundits of Benares frame Puranas of unfathomable antiquity, in whose opinion the Carthaginians talked pure Irish, and the book of Joshua was a treatise on astronomy. The facility of obtaining a name for themselves as systematists, of gratifying some nation's vanity, or pro-

moting a favourite object, has led some who might have climbed the steep paths of truth to disport themselves in these pastures.

No man is able to say, nor probably ever will be, where the Gael lived before they were in Ireland. But it can readily be shewn, by *the easy system*, that they came from Phœnicia, or Scythia, or Chaldea. Writers who proceed by such methods as were used by Goropius Becanus, Pezron, Rudbeck, Court de Gebelin, Guérin du Rocher, Vallancey, Wilford, Drummoud, E. Davies, or Mr. Faber in his *Cabiri*, may establish *prima facie* nearly whatsoever they think fit. Circumstantial evidence, which is so much prized in law, can hardly obtain a hearing in literature, so grossly has it been abused. That school of authors have wearied the patience of the public as the metaphysicians have, and like them can no longer find many readers.

OR is a favourite particle with them. It insinuates or assumes identity between two or more things. Dr. Owen^a maintains "the identity of Hu, Huon, or Hesus, and Anubis," thereby assuming Lucan's Hesus to be the same person as a certain Huon. Elsewhere he says, that Hu "is" unquestionably identified in the *Hesus* of Gaul and the Anubis of Egypt." Here is Hesus deprived of his first S to make him a little more like Hu. Moreover the very name of Anubis is identified by this philologist with that of Hu, by a very simple process; it is merely dropping the *an* and the *bis*, and clapping an H before the remaining U. Lastly, he presents us with an identification of "Hu, Huon or Hesus, and Hoshea or Osea king of Samaria;" and withal shrewdly insinuates that the Welsh are the lost tribes of Israel. He avoids stating the implied corollary, that

^a Cambr. Reg. 3. 164.

^b Owen's Welsh Diet. A French writer in the *Blog. Univ.* has since added, that "it is difficult not to approximate the word *Hesus* (for he also docks the first S) to the Scandinavian word *Ase*, the Tuscan *Esar*, and the Greek *Aisal*, who likewise kill people." The author who felt it difficult not to make these remarks, had no difficulty in heading his article *Heu*, although in it he calls the person *Hesus*, and though his real name is Hesus!—Tom. 54.

king Hoshea was Anubis! Pezron asserted that the Titans were the Celts, which done, they were thenceforth "the Titans or Celtæ," and whatever was true of a Titan was true of a Celt. "The worship (says a recent author*) of Bel, Baal, Belenos, or Balanus was much cultivated in Palæstine;" ignorantly fancying that the two former Semitic names were allied to the third Celtic (of the fourth I never heard) he endeavours to palm that fancy upon us by means of the *or*.

One privilege arrogated to themselves, by etymological antiquaries, is a sovereign contempt for the ancients. They neither understood their own languages, nor could they see or hear with any tolerable exactness any thing that existed in the countries with which they were best acquainted. The great statesman and accurate philologist, Julius Cæsar, cannot obtain a patient hearing among Celtic speculators; and Herodotus and Xenophon fare little better in the hands of those who have picked up some modern Persic or Coptic. Court de Gebelin pronounced that Athamas was Adam. He had seen or heard somewhere (where I know not) that Athamas had a wife Demotychè, the meaning of which name is obvious and certain. Adam (says ^bGebelin) called *sem asty chue*, i. e. *the name of his wife Eve*, and hence the Greeks by mistake called the wife of Athamas *Demostychè*. The said Athamas had two grandsons *Phrontis* and *Melas*, of which common Greek words nobody can dispute the meaning; but according to the Dissertation on the Cabiri, "Phrontis is Ph'Aron-Dus, the God of the Ark, and Melas is M'El-As, the great God of fire." Gracious heavens! what lingo is this!

They have another main point of facility in rejecting the analogies of language. When a word can serve the uses of theory or national vanity, it is separated from all its cognates, and treated as a perfect novelty of unascertained origin and kindred. Pezron in his Table of Latin words taken from the Celtic, has the following morsel. "Hibere, an old word whence came prohibere, to stop; it comes

* Identity of religions called Druidical and Hebrew, p. 26.

^b Monde Prim. ix. p. clvi.

from the Celtic *hybu*, signifying the same thing." That *prohibere* comes from *habere*, and is formed precisely as *inhibere*, *cohibere*, *perhibere*, *exhibere*, and *adhibere*, the Abbè Pezron must have known very well. *Cœlestis* (*cœlestial*) is by no means formed by Colonel Vallancey from *cælum*, heaven, but from *ˆceo leis teisi*, which in the Ibero-Scythic tongue meant *dropping mists*, or *rain*. If (says^b he) *Δυναστης* was not formed from the Celtic word *tanaiste*, I should think it not more naturally derivable from *δυναμις* than from *dun* another Celtic word, meaning a fortified town. To crown the monstrous absurdity of this sentence, he appeals to many instances of the word *Dynastes* in the second book of the *Iliad*, whereas it is not once to be found in the entire works of Homer! Thus did Colonel Vallancey vapour through several dreary tomes, like a man telling his dreams. Mr. Roger O'Connor, in his preface to the works of *Æolus* king of Ireland, endeavours to show that Latin was a dialect of the Irish, and for proof of it remarks that *Cincinnatus* is merely *Ceanceaniateis*, i. e. *the head over the head of the people*. That *cincinnatus* is a regular participle from *cincinnare*, similar and nearly synonymous to *comatus*, *crinitus*, and *capillatus*, never occurred to his mind. That *exercitus* is the regular participle of *exercere* did not occur to him, when he derived it from *cisar cateis*, i. e. *gathering together the multitudes*. Mr. Grant of Corrimony (after premising that part of the great Gaelic nation, immixed with Pelasgians, became illustrious under the names of Greeks and Romans) observes that the primitive Gaelic words for a house and a residence are *teach* and *tamh*. By adding *tum*^c to *teach* the Romans obtained their word *tectum*, and by adding *us* to *tamh* they became possessed of the word *domus*. *Tamh* (as Mr. Grant states) is compounded of *ti*, a man, and *uamh*, a cave, this great nation having been originally troglodytic. It is prodigious that any writer should take in hand such topics, without knowing that *domos*, a building, is a noun formed from *demo*, to build, according to an extensive and exact

^a Vall. on Irish Lang. Coll. n. viii. p. 200.

^b Coll. vol. I. p. 267.

^c Thoughts on the Gael, p. 36, 7.

analogy, as *tromos* from *tremo*, *dromos* from *dremo*, *gomos* from *gemo*, *tomos* from *temo*; and that *tectum* is merely the participle passive of *tego*, to cover, conjugated as *rectum* from *rego*, *lectum* from *lego*, *actum* from *ago*, etc. *Hu* (says Dr. Owen) is a radical, signifying *what is apt to pervade or spread over*; but *Hu*, or *Huon*, or *An-u-bis* is supposed by him to be the same word as *Hoshea*. Yet *Hoshea* is a Hebrew word interpreted *salvation*.

Sometimes the operator actually transforms the language of one nation into that of some other, very remote in time and place. Mr. E. Davies, when the fit was on him, printed part of Taliesin's Welsh Poems in Hebrew letters. Mr. Faber, in his *Cabiri*, mentions that the ancient idolatrous Irish had a portable shrine called *arn-breith*, "which is evidently *arn-berith*, the ark of the covenant."^a He forgets that the Irish did not speak Hebrew but Erse, in which tongue the plain words, *arn breith*, mean *the judge's doom* or *judgment*. In his *Origin*,^b &c. he says, "the Celtic *Teutates* is clearly the same as the Gothic *Teut* or *Tuishto*, and in both these words we recognize one of Buddha's well-known titles *Tat*, *Datta*, or *Twashita*." Which, I suppose, implies that the words *Teutones*, *Deutsch*, &c. belonging to the Germanic nations, had the same meaning as appertains to *Teutates* if considered as a Gaulish or Celtic word. In proportion as we remove from accuracy and realities, the more we hear of *clearly*, *evidently*, &c. However, the Gothic word *Teut* means *nation*, and *Teutates* (if a Celtic word) means *God the Father*. The Anglo-Saxon word *bed* is (according to the same author) "palpably derived from *bedd* (i. e. *beth*), the Welsh word for a grave or sepulchre."^c Had the Saxons no beds till they came into Britain? and then, did they sleep in British graves? Sometimes two remote and dissonant tongues are monstrously conjoined in one etymology; as when Bochart derived the Gaulish word *Vergobret* from *farga*, *Syriac* for *annual*, and *partus*, *Latin* for a birth or production!

^a *Cabiri* l. p. 219.

^b *Or. Pag. Idol.* 2. p. 302.

^c *Or. P. Id.* 3. p. 310. The verb *abidan* is probably the root of *bed*.

The dialogue^a between M^cQueen and Johnson, concerning the temple of Anaitis in the Isle of Sky, affords one of the most useful lessons that can be read to the quodlibetarians.

VIII. The evils of the easy quodlibetical system have particularly affected Celtic researches. Great and populous empires have their minds busy and elated with the present, future, and lately past, and their pride has little need of resorting to fabulous antiquity for its fuel. But the Celts of Wales, Ireland, and Caledonia, are the remnants of a race unsuccessful in its efforts, reduced in circumstances, and with few authentic trophies of past excellence or greatness; therefore those visions of self-complacency in which human weakness delights, and which they cannot behold with the natural eye, they must see in dreams. Like their wild ancestors of old, they lie down and sleep upon the tombs till they see the spirits of their fathers looking through their clouds, and hear the voices of other years. Dim fantastic forms and delusive sounds! Human pride must be fed upon something. Those who are not so now will endeavour to say, we were once pre-eminent.

Moreover, these inquiries were for a long time no part of general literature. "To the rest of the world (says a Welsh lexicographer^b) we are nearly like the newly-discovered asteroids, hardly recognised as moving in the system of the sun of literature; and our Cimmerian darkness, which above 2000 years ago was impervious to the Greeks, is still lowering round the mountains of the Cymry, so that strangers perceive not the light within." The Celtic antiquary was unmolested in a pursuit of which few cared and fewer were able to partake. Amidst the general neglect and ridicule with which his mightier neighbours received his boasting, he would meet with a credulous few who believed that the Greeks and Romans were Gael, and such like. Whether it was neglect, or whether it was acquiescence, they had it all their own way. And so vast a proportion of their readers

^a Boswell's *Hebrides*, p. 267.

^b Owen's *Introd. to Welsh Diet.*

were of their own tribe and connexion, that they could without fear propound many things which could not have been submitted to real criticism.

Ancient Britain and Ireland were peopled by tribes so little advanced in civilization that their vocabulary could not have been very copious. This island (to the wall of Hadrian) was conquered and governed as a flourishing province by the Romans for upwards of three centuries, and after that time was peopled in part by Latinizing Britons (the *Romani* of Taliesin), and by monks and priests whose sacred, learned, and almost vernacular tongue was the Latin. Ireland and Upper Caledonia (for the Lower, between the walls, was for some time part of the province) were in continual intercourse of peace and war with the Roman province. With it they traded. It was the scene of their predatory incursions, and they carried off prisoners from it. Their country was the asylum for criminals, deserters, and adherents of unsuccessful tyrants, who in the decline of the empire carried over the arts of Rome to her rude enemies. The same remarks, all of them, apply to Ireland. Consequently the Erse contains a multitude of Latin words assimilated to Celtic ones, and the Welsh still more. But it is the constant effort of their antiquaries to keep out of sight the centuries of Roman ascendancy, and to represent their travestied Latin as primitive phraseology, as old as the Curetes or the Titans, and corrupted by the ignorant posterity of Romulus and Remus. I believe the endeavour to delatinize the Welsh is not an idea of yesterday. In a MS. of the 10th century (said to be the oldest in Welsh) we find the names which are now altered into Macsen, Cystennin, and Tegid, written Maxim, Constantin, and Tacit. The same suspicion may be drawn from the anomalous mutation inflicted upon Roman words which contain the letter m. An uncompounded word is subject to no mutations but the initial, nor could amwyn or ymyl be changed into avwyn or yvyl; but colovyn, gevell, tervyn, elven, llavyn, have for ages past been substituted for colomyn, gemell, termyn, elmen, and llamyn, and so forth. But if we could find any British writings of the age of Theodosius, we might confidently

expect to see *columna*, *gemellus*, *terminus*, *elementum*, *lamina*, &c. so expressed. The old word^a *cusil* (*consilium*) seems to acknowledge that which the modern word *cybsyl* disguises.

Dr. Owen's Welsh Dictionary is composed in that spirit, as I think it necessary to shew at some length.

Parabola, a parable,^b is Latin, from the Greek *parabolè*, which is a noun from the verb *paraballo*. But *parabyl*, discourse (says he), comes from *parab*, aptitude for utterance.

Legion, is from *lego*, to enroll troops; but *lleng*, a legion, is from *lly* and *eng*.

Cred, faith or belief, is fetched from a British root of totally different meaning.

Sanct, a saint, and *sanctiaid*, holiness, are spelt without the *c*; all mention of their being even so spelt is suppress, and the words derived from *san*, aware, or wary.

Ysbryd, spirit, Holy Ghost, is derived from *bryd*, mental impulse, and the fact of its being often spelt *yspryd* suppress.

Cathedra (whence *chair*), is a Greek word adopted into Latin; but *cadair*, a cathedra of office, *cader*, a seat or chair, and *cadeiriol*, a cathedral church, are all derived from *cad*, battle, and *gair*, a word.

Diabolus, from the verb *diaballo*, is in Welsh *diavyl*, which is derived from *gavyl*, a fork or angle.

Llyvyr, a book, is not from *liber*, but from *llwy*, *apt to move*, or *an oath*.

Martyr, is merely the Greek for a witness; but *merthyr*, a martyr, is fetched from *merth*, sad or grievous.

Profes, a profession, is not from *profiteri* (as *confessio* from *confiteri*), but from *pro*, against, and *fes*, knowledge.

Eegob, a bishop, is not from *episcopus*, but from *cob*, a cloak;

^a See Arch. 1. p. 167.

^b Parable is its true meaning, but *parabolari*, a bad Latin word for to discourse, is the source of *parley*, *parler*, *parlare*, *parole*, *parola*, as *fabulari* is of *hablar*. See Roquefort Gloss. Romane in *parleira*, etc.

prophwyd, a prophet, not from propheta, but from pro, and pwyd, passing; eglwys, a church, not from ecclesia, but from eg, open, and glwys, holy.

Presen and present, the time *present*, are not from that Latin source, but are from pres, quick.

Plas, a palace, is not referred to palatium, but to pla and as, and the uncontracted form, palas, is kept out of sight.

Awdur, author (or auctor, from augeo, as actor from ago, &c.), is derived from awd, opportunity.

Angel, an angel, is not from angelus, but from the Celtic monosyllables ang and el; and angor, an anchor, is not from anchora, but from ang, and cor, a circle. Both that word and angel are placed out of their alphabetical order, where they can only be found by an accident.

Perthynu, pertinere, is derived from parth, in defiance of the whole analogy of retinere, obtinere, detinere, &c.

Natur and naturiaeth, nature; elefant, an elephant; calan, a calend; prelad, a prelate; deon, a dean; diacon, a deacon; ebysdyl and apostol, an apostle; sacraven, a sacrament; are suppressed in toto. The verb pardynu, to pardon (per-donare, con-donare), is derived in the Cambro-Briton* from par and twyn, and explained to separate or dismiss; but Owen's Dictionary more cautiously omits the word.

The reader may find in the same work the Celtic roots of olew, olea and oliva, sirig, serica, castell, castellum, pecawd, peccatum, peccadur, peccator, perfaith, perfectus, menestyr, minister, fenestyr, fenestra, planed, planeta, colovn, columna, gevell, gemellus, eluseni and elwysin, eleemosyna, ymherawdyr, imperator, colomen, columba, creawdwr, creator, creadur, creatura, rhewin, ruina, etc. if he can find a relish for such etymology.

The system of this Dictionary has its basis in radicals. It is neither arranged radically like Scapula's, nor yet always alphabetically.

* Vol. 2. p. 205.

but with a confusion of the two methods. By resolving other words into those monosyllables, an air of complete analogy and primeval purity is given to the language; nearly in the same manner as Mr. Bryant resolved everything into his Ammonian tongue by means of his radicals *da*, *phi*, *omph*, *pat*, etc. etc. The first we meet with is *ab*, a root denoting aptness, celerity, or quickness of motion. *Aw*, *ba*, *ca*, *ed*, *edd*, *eng*, *es*, *fa*, *fe*, *lla*, *ma*, *mo*, *no*, *ov*, *og*, *on*, *os*, *ur*, are others of the alleged radicals, which are used in order to confer upon a dialect of the Roman province Britannia and prefecture Britannia Secunda the shew of that original purity, which if it really retained, it was an Alpheus running through the salt sea and emerging fresh. Yet Dr. Owen rarely quotes any instance of the existence of such words, and still more rarely, of their existence *as radicals*. *Aw*, *ba*, *ca*, *ed*, *edd*, *eng*, *fe*, *lla*, *mo*, *no*, *on*, *os*, *ur*, are radical words for which no authority is offered, and for aught that appears may be imaginations of the lexicographer. There is authority for *fa*, *fabum*, a bean, but none for *fa* radical, enveloped, or covered. There is, for *ma*, a place; but none for *ma* radical, "what is identified as being produced (!), existing, or filling a space." There is none for *ov*, "elementary, or in an uncombined state;" though there is evidence for its meaning crude, raw. This pretended radical is employed to bolster the pretended word *ovydd*, of which in its proper place. *Og*, i. e. *occa*, a harrow, has authority; but *og* radical, "what is full of motion, apt to open or expand," has none.

There is none at all for *of*, "what is essential or tending to a beginning;" none for its pretended derivative *ofer*, as "what has power to effect, an instrument," though *ofer* does mean harness or traces; and none for *oferen*, instrumentality, though *oferen*, religion, has authority. All this family of words is printed by Walters with a double *f*, which Owen has reduced to a single one. *He himself* and his co-editors printed it with the double consonant in *Can Tysiliaw*, Arch. 1. p. 244; yet two years afterwards he cited it three times in his Dictionary, from that same page, with a single *f*. That family contains *offeiriad* and *offeren-wr*, a priest; *offeren*, high-mass; and *offrym-miad* or *offrwm*, the *offertory*. All are most palpably taken from

offero, to offer, a compound of fero, to bring. So much for *of*, tending to a beginning, and *ofer*, having power to effect!

British radicals have a great variety of meanings. *Ur* signifies "extreme, over, superior, essential, pure, sacred, holy, inviolable." *Mo* means "forward, advanced, present, tending to enlarge, more." They have the ulterior virtue of expressing contraries. *Os* is what tends to increase, an increment, and it is also a diminutive termination. *Edd* is "a present time of motion, a going, a moving, a gliding," and it is—"a tranquil state!"

These are extracts from a Dictionary to which the author has pledged his veracity, as "collecting the words of a nearly expiring language." *Ed* (says he) means what has aptness to act, velocity. "It is doubtful whether it is used in its simple form, at least it is but very seldom." This rather implies that the other supposed radicals do exist in their simple forms. If so, the authorities for all of them, in their several senses, should be furnished, or at least a reference given to them in Mr. Walters's unaffected and copious English-Welsh Dictionary.

Besides the object of gratifying national pride, in respect of language, other views may be discerned in this work, as in the writer's other productions. There is an endeavour to keep out of sight the errors, superstitions, and vile practices of the ancient Britons, recorded by antiquity, and abundantly attested in their own productions; and to write up the sort of masonic fraternization now called Bardism. The article *Bardd* (*Barz*) is a short essay to that effect, consisting of bold assertions. The article *Derwydd* is similar, and contains this remark; "the Bardic system is *attested* to have kept extremely clear from superstition." Attested by whom? Assuredly not by W. Owen, who, at "London, the first day of January, 1801," printed and published that tissue of superstitious belief or imposture called *Y Cynveirdd*, or Poems of the Primary Bards.

* It is the *alleged* etymon of *bedd*, a grave, or tomb. That explains to us, why it is to mean the absence of motion as well as the presence of motion.

Amidst the devilry and hocus-pocus of these people, one thing was particularly famous, the pair Ceridwen, or cauldron of Ceridwen. It is hard to lay hold of Dr. Owen's opinion, where those words are concerned. In Taliesin's Mab Gyfren, in the heading of Kadeir Kerridwen, in the Meib Llyr, in Cuhelyn's second ode, and in Hywel ap Ewein, p. 278, he publishes it with the vowel E, in the prosaic Hanes and the verses annexed to it with an A, but in Cynddelw, p. 230, and in Llywarch ap Llw. p. 290 and 303 with a Y. All this is probably done in conformity with the MSS. of the Poems. It shews the progress of that change which recent Bardists have effected in that word, and which gave rise to the following gloss in the Dictionary. "Cyridwen, the fair procreator, the name of the first woman. *Barddas*." In his Mabinogi of Taliesin he prints the name Ceridwen, yet he there translates it "the fair procreator," which is a translation from Cyridwen. In the Cambr. Biography, in 1803, Dr. Owen adopts the *Barddas* orthography, and says that "pair Cyridwen may be rendered the cauldron of renovation;" strange enough, considering his etymology of Cyridwen from cyrid, copulation of the sexes, and gwen, a beauty. But in his Diet. (also 1803) in art. *aur* he prints it pair Ceridwen, and translates it "cauldron of Ceridwen," in art. *golcionac* he translates pair Cyridwen yr hen wrac the cauldron of Cyridwen the old hag; while in art. *pair* he has these words, "pair ceridwen, the energy of the smile of love or prolific nature." He is equally anxious and susceptible upon this word pair, a cauldron. In *dadeni* he renders pair dadeni, the "cauldron of renovation," but in *pair* he renders the same words "the instrumentality or alembic of regeneration." Cynddelw has this couplet

O voli *pair* deon pyr dawav
O ddor cor coelig cynnelwaw,

which in art *deon* he renders,

Of praising the *command* of God shall I be silent!
Of the refuge of the expected circle will I contemplate.

and in *pyr* he again renders them,

In praising the *cause* of the Lord forward I come,
After the mystery of the circle of foreboding I will conform.

and, thirdly, in *coelig*, he translates the second line,

The ominous covering of the circle will I describe.

Three meanings to one phrase pair Ceridwen, and three totally dissimilar versions (for *meanings* I will not pretend to call them) of one line in Cynddelw! In the Dict. art. *se* the same words are translated by him "the star of magnificent stars," from which, in Gent. Mag. December, 1789, he made "geniusses of bounteous passions." In *Eiddyn* he turns two lines of Taliesin into these two,

I have been a cock grasshopper

Upon the hens in a contact state,

and in *brithwyn* he turns them into these,

I have been a motley white cock,

With the hens in Eiddyn.

A line of Cyvæsi (st. 127) is twice cited as an adage, in *Gweini* and in *Fawd*, and translated with a discrepancy no less monstrous; and in comparing the articles *ardant* and *cynovant* the reader will meet with the like. For the reasons previously cited from the Introduction criticism seems not to have been anticipated, and a certain recklessness to have pervaded the composition.

To avert the charge of witchcraft or other wicked and superstitious fancies, an attempt is made to explain away the sense of *pair*, which was known to Mr. Walters, and old John Davies, in no other sense than that of a cauldron or seething pot, "*lebes, cacabus, ahenum*;" being perhaps that in which viands, drugs, etc. are prepared, "*parantur*." But Owen's Dict. asserts that *pair* means "union of causes, instrumentalities, or energies, a cause," "a command," and "an energy." All which I nowise believe upon the authorities offered. It would be a great misrepresentation to treat a word as if used in *another sense*, because the application of its sense, by poets, is metaphorical. When Llewelyn said, "I will praise the *cauldron* which produced various beasts and fowls," he not only said cauldron, but he *meant* cauldron, and meant it in metaphor. So when we say the womb of nature we mean womb; and if we did not mean it, it

* See Dom Le-Pelletier Dict. Bret. in *Paret*.

would not be a metaphor. I observe that the word *cause* (in art. pair) is used for that which causeth, and in the version from *Cynddelw* (in *pyr*) for that which an advocate defends. This is a remarkable lapse, and betrays the hollowness of the system.

There was a fashion, now passing out of date, for men of letters in Wales to profess belief in all the extravagancies of their Chronicles or Bruts, and fabulous traditions. Tysilio having seen^a in Aurelius Victor or Eutropius, that Asclepiodotus prætorian prefect to Diocletian defeated Allectus, immediately before the landing of Constantius, has impudently converted him first into a prince of Cornwall, and afterwards into a king of all Britannia for ten years. Rowlands in his *Mona*, instead of treating such trash as it deserved, wrote a grave argument to shew that Asclepiodotus was that British king Bran ap Llyr, concerning whom the most extravagant romances are in existence. In accounting (says Owen's Biography in *Brut*, i. e. Brutus) for the origin of the name of Brut, it is not unreasonable to suppose its having been taken from the name of Prydain, *who was a real character in our history*. Was he indeed? We have yet to learn when he lived, or by whom the history of his reign or that of his father Aedd the Great has been written. He must have flourished some little time back, seeing that Britannia was named after him. The Rev. Peter Roberts translated and commented upon Tysilio, with the most lively faith in his series of Trojan and British kings. One of these by name Moryd, who reigned only 548 years before the Nativity, met with a violent death. "For a terrible and insatiable animal came out of the Irish sea, which devoured man and beast wherever it went. A report concerning this monster was brought to Moryd, and he thereupon set out to encounter it, and did so, but unhappily for himself. For when he had expended all his weapons vainly in the attack, the monster seized and swallowed him." Upon this misfortune of his Britannic Majesty, Mr. Roberts seriously^b annotates in the words following: "If one could suppose that, by any

^a *Cæsares*, p. 171. *Delph. Eutrop.* 9. c. 14.

^b *Chronicle of the Kings*, p. 62.

accident, a crocodile or alligator could have come on a coast so far North, the description above given would induce a belief, that this monster was of the same species." It is to be lamented, that those who were competent in most respects to have searched out and elucidated the obscure things of their own country and of the rest of the British island, should have preferred to cherish delusions in which a local vanity once delighted, but which more abounding wisdom and civilization have rendered less popular even in those peculiar districts.

The necessity of the case and the impossibility of relying upon others, has urged me to transfuse into my own English several passages from the Welsh, with which language I have little acquaintance. I hope it may not be found that I have thus been led into many errors of material consequence. It would be an admirable undertaking if the learned men of the Welsh counties would send forth a complete Welsh-English Dictionary, containing all the real words now or formerly used in the language and no matter whence derivable, and none but what are real, and in their real orthography; in short, a conversion of Mr. Walters's, with such additions as it admits of, and with the advantage of authorities cited at sufficient length for *each sense of each word*. At present we have no Welsh-English Dictionary entitled to our confidence. The earlier labours in that line may be described as glossaries or vocabularies; while the more recent are adapted to the views of the writers rather than to the advantage of the readers.

CHAP. II.

NAMES OF BRITANNIA; PRYDAIN, BRYTHON, PRYDYN, AND BRITTIA.—
THE DUCALEDONS, VECTURIONS, AND SCOTS.—NAMES OF ALBION,
ALWION, AND ALBAN.—NAMES OF THE CYMMRY, THE CUMBRIANS,
THE CIMBRIANS, AND THE DRIGANTES.—NAMES OF WALES, OF
THE GALLI, AND OF THE GALATÆ.—IMPORTANT PASSAGE OF
PAUSANIAS.—NAMES OF MICOSMIS, LLOEGR, ETC.

I. THE names of the Island and its inhabitants are matters belonging to the illusive studies of the etymologists. But they are worthy of a little attention, as connected with the unmasking of British History since the Romans.

The island is termed Prydain by the subsisting remnant of its primitive inhabitants. But that name was, either more anciently, or by tribes of a more southern and easterly position, expressed with a B, a T, and a vowel I, more nearly resembling the sound of the short English I than the Welsh* Y, Britann; as appears by the general consent of the Romans, who always called this island (as the most eminent one) Britannia, and it, and Ireland, the *Monas*, etc. collectively *the Britannias*. Probably they adopted that form from the clans of the South-east.

The Greeks had adopted that of Brettan or Bretan, from the earlier navigators of Marseilles and Phœnicia, and most probably from the dialect of South-western clans, such as the Devonians, Cornu-

* Which is our short U, as written in *sun*, or pronounced in *son*.

bians, and Cassiteridians; and they included the people of Ireland under the denomination of Brettanes, and their country under that of the isles Bretanides. In their language we find the traces of the initial P. Marcianus Heracleota in the third century, and Stephanus Byzantinus in the fifth, name the *Pretanic Islands; and the latter calls their inhabitants Pretani.

Briton is the word properly (*Britannus* sometimes) employed by the Romans for a native of *Britannia*, and it agrees with the Welsh noun plural (said to be used in the plural only) *Brython*, the Britons. It cannot be doubted, that *Britannia* and *Britones* are words related to each other, as *Ausonia* and *Ausones*, or *Arcadia* and *Arcades* are; nor can we be brought to believe that they are terms of an entirely distinct etymology and meaning, and a purely accidental resemblance. However, the name *Prydain* has been derived, as a word, from *pryd*, aspect or comeliness, and interpreted *having a comely aspect*, and, as a name, from that of the hero *Prydain ap Aedd Mawr*, the fabulous founder of the monarchy; whereas the name *Brython* is derived from *brwth*, contention, and interpreted warriors. Herein we detect a notable instance of the Neo-British method, and perceive that its arts are not of yesterday.

The Britons were a people whose bodies were painted over with various^b devices by the process of tattooing, or puncturing the skin and infusing a dark tincture. All the *Britanni* (saith Cæsar) stain themselves with the herb *vitrum*, which effects a cœrulean^c colour.

* Marcian, p. 57. Steph. in *Vocab.* See Eust. in Dion. v. 508.

^b *Perlegis exanimis Pictis moriente figuras.* Claudian. They puncture their bodies with pictures of all sorts of various animals. Herodian 3. p. 122.

^c Seneca in his ludicrous *Apocolocyntosis* has the following lines on Claudius:

Et cœruleos	Dare Romuleis
Scuta Brigantas	Colla catenis
	Jussit, etc.

in which it is evident that the cœrulean bodies of those Britons, and not their shields, must be in question; but the proper remedy has never been applied. It is, to read

Et cœruleos
Scuta Brigantas,

and the Brigantes who stain *their hides* dark-blue. If we believed, that all we read

But Brith has the meaning of painted, tinted, variegated, or pied of two colours. Cleddyv *brith-gwaed* is a blood-stained sword, and *brithlas*, spotted blue or green, and *Brith-gwr* is a painted, stained, or parti-coloured man. Merddin, when settled among the Picts of Celyddon, so styled himself, and Taliesin so styles the Pictish marauders. Brithon (to which choice of vowels Cæsar and the other learned Romans, as well as the ancient Latin inscriptions found in this island, bear witness) would thus appear to be the true word, and to have meant in Celtic what Pictus meant in Latin. But if any one, from his faith in the purity and sincerity of modern Cambro-British, should be scandalized by that difference of vowels, it is meet that he should be informed, that *brytho*^b is *to paint* in the language of Britanny. That debased and corrupted remnant of what once was Celtic, the Bas-Breton dialect, offers farther proof to us upon this head. The 'Bas-Bretons say not *Prydain* for Britain, but *Breis*; and we shall find that *breis* (as a word, and not a name) is used by them precisely in the power of *brith*. Freckles, moles, or other spots upon the skin, are called *breis*, the mottling of red upon the legs of a man who has scorched them near the fire is *breiseli*, and any thing that is half and half, and so, as it were, pie-bald, is *breis*; half-devout for instance is *breis-devode*. The Welsh word *brith* has exactly the same idiom. E. g. *brith adnabod*, to have a partial knowledge, *brith Gristion*, a semi-Christian, etc. Pezron, whose authority is of no weight, has nevertheless the merit of ^dsurmising the true root of Briton. But it is neither a matter of conjecture nor of authority, but one of fact, that the same word means *Britannia* and *variegated* in the Armorican; and that is a fact, which it is not easy to shake off or dispose of.

The custom did not prevail in Gallia Comata when it was entered

in Ossian about blue shields and blue-shielded hosts was sterling matter, and not suggested to its authors by the verses of Seneca. In Buchanan, we should of course be content with the printed text.

^b Rostrenen Dict. in *Peindre*.

^c See Dom Le Pelletier in *Breis*.

^d Antiquities of Nations, Book III. c. 2. Here, as throughout his work, there is matter not to be relied upon.

by the Romans, and the Irish seem to have early abandoned it. On that account the people of this island were at a remote period distinguished among the Celtic nations as a tinged or painted people. But when Cæsar came hither, it no longer retained the force of an epithet; but had become an absolute name-proper, used with scarcely any more reference to its etymon, than the name Brazil now has to the production of brazil wood.

Rome gave her language, civil manners, and mitigated paganism, and, after Constantine, her Christian ordinances, more or less completely to all the British tribes south of Caledonia; and the hideous fashion of painting their bodies disappeared from among them. But it was retained by the savage clans who originally dwelt, or who retired, to the north of the Roman pale into the forests, and are called men of the *Celyddon* or *Woodland Thickets*, but in Latin were expressed *Caledonii* and their country *Sylva Caledonia*. It was also adopted by the earliest swarm of those who came into Caledonia from Ireland. These peoples alike rejected the Gods of Rome, and the faith of Jesus, and the manners of civilized man. Those ferocious remnants of the Ante-Roman Britannia were called the *Picti*, or *Painted Men*. In the days of Pliny and Agricola, when the conquest of Britain was imperfect, and the Romanization of its manners still more so, that circumstance was not yet peculiar to them alone. It continued to exist in more southerly parts, as well as among them. Therefore they were simply the *Caledonii* or *Caledones*. But in the days of Ptolemy, Marcian, Eumenius, and Ammianus, they were *Dicalidones*, the country *Sylva Ducaledonia*, and their seas *Oceanus Ducaledonius*. It cannot reasonably be disputed that the prefix intended by these authors is *du*, black, because the ravages of the northern clans during the decline of the empire were popularly remembered among the early Welsh as those of *y llu du*, the *black* bands, and their poets described the Picts by the same epithet, "Prophecy unto Dyved's lord the season^d of the *black* painted-men from

^c Ptol. 2. c. 3. Marc. p. 58. Amm. 27. c. 8. Eumenius (where edit. have non dico Caledonum, but MSS. have non Dicaledonum) G. c. 7.

^d Gwasgargard 41.

Man, *Brithwyr du o Vanaw*." For the same reason John of Fordun terms them *vespillones*, i. e. men all in black, mourners at a funeral. Their dark-tinted skins had become a special mark of distinction in the interval of time that elapsed between Agricola and Ptolemy. Eumenius, the panegyrist of Constantius and his son Constantine the Great, is the earliest author who uses *Picti* as the proper name of a nation.

I feel it a strong circumstance of condemnation, as regards the antiquity claimed for the Ossianic poems, that, among their frequent allusions to personal appearance and colour, there is none to that of the Ducaledones and Gwyddel Fichti, and the strange devices which adorned their bodies. The Gwyddel Fichti are called in Irish '*Cruithene*, i. e. painted, covered with figures or images.

The Fichti (or Picts) have no apparent etymology for their name in Welsh, Armorican, or Erse. It must therefore be concluded that they received it from the Latin word *pictus* at a time when this was a Latin island. Merddin ap Morvran, chief bard to Gwenddoleu ap Ceidio a prince of the Picts in the sixth century, says of himself, "I will foretell, before my tribulation, the Britons having the uppermost of the Saxons. 'Tis the inspiration of a painted-man, *Brithwr*." Since Ficht (i. e. *Pictus*, or a Pict) and brith (i. e. *pictus* or *qui pingitur*) were considered equivalent terms by a dignitary of the Pictish country, there cannot remain much doubt of the Latinity of the former.

Britannia, although weaned by the Romans from the practice which had in distant ages given rise to her name, could not, and would not also relinquish a name which had for immemorial years been used as her absolute Name Proper. Yet, nevertheless, that identical circumstance, which had anciently distinguished her from the remainder of the family of Celts, now operated to distinguish the northern barbarians from the provincial Britons, so far as to dub them Picti.

The Romans very properly abstained from translating Britones

into Picti and Britannia into Pictavia. It must however be observed, that a tribe of Gauls south of the Loire were termed by them Pictones, les Poitevins, and their district was Pictavia, Poictou. Upon which it may be asked; why, if Ficht be no Celtic word, the term Brithon or Briton was in this instance Latinized, instead of being simply retained? The following is a sufficient answer. Britannia was an ancient proper name, which had long ceased to depend for its use upon its etymology. But the Pictones, being a small tribe, who (as I surmise) had preserved, in the very heart of the unpainted Gauls, and down to the time when the Romans began to be acquainted with Gaulish topography, some vestiges of that horrid fashion, were called Brithon or Brython, by their neighbours; and that, not simply, but significantly and distinctively, as were the Picti of North Britain. If this be so, they should have had some other name of their own. And so they had. That name was Lemones. The now city of Poitiers, which the Romans metamorphosed into Augustoritum Pictonum, was (according to the Gaulish) Lemon and ^bOppidum Lemonum. Probably the same explanation should be given to the name of the Britanni a still more minute and obscure fraction of the Gauls who lived in the neighbourhood of Montreuil and Hesdin.

Caledonia, or Britain north of the Province, is called in the Welsh of the Bards^c *Prydyn*, a slight alteration of their *Prydain*. *Brython* is also used by them to denote some savage tribe who harassed the frontiers of the Cymmry-British kingdom. "Three tribes, men of the woodland covert, in respect of their^d own qualities, the Gwyddel, the Brython, and the Romans, interrupt our peace and disturb it, and round the boundaries of Prydain her fair dwellings are fields of battle for the sovereignty." These three must be the Irish, the Caledonians, and the Latinizing Britons of the Old Province. Thus it appears, that both Prydain and Brython, although they were

^b A. Hirtius de B. Gaul. c. 26.

^c Tal. Armes Bryd. c. 4. Llund y Mawr. v. 76. Awdyl. Vraith. c. 2. Tysilio p. 320. Golyddan c. 10.

^d For in respect of *the fact* the Roman provincials were not such. See Velb. Llyr. 67.

general and insular titles, and the only such in the Neo-British tongue or Bardic Welsh, yet retained another force or application *peculiar* to the fierce clans beyond the walls. Those were the clans who continued to paint. Here again truth pierces through disguises. Britannia meant Pictavia, Britones meant Picti, and those who were least willing to own that truth have made themselves instrumental to confirm it. The same circumstance, viz. the revival of the *etymon*, and the special appropriation of the general name to that one part, to which it continued specially applicable, occurs in a far distant quarter; even in Procopius. That historian says,^a that between Britain and Thule lay *Brittia*, inhabited by Angles, Frisians, and Britons. *It was*, he says, *formerly divided by a wall into two parts.* This was Caledonia, which the wall of Antonine had formerly divided into Valentia and Caledonia proper. Being still the seat of the Picts, it was termed *Brittia*, i. e. *y tir brith*, Pict-land, and so distinguished from Britain, which had long since been a mere name of geography. We find Prydain as applied to Caledonia modified into Prydyn, *with no apparent meaning* in the change; and we find a Greek (contemporary of Taliesin and Merddin) distinguishing the same district from Britain as *Brittia*, and *with a manifest meaning.* The latter explains the former.

The etymology of Britain from brith, to paint, tinge, or variegate, is the solution for Pliny's difficulty concerning the *Herba Britannica*. That herb,^b which was found in the Trans-Rhenane Germany, near Friesland, was esteemed a specific in various complaints, against the bite of serpents, and against thunder-storms; its flower was called Vibo, which signifies^c Flower of Proserpine; its leaves and root were black, and the juice was expressed from both. It is supposed by some to be *Hydrolapathum Nigrum* of modern botany. Pliny "wondered what could occasion the name," inasmuch as the Romans when they so called it had never visited Britannia and were

^a De B. Goth. 4. c. 20.

^b Plin. 25. c. 3.

^c Because Proserpine went from Stelly to Vibo in Calabria to gather flowers, and the women who solemnized her mysteries used to do the like.

ignorant of its vegetable productions ; and he was driven into supposing, that it was so called because *it grew near the shores of the ocean in which the British islands were situate* ! The real reason was, that the juice of the *Herba Britannica* imparted a dark tinge, and so it was one of the *brith-llysiau* or Herbs of *Staining*.

The plant used by the Britons was the *isatis*, *glastum*, or woad, otherwise called *hyalinum* or *vitrum*, the glass-plant, because it is used in making glass. Its colour was somewhat like indigo, which has in great degree superseded the use of it. It is recorded that the ancient Druids had white robes, and the Neo-Druids (on the alleged authority of ancient practice among the Druids, Ovates, and Bards) made use of white, green, and blue robes respectively. But it is evident that as all the Britons painted their bodies it must have been the general custom of all to go nearly naked. So Herodian^a says, that the North Britons wore no garments, that they might not conceal the paintings on their bodies. The herb woad usually yields a blue tint, but that herb as well as indigo, when partially deoxidated, has been found to yield a fine green. The Britons generally tinted themselves blue, and those who did so may be regarded as the commonalty, whose colour resembled that of the lowest order of the hierarchy. But we find in Ovid that some of the Britons were tinted green,

Sed Scythiam, Cilicesque feros, viridesque Britannos,^b etc.

These should be Britons of a higher order, having the colours of the Ovate. The white skin unpainted of course corresponds with the white robe of the Druid. The robes of the fanatic British women, witches, or priestesses, were black, *vestis feralis* ; and that colour was a third preparation of woad by the application of a greater heat. The British married women (says Pliny^c) both old and young stain themselves with woad to imitate the colour of Æthiopians, and go naked in their religious ceremonies.

Woad alike produced both their blue and their green dye, and the British name of that plant is *glas*. In Welsh, Armoric, and Irish,

^a Herod. p. 122.

^b Amor. 2. 16.

^c Hist. Nat. 23. c. 1.

the word *glas* signifies *green*, and in all of them it also signifies *blue*. This is one of the strangest anomalies to be met with in language. Two colours are expressed by the same word, and the predicate must be ascertained from the subject. *Glas nef* is blue sky, *glas good* is green trees, but whether *glas gwn* be a blue gown or a green one is indeterminate. The origin of this ambiguity is, that *glas* originally means neither blue nor green, and is not the name of a colour, but (like indigo or saffron) of a plant. *Glas* is the herb *glastum* or *vitrum*, and the Romans probably borrowed the word *glastum* from the Gauls. Those tribes acquired, from the same source as they did their other arts and improvements, the knowledge of glass-blowing, in which process woad was a chief ingredient; and in that process they used it for a dye as well as for an alkaline salt. Their three orders were decorated with glass gems, called *glain*, made (as it is supposed) white for the Druid, green for the Ovate, and blue for the Bard. Hence the savage Germans who were themselves ignorant of such arts called that substance by the Gaulish name *glas*, woad. I do not find that *glas* means glass in any British or Gaulish dialect; but *glaine*, which is Welsh for a coloured glass ornament, is Irish^b both for glass and for woad. The *Picts* of the sixth century are styled by Taliesin^c the *Glas-Fichti*, that is to say the *blue Picts*, or rather the *woad Picts*; the name of that plant in Welsh being either *glas* or *glaiar*.

When the Britons had shaken off their Roman masters, they began to cherish again many superstitions of their ancestors; but (except Merddin, who settled among the *Ducaledons*) the provincial Britons did not openly return to this fashion. They seem however to have valued the recollection of it, and to have resorted to it in some of the most secret and mysterious ceremonies of their occult and strictly Masonic system. In them (as we shall further see, in our progress) they especially honoured one *Beli the Great*, father of *Lludd*, and son of *Manogan*. One poem^d of a fanatical character has these words,

^b E. Lhuyd Comp. Vocab. p. 175.

^c *Mic Diabych* v. 8.

^d M. Uthyr Pendragon l. Arch. p. 73.

With my art will I worship thee
 Beli giver of victory !
 And, oh King Manogan !
 Thou shalt preserve the prerogatives
 Of Beli's island of honey.

Manogan is a name formed, with *an* the terminative of proper names, from *manogi*, to bespeckle or cover with spots, and *manawg*, bespeckled or spotted. The Gododin twice mentions *Dyvnwal Vrych*, i. e. the speckled or spotted, being just equivalent to *Dyvnwal Manogan* ; and of the two Belis (i. e. Slaughterers) who reigned in Britain, *Dyvnwal* was father of the elder, and *Manogan* of *Beli Mawr*. The *Penrhyn Pedigree*^b omits *Manogan* and places *Dyvnwal* in his stead as father of *Beli Mawr*. *Manogan* was grandfather of *Lludd* and likewise of *Cassivellaunus*, who fought against *Cæsar*. His name is therefore a type and character of the Brithon or Picti anterior to the coming in of the *Cæsareans*, for so the Romans were termed by the natives. Another most obscure poem is the Praise of *Lludd the Great*. It alludes both to the deluge and to the Saxons, and seems to compare the deliverance of Britain from the latter with the deliverance of the ark from the former. On the day of the Sun, when the elect are about to embark,

“ Out of the sacred poems they cry aloud,”
 O'r anant oniant,

that which follows. It is a fragment of some old mystic hymn; and its allusions were of a nature so little known to the generality of the Welsh, that it may be questioned whether the transcribers of the MSS. attached any clear meaning to it. That is generally a source of inaccurate transcription. Mr. E. Davies,^c not seeing its drift, amused himself with printing it in the Hebrew alphabet; and Mr. Stanley

^b Ap. Meyrick's *Cardiganshire*, pr. p. xvi. and Roberts's *Early Hist.* p. 63. The like is done by Lanquet (cit. Ellis's *Pabyan* p. 31), and by Enderbie (*Cambr. Triumph.*), except that the former has corrupted the name into *Diwell*, and the latter into *Dinellus*.

^c *Myth. Druid.* p. 585.

Faber,^d with that plastic ingenuity which can form any thing out of any thing, turned it into a Hebrew stanza! I have no sort of doubt but it is pure British, and makes repeated allusion to the etymon of *Britain*; which was well known, although dissembled, by those who invented fables concerning Prydain ap Aëdd Mawr. May not those words,^e with the alteration of no more letters^f than is necessary to make them words at all, bear some such explanation as the following?

O'r anant oniant,
 " O Brith, y Brith oi!
 " Neu oes neuedd.
 " Brith, y Brithan, hai!^g
 " Syched eddi eu roi!"
 " Oh painted one, painted one, ho!
 " Truly there is a breathless expectation.
 " Painted one, Brithan (*the Painted-Man*) hasten!
 " Give them dryness of skirts!"

It is a supplication, by those about to embark, in favour of the rest who had no such advantage, and is addressed, in effect, to the King Manogan. Brithan is a title formed upon brith as Manogan is upon mauawg, Manawydan upon manawyd, etc. The poem then proceeds

^d Alas, my covenant! The covenant it is of Nuh.

The wood of Nuh is my witness.

My covenant is the covenant of the ship besmeared.

My witness, my witness, it is my friend.—Faber Or. Pag. Id. 3. 170.

^e If Mr. Davies had printed the preceding and following line in Hebrew letters, Mr. Faber would have turned *them* likewise into Hebrew, as Col. Vallancey turned a scene of Plautus into Irish.

^f Obrithibrithoi
 Nuocnuedi
 Brithibrithanhai
 Sychediedieuoi.

^g The interchanges of w, u, and ew; t and y; d, l, and dl; are frequently necessary for the correct reading of the old Welsh MSS.

^h Compare v. 76 of the *Prif Gyvarch*,
 Creawdyr, oro, hai! Hu hai!

to treat of a solemn sacrifice in which the victim was to be a *spotted* or *variegated* beast, buch *vreith*; and *vreith* is the feminine of *brith* in mutation. In that instance at least, we may trust, that *brith* is not the Hebrew word *berith*, a covenant.

William of Newbridge^c tells a tale of a boy and girl *whose bodies were entirely green*. They issued from a cavern in East Anglia called the Wolf-Pits, and stated that they came from the land of Saint Martin, where the sun never rose, but there was an everlasting twilight. They ate beans with avidity. This legend in my opinion relates to the secret orgies of the "*virides Britanni*" and the mysteries of Manogan and Brithan. This land of St. Martin is the same as the subterraneous land, beautiful, but obscure, and not illuminated with the full light of the sun, which Elidyr the Welsh Priest assured Giraldus he had visited, and in which he had learnt a peculiar jargon^d of words similar to Greek, but by committing a breach of faith with its inmates had lost all clue to discover their marvellous retreat. Mr. Roberts with much justice observes, that a lodge of Druidizing Britons is here spoken of. It may be supposed that those who became *manawg* in celebrating the rites of Manogan and Beli only underwent superficial *picture*, and not *tincture* or stigmatization with the tattooing needle.

II. In explaining the name Britain, so much use has been made of the Picts, that we had better finish speaking of them, and also mention the Scots. There is no longer any disputing that the Picts proper were Britons, and that their dialect was nearly^e allied to that of the Cymmry. They were the ancient Caledonians, who kept up the practice of painting or tattooing.

There was another tribe or nation called the Gwyddel Fichti or Irish Picts, who first came over to North Britain (as Tysilio says) in

^c W. N. I. c. 27.

^d Roberts Pop. Ant. p. 194. If they wanted water they said *udor udorum*, and if they wanted salt, *halgein udorum*.

^e Penuabel, Bede's Pictish for "head of the wall," is *pen y wâl*. See Bede 1. c. 12. And see Critical Essay on Scotland, by T. Innes, pp. 74-7, and the history and poems of Merddin Wyllt.

the interval between the death of Claudius and arrival of Severus, and of course then spoke a dialect of Erse. They were indebted to Carausius for their final establishment in the island, and became the authors of horrible ravages therein. The Picts in the days of Ammianus were of two races, the *Caledonians* and the *Vecturiones*. But *vectorium* is a Latin word formed from *vectura*, freight, or conveyance in ships, as *centurion* is from *centuria*; and it signifies those Picts who came from over seas in boats. These same were the Gwyddel Fichti. Tysilio, probably to reconcile a fabulous deduction of them from the *picti Geloni* and *Agathyræi* with their notoriously Irish origin, pretends that the original Gwyddel Fichti were Scythian men who married Irish women, and that the nation of Scots was the offspring of those nuptial unions.

This romancing has embodied so much of truth, that the Scots of this island^a were introduced later than the Gwyddel Fichti, and that they were of Irish origin likewise. The two tribes were (as Gildas says) *moribus ex parte dissidentes*, and visibly distinguished by the latter not staining their bodies; and they were therefore not Gwyddel Picts but simply Gwyddel or (in their own dialect) Gaidheal. Both acted in concert against the Roman province. No earlier mention is made of the Scots, than by Porphyry, as cited in St. Jerome. Ammianus records "the incursions of the *Picti* and *Scoti* wild nations" into the Province Britannia, in A. D. 360. We obtain from him three classes of barbarian clans to the north of the Roman dominion, *Picti Caledones* or *Ducaledones*, *Picti Vecturiones*, and *Scoti*; and these three were all, for the ferocious Britons called *Attacotti* were Roman subjects. I conceive it to be now a point beyond all discussion, that *Scoti* stands, both in ancient and middle Latinity, for Irishmen, and *Scotia* for Ireland; the proofs^b of it seem to be quite redundant. Gildas (followed by Bede) speaks of those whom he had just before termed *Scoti* and *Picti* as the "*grassatores Hiberni*" and the *Picti*.

^a Bede's statement is more nearly reduced to this point. But it contains one very curious fact. *Cum uxores Picti non habentes peterent a Scotis, eâ solum conditione dare consenserunt, ut ubi res veniret in dubium, magis de femineâ regum prospiciâ quam de masculinâ sibi regem eligerent; quod usque hodie apud Pictos constat esse observatum*, l. c. 1.

^b A mass of them may be seen in Thomas Messingham's Tractate on the Names of Ireland, a truly learned and convincing disquisition.

The Gwyddel Fichti were Irish, who had come over, by vectura, to assist the Caledones previous to their campaign against Severus, who formed a part of that league of "nations" hostile to Britannia," against whom he waged war and built his wall, and who, obtaining a regular settlement from Carausius, embraced the Ducaledon costume of skin, and entirely naturalized themselves in the Celyddon. They likewise adopted the British language, though (as it seems from Bede) not quite exactly. There is yet in existence an old and obscure^a historical poem on the affairs of the Gwyddel Fichti. But the mere Gwyddel, the Ysgodogion, or Scoti, were subsequent auxiliaries, who came over to join the Ducaledons and the Vecturions in harassing the province, and were increased in force from time to time by fresh armaments, which came over from Ireland for war and plunder, not for settlement. So they kept up their relationship with their mother island, and never chose to tinge their bodies with the glas. Claudian implies that subsisting relationship between the expeditionary Irish and their native isle, when he says of a campaign in Caledonia,

The frigid North with Pictish blood wax'd hot,
And drear Ierne mourn'd the slaughter'd Scot,

and he more expressly states it in these lines in which Britannia is personified and made to say,

Me Stilicho from many a neighbouring horde
(What time her Scotians all Ierne pour'd)
Preserv'd, forbade to shun the Pictish fight,
Or view the Scotie weapons with affright.

Notwithstanding their incursions in 360, it is probably true that king Niul or Nial Naoighiallach, i. e. of the Nine Hostages, who acceded to the Irish monarchy^c in A. D. 375 (if not in A. D. 379^d), first gave them a full establishment^e in Caledonia. They paid tribute to

^a Herodian.

^b See Arch. Myvyr. 1. p. 73. b. line 2 to 19, and the Digressions annexed to this volume.

^c Keating.

^d 1st annus Nialli Novi-obsidum. Annal. Tigernach. ed. O'Connor, p. 95.

^e Vit. S. Patric. cit. Keating's Hist. p. 312.

the Irish monarch, of which the amount became a dispute in the reign of Aodh and lifetime of St. Columba. They were called in Ireland the Dailriadha, meaning *the tributary people*, from dail a tribe or district, and riadha, interest, rent, or other reserved payment. Niul the Great, who was the scourge of this island and lord of all the Scoti, kept five hostages for the fidelity of Ireland and four for that of the Dailriadha. His was the master mind which, by giving the energy of union to many factious and divided clans, was enabled to overrun and almost to conquer a great and populous and wealthy province of the Roman empire.

The name Scot has been variously accounted for. In legend, from one Scota daughter of Pharaoh; and, in etymology, from Scythian, and from scuite, an Erse or Gaelic word for a wanderer. The Scottish writers affect the latter derivation, because it comes out of their own dialect; but that circumstance is really the one which disproves it. For in their own dialect there exists no such name for them as Scot or Scuit, but they term themselves Albannach or Gaidheal. Since, therefore, it was not from themselves that they received this appellation of wanderers, it must have been from their British neighbours. But no such word as scuite appears in the Celtic of South Britain. In the latter, the Irish were termed Gwyddel, woodlanders, from gwydd, trees or shrubs (which in Gaelic is expressed Gaidheal, and derived by their grammarians from gad, branches or twigs), Caledonia was termed Celyddon, coverts or thickets of wood, and the tribes who inhabited such thickets Celtiaid (Celts) or men of the covert. In exact analogy to those three phrases, the Welsh, in the earlier half of the 12th century, are found to apply the names Ysgodogion^a and Ysgotiaid, inhabitants of the woods, from ysgawd, shade, to the Scots, and that of Ysgot-iaith to the Gaelic language; for the Welsh word Gwyddel (by which title, slightly varied, the Scots of Albany called themselves) is more pecu-

^a Keating *ibid.* p. 518.

^b Meilyr *cit.* Owen's Dict. in *Ysgodawg*. And see *Gwyddel* *ibid.*

liarily applied to the Irish or Scots of Ireland. That the word Scot, a name as ancient in Britannia as the days of Ammianus and Claudian, but unknown either to the Gwyddelians of Erin or to those of Caledonia, was a name bestowed on them by their provincial neighbours, and a truncate form of Ysgot seems to be as fairly made out as most points in the history of language. These various words present us with the strict etymon of *savage*, viz. *selvaggio*, woodlander. The Attacotti, of whom Honorius formed two legions, were as I suppose the Brithon at y coed, "*bordering on the woodlands*." The race of the Ducaledonians was nearly destroyed by the Gwyddel Picts, Strathelyde Cymmry, Scots, and Saxons, and that of the Gwyddel Picts or Vecturions was ultimately destroyed by the Ysgotiaid, or its remnants incorporated with their number; while the latter remain under the denomination of Highlanders.

III. Seeing that Britain was a title which signified *the painted*, this island must at a remote period have had, as Pictavia more lately had, some other name more entirely proper to itself, and which the epithetic name superseded and partly abolished. And in fact it had so, for that name is preserved to us. The Aristotelian author *de Mundo* says, "in the ocean are the two greatest of islands, both of them called Bretanic, namely Albium ('Αλβιον) and Ierne, they are greater than those I previously mentioned, and lie beyond the Gauls." Pliny says, "opposite to the Rhine is Britannia, an island famous in the Greek authors and in our own. . . . Its own name^b used to be Albion ('Αλβιον), for that of Britannia was applied to all those islands which I am about to enumerate." But Ptolemy employs the Greek diphthong *ov* (which was sounded nearly or exactly as *u* in Italian, or *oo* in English, and, when compared with the Latin alphabet, often supplied the place of their semivowel *vau*,^c which latter was about equivalent to our *w* or *wh*) and so writes the name

^a C. 3, p. 6. This book is cited by St. Justin in the 2nd century. But whether it be as old as our era is unknown.

^b Hist. Nat. 4. c. 30.

^c Ougillios, Virgil, Ougarron, Varro, etc. etc.

"Alouion" or "Alwion." Agathemerus^a spells it as Ptolemy does, and is another good authority. Eustathius observes^b the two different modes of writing it; "the Bretanids are two islands, Ouernia, and Alouion, or otherwise, Bernia, and Albion." We may fairly presume that Ptolemy was not translating from any Latin authors, but following the orthography of some Greek authorities, more ancient and respectable than the anonymous book *de Mundo*. Avienus, and I believe he only, calls the people after the obsolete name of their island,

^c Here the Hibernians dwell, and next to these
Wide spreads the island of the Albiones.

If Pytheas or any of the early Greeks offered an explanation of this word, it has not come down to us. We generally hear it derived from the Ancient-Gaulish, Cambro-British, and Gaelic word *alp*, a lofty mountain, which is quite unsatisfactory. It is not true, that this is an island composed of lofty mountains, however apt such a description may seem to some antiquary at the foot of Snowdon or Ben Nevis. Besides, neither *p* nor *b* is capable of mutation into *w*; nor is the converse possible.

We must consider the ancient and correct form to be Alouion or (in Welsh) Alwion. That form, being never met with in Latin, must be considered as the Greek form. For, if that great geographer and philosopher, Ptolemy of Alexandria, did not adopt it in obedience to such authorities as Pytheas, Eratosthenes, Posidonius, and Isidorus of Charax, upon what imaginable grounds could he have adopted it? But the authority of the early Greeks, and especially Pytheas of Marseilles, is that upon which this name would entirely depend; for it was gone clean out of use when the Romans came hither. They modified its sound to suit an etymology furnished by their own language, but not existing in the Greek, *albus*, white. And they harped upon that idea so long, that it^d was adopted in the island itself while it was

^a Geogr. 2. c. 39.

^b Comm. in Dion. 506.

^c Ora Marit. 112.

^d Tyssilio says, that in Brutus's days it was called Albau . . . yn Gymraec *y wen ynys*. p. 114.

their province, and it was sometimes described as Ynys Wen, the White Island, by authors subsequent to the Roman government.

It were hard to say, what may have been the import of Alwion. Nor is the wonder great, if men are unable to discuss the etymology of a word which has been an obsolete one nearly 2000 years. The solution of such theorems is hardly to be expected. But it is a mere trifle to the men of now-a-days, and a Vallancey or a Drummond would not be slow of finding some similar sounds in Arabic or Coptic. The following observations are perhaps worth the making. Al^a is an enhancing and honorific, or perhaps merely formative, prefix and affix, particularly used in British names of places; as the chief town on the Clyde was called Alelyde, and so forth. It was so used, equally, whether the word preceding or following in the composition of the name was a substantive or an adjective. Al-wion therefore by analysis yields the prefix *al*, and *wion*. But, of the British words beginning in composition with *w* scarce an hundredth part really so begin, and they are mostly truncations of *gw*. We therefore obtain *al*, and either *wion* or *gwion*, but in all probability the latter. There is no such word as *wion* or as *gwion*. But, in the highest mysteries of the Neo-Druidism, Gwion is a proper name. He appears to be the ^bHermes or Mercury whom the ancient Britons revered above all other deities, and who (in the alchemic superstitions) presided over the permutations of nature. The circumstance, that Gwion's name has no assignable etymology, is much in favour of its high antiquity. Hermes is more usually styled in the Neo-British jargon Gwydion ap

^a See Owen in *al*.

^b Gwion son to Gwr-eang (the free-man) of Caer Einion (city of our God) superintended the magical cauldron of the goddess Ceridwen, from the liquor of which he obtained omniscience. He was pursued by that vindictive Pwy and hunted by her through nature in a series of transmigrations or metamorphoses, till at last he emerged in the form of *Taliesin* (glorious front); which is a title of the Sun assumed by the chief-priests of the solar mysteries. His wonderful story is told in the prosaic *Hanes Taliesin*, and is remembered by the people, who call a herb of some virtue Gwion's silver. The contents of the cauldron of Ceridwen are called in the poem *Cadeir Taliesin* "the stream of Gwion." See *Arch. Myvyr*. l. 17. and 38. *ibid.* p. 173. *Davies Myth.* 213, 229, 275.

Don, preserver of men, artificer of the rainbow, sublime astrologer, exorcist of evil spirits, and inventor of the hieroglyphic alphabet. The death of Aeddon of Mona is termed his departure from *the Land of^a Gwydion* into the ark, which latter is a Bardic symbol of the grave. Gwlad-Wydion is therefore either Britannia in general or Mona. Before the Romans came, our island was the supreme and appellate seat of the Druidical orgies and doctrine. That sect “shipped^b the god Mercury above all others, of him they had the most “numerous idols, they celebrated him as the inventor of all arts, and “they considered him as their guide in all voyages or journeys, and “as having the greatest influence over commerce and pecuniary gain.” Of all his forms and attributes that of Mercury the Merchant was the most revered throughout Celtica. His idol carried a large bag in its hand, and his Gallic inscriptions ran *Mercurio Negotiatori* and *Mercurio Nundinatori*; while, in the barbarous Latin of the Cymry, *Mercurius Mercator* (or *mercedis auctor*) could barely recognize himself as ^d*Marca Mercedus*. In the circumstance of carrying a bag, the Celtic Mercury seems to agree with Gwion, for the latter^e was termed Gwion Gwd, i. e. Gwion of the Bag,

Gwir a ddywed Gwion Gwd,
Truth speaketh Gwion of the Bag.

Conan and Cadwaladyr are termed by Golyddan “the two generous ones, the two bounteous, of the Land of the Merchant, Gwlad Warthe-gydd.” But the dies *Mercurii*, Wednesday, is “the day of the Merchant,” dydd Gwartheygydd.

Arwyre gwyr cattraeth gan dydd
A'm wledig gwaithvuddig gwartheygydd!
Urien hwn, anwawd ei newydd,
Cyveddail y teyrnedd, a'i gofyn rhyvelgar, etc.
Warriors arise to the battle-strand, at dawn of the day
Of my Lord the giver of success the Merchant!
Urien is here, to whom non-praise is unusual, etc.

Since it is nearly certain that Britain was called *terra Mercurii*,^f in

^a Arch. 1. p. 70.

^b Caesar 6. c. 17.

^c See Dom Martin *Rel. des Gaulois*. 1. 335. 356.

^d Arch. 1. p. 23.

^e Proverbs in Arch. Myvyr. 3. p. 161.

^f Arch. 1. 158. lb. 52. Mercury *Gicarthegawg*, i. e. profit-bringer, lb. 64.; for it is certain that Halarndor is Mercury. The architrave of the temple, mentioned p. 64, note r, exists, and is inscribed *Mercurio Sacrum* Lucius Tutclius V. S. L. M.

one way, I incline to the belief that Al-wion, Land of Gwion, Gwlad-Wydion, Land of Gwydion, and Gwlad-wartheygydd, Land of the Merchant, are all equivalents, meaning the Land of Hermes. The following verses of the Hanes Taliesin are commemorative of the mysterious Gwion.

For the momentary duration of nine months
I was in the belly of the hag Ceridwen.
Erewhile I was Gwion the Little
(Mi a vum gynt Wion Bach)
But Taliesin am I now ;

and so also is the verse of his Cyvarch,

Wyv hen, wyv newydd, wyv Gwion,
I am old, I am young, I am Gwion.

The above is nothing more than a conjecture deriving whatever probability it has from analogies of language and history, and freely left for the reader to adopt or reject. But I maintain, as a point of sound criticism, that the very ancient name of this island, of which Pliny speaks as being then obsolete, had been *Ἀλβιον* and not Albion.

Since Alwion (and not Albion) was the name which this island bore, long before the Romans had seen it, it follows that Alba, and Albainn, the Gaelic names of North-Britain, Caledonia, or Scotland, which signify the mountainous district or highlands, and *Albanach*, Caledonian or Scottish, (whence that of *Albanact* son of Brutus) are radically distinct words. Translating chlann *Alba*,^a sons of *Albion*, is part of that easy system which has discredited etymology. *High* or *Alp* is not an appellation derived to the north country from Alwion the ancient appellation of this entire island; but it is a local description of that particular district in which the Gwyddelodd or Gaidheal happened to settle themselves.

IV. The Welsh denominate themselves not Welsh but Cymmry, and sometimes Cymry. Some of their authors give out, that before ever the Romans (those men of yesterday) came hither, the Cymmry were the predominating tribe in the country, and the most ancient and lawful possessors of the whole island, by whom it was originally peopled under the hero-god Hu Gadarn, and from whom the Lloegrian

^a Armstrong Dict. in *Alba*. "The oldest name of Britain is *allowed* to have been Albion." Nobody has a right to allow that, of which the truth does not appear.

and Armorican races were descended. In accordance with this, they derive the name of their country, variously spelt Cymmro or Cymmr, from cyn, first or primitive, and bro, a country, or bru, a womb. We do not say cynmardd or cynmyd for cynvardd or cynvyd; and it is not explained to us for what reasons the bru or bro came to be aspirated^a after cyn. Dr. Owen, in his private edition of Llywarch, printed the words "cyd delai Cymru," and left his readers to meditate upon them. But afterwards, as Myvyrian^b editors of that poet, neither he nor his colleagues produced any Cymru either in the text or in the various readings. As this was not an opinion expressed but an action done, I leave it, without further remark, to be explained by those who can. The derivation in question is well exposed by an author in the Cambro-Briton;^c but his own pretensions are not more modest. He derives it from cyn, chief, supreme, "*the chief people*," as they confessedly were, for the sovereignty of the island belonged to them." Such pretensions are unreasonable from beginning to end. It is not likely that the inhabitants of the most remote and mountainous recesses of the west, should have been the noblest tribe of all Britannia in the days of Cassivellaunus and in the previous ages. But it is obvious, that as Roman conquest advanced, the last vestiges of native manners and independence would find refuge, and linger, in the more remote and inaccessible districts, least easy to conquer, and least worth the conquering. The like may be said of the archi-druidic station of Anglesea or Mona Taciti. It became such, not as Rowlands would have, because it was an agreeable and commodious island, but because the Romans had banished the accursed superstition from all its more central and accessible stations. Thus much is true; that, if any remains of British blood royal escaped entire subjugation and preserved a partial and tributary dignity, it was in the mountainous districts and minor islands at the west of the province. And when, in the empire's decline, they attempted the renewal of Celtic sovereignty, Cynedda, Cynan, Gwrtheyrn, Cystennin ap Cadwr, etc. etc. emerged from those quarters.

In any other sense, their vast pretensions are remote from the truth. Ancient geography has furnished us with a fair catalogue of

^a D and T sometimes are; B and P, it should seem, never.

^b See Owen's Llyw. p. 138. Myvyr. 1. p. 118.

^c Vol. 3. p. 205.

British tribes, districts, and towns, under the Roman empire, including those of the western coast. There was no such territory as Cymmro or Cymmru, no such tribe as the Cymmry. There were in our Wales, the Cangians, Cancanians, Monensians, Ordovicians, Demetians, Silurians, etc. But no Cymmry, Cimbri, Cumbri, or Cambri, were ever heard of by Ptolemy, Antoninus, the Notitia, or any Roman author either of history or geography. The antiquity of that appellation is a vain-glorious dream.

That name, like Britain, and indeed like all names in their first origin, was probably an *epithet*. Diodorus^a says, that “the Britons of Iris (Ireland) were supposed by some to be of the ancient race of Cimmerians, which name the course of time had contracted into *Cimbrians*.” Here is first the conjecture, and then the fact on which to build it; and we learn, that the latter name, Cimbrians, was once actually bestowed on the Irish. But it was not their country-name, for according to that they were Iridians. Therefore, it was epithetically, that they were called Cimbrians. We well know, what that epithet meant. Pompeius Festus says, “*robbers* are called *cimbrians* in the Gallic language,” and ^bPlutarch, that the Germans call robbers *cimbrians*. We must lay aside for the moment some prejudices of civilization. The words *cimber* and *latro* were not always infamous (*latrocinia nullam habent infamiam, quæ extra fines cujusque civitatis^c fiunt*) nor were illustrious Romans ashamed to bear them, as Tillius Cimber, Annius Cimber, and Porcius Latro. *Latro^d* was a warrior, which use of the word continued down to Plautus; and chessmen were *latrunculi*, little warriors.

There were among the barbarous nations two sorts of war. One, that was analogous to ours, *the diplomatic*, waged against some specific nation, for certain alleged grievances or violations of treaty, like that of the Gauls against Cæsar, or of Hengist against the Britons: and another, prædatory, and founded upon no colour of right, but directed against all who might have the ill fortune to lie in their path. It had no sanction, except the precepts of the horrid religion of Mars. Such were the wars of the Picts against Provincial Britain, the Teutons and Cimbrians against Italy, the Gauls against Greece and Asia Minor,

^a L. c. 32.

^b Vit. C. Mar. p. 411.

^c Cæsar B. G. 6. c. 23.

^d Festus in voc. Varro L. Lat. 6. p. 91. Plaut. Miles. 1. 1. 74.

and the Cilician pirates and Scandinavian sea-kings against all shores. These combatants, with the hand of Ishmael against all men, were *latrones* rather than *milites*, warriors rather than soldiers. Though by nation they might be Britons, Iridians, or Gauls, they were by practice *cimbrians*. Guerrier, kimper, kimber, says Father Rostrenen^a in his Breton Dictionary. They were exceeding proud of their own fierceness, rapacity, and cruelty, and made their great boast of them; we must, therefore, not wonder at people having called *themselves* Cimbrians.

Ancient writers, from observing the similarity of savage customs and neglecting the radical distinctions of language, were frequently either entirely confounding or incorrectly distinguishing the Celtic and Teutonic races; and that has made it doubtful to which the Cimbri of C. Marius belonged, and renders many texts of Appian and others equivocal. But these five considerations convince me that they were of the former.

1. The Teutones are only named in connexion with the Cimbri, who accompanied them on their famous expedition. They have no other place in history, and none whatever in the geography of Strabo and Tacitus. We know, what the Romans in their neglect of the Germanic tongues did not, that *Teutsch* and *Deutsch* are titles common to all the nations and dialects^b of that race; and that its meaning is "the Nations," being a word to distinguish that whole family of nations or tribes from the other races, and not one tribe from its fellow. From thence it should follow, that the Cimbri were not a branch of the Dutch stock.

2. There was no distinction in the character and purpose of the united Cimbri and Teutones; both waged a war purely prædatory, and

^a Those words, thus spelt, are Latinisms, like the *Cymbry* and *Camber* of St. Tysilio or W. de Mapes.

^b Claudian, secretary to a Vandal general in the Roman service, seems alone to have been aware of it,

Invectæ Rhodani Tiberina per ostia classes

Cinyphisque ferax Araris successit aristis,

Teutonicus vomer, Pyrenæique juveni.—Eutrop. l. 404.

without knowing or caring upon whom their rage might alight ; therefore to call the one *latrones*, which implies that the others were not so, would have been a complete falsehood, unless the word meant “ a Celtic robber,” or at least “ a robber not Teutonic.”

3. Plutarch says, that the combined horde was “ called by the common name of Celto-Scythians,” which implies the combination of two distinct races, and distinguishes them correctly.

4. The *Celts* who plundered Delphi under Brennus^a were termed *Cimbri*. And in that place Appian certainly uses the word *Celt* with correctness. For those were Gauls, of three Gallic tribes in the Southern^b part most remote from Germany, viz. the Tectosages, Trecomii, and Tolistobogi.

5. Philemon, cited by ^cPliny, asserts that the *Cimbri* in question called the northern ocean *Morimarusa* which in their language signified *the Dead Sea* ; but *Mor y Marw* even to this day is Welsh for *the Dead Sea*. Their race cannot be doubtful, if Philemon spoke true. Those who set them down for Germans, were deceived by the ^dgeographical situation of their feeble remnants.

The character of the ancient *Cimbrians* agrees with the explanation of that title. Strabo twice terms them “ a prædatory and wandering people,” and the *Cimmerians*, whose name Strabo (as well as Diodorus and Plutarch) identifies with theirs, are seldom mentioned but in respect of their migrations, irruptions, and ravages. Herodotus distinguishes^e the *Cimmerians* from the *Scythæ*, as Plutarch does the *Celts* from the *Scythæ* in the *Cimbri-Teutonic* migration. We have therefore no reason to doubt the prevailing opinion of antiquity which identified those two similar names. With the *Cimmerians*, as well as the *Cimbrians*, the name was an epithet or superadded title. The appropriate name of those *Cimmerians* who overran Asia^f was *Trerones*.

The ancient Irish had been termed *Cimbrians*, and had therefore been supposed to be descended from the *Cimmerians*. It is hardly to

^a Appian. Illyr. p. 833.

^c H. N. 4. c. 27.

^e Herod. 4. c. 1.

^b See Strabo 4. p. 200, etc.

^d See Tacit. Germ. c. 37.

^f Strabo 1. p. 90.

be thought that any German people gave them such a title. Cymmry is a Welsh title for the Welsh people, and we know that their Saxon neighbours neither gave them that title, nor even so much as adopted it from them, but called them Welshmen. We may therefore be quite satisfied, that the name was in the language of that race to which it was usually and, I believe, exclusively applied; that Festus (confirmed by Rostrenen) was right in saying that it was a Gaulish word for a robber or depredator; and that Plutarch was wrong in saying it was a German word for the same. The loose and unscrupulous Pezron has asserted "that Kimber^a or Kimper signifies a warrior in the "Celtic tongue, and bears the same signification among the Teutones or "Germans." This last assertion, which I believe to be false, would probably be explained away, by reference to the words kæmpfer, kampa, cempa, chempho, and kempfo, anglicè champions. Cimber is expressly said to have signified *robber*; and those words which correspond with it in modern British are cymmer, taking or capture, cymmer-wr, a man who takes, cymmeryd, to seize. Dr. Owen's Dictionary entirely keeps out of sight all idea of force or rapine, and restricts the idiom of those words to reception of things given or sold. But that of Mr. Walters^b permits us to know, that cymmeryd means *to take what is not given; to take a town in war; and to seize forcibly*, for which he cites Job iii. 6, and might have cited Job xxiv. 3, 1 Sam. viii. 13, 14, Ezek. xxix. 19, 38, 13, etc. etc.

The Cymmry of Britain are unknown to the geography of the island under the Roman Emperors. Wherefore did the country of the Ordovicians, Monensians, Silurians, etc. and that occupied by the Struthclyde Britons or 'Cumbrians receive the name of Cymru in the geography of Britannia after the Romans? I believe we must answer that question thus. When they became emancipated from Roman law and discipline, and were once more subject to their Celtic chieftains, they became cymmerwyr, and were distinguished as prædatory clans. That change began to take place in North Wales, about

^a Antiquities p. 8.

^b in *seize* and *take*.

^c Which is only the pronunciation of Cymmrans adapted to the Latin and Saxon alphabets, for the Welsh cym is our cum.

the time when Maximus was emperor here and Cynedda the ancestor of the Gwynethian princes had come over thither from the Isle of Man. They treated the Roman province, as the Gael of Scotland used to treat the Lowlands, and as the Lowland borderers used to treat our northern frontier. By these means they obtained from the civilized Britons the appellation of *the predatory clans*. They would not, in the outset of their career, have declined it themselves, or considered it any taint upon their martial glory. They were the only clans (unless the Cornubian recesses of the isle contained any similar spirits) in the Roman province, and within the nominal limits of Christianity, to whom it was applicable, and so it was a proper and distinguishing title.

The total silence of ancient history and topography is followed by this curious passage, in which Richard ^a of Cirencester, a monk of the fourteenth century, speaks of certain Cimbrians in South-western Britain. "In this arm of land, which stretches out from the district of the Hedui (*that of Ilchester and Glaston*) and which is intersected by the river Uxella, was situated that of the Cimbrians. It is not equally clear whether those gave unto Wales its modern appellation, or whether the origin of the Cimbrians is more ancient. Their chief towns^b were Termolus and Artavia. There are seen here the columns which the ancients called those of Hercules, and the isle of Hercules is not far distant. But from the banks of the Uxella river the ridge of mountains called Ocrine extends without interruption, and ends in the promontory (*Lizard*) of the same name. Beyond the Cimbrians, the Carnabians occupied the extreme angle of the island, from whence perhaps Carnubia obtained the name which it even now retains." This is a difficult morsel of geography. Uxella amnis of Ptolemy is

^a c. d. s. 16. He may have taken these names from Neo-British Latinists, such as Melkin of Avallonia or Ninlaw of Bangor, or from the Gothic geographers who are referred to by Anonymus Ravennas. I believe his *fragmenta quædam a duce quodam Romano consignata*, which he consulted for his *Itinerarium*, are nothing more than the *Itinerarium Antonini*.

^b There are names partly similar in Ravennas; "Uxelis, *Vertevia*, Melarnoni, Scadum Nemorum, *Termorin*." 5. p. 107. Gronov.

the æstuary of Bridgewater. Uxella urbs of Ptolemy is Lostwithiel in Cornwall, on the river and above the haven of Fowey. If Richard's Uxella amnis were at Bridgewater, he would declare that Mount Ocrine stretched in continuity from Bridgewater to the Lizard, which it is incredible that he should do. He means to say, from the Fowey river to the Lizard Point. The Damnonii of Richard extended coast-wise from Dorset to the Fowey (his Uxella amnis) in our Cornwall. Richard's Uxella urbs (Lostwithiel) was in their territory. No place remains in the great brachium for his Cimbri, but in those North-western parts of Cornwall, where Bodmin, Camelford, Bossiney, etc. are situated; including likewise some part of our North Devon, for it passes doubt that Herculis columnæ and insula Herculeæ are Herty-point and the isle of Lundy. Stukeley fixes Termolus and Artavia at S. Molton and Tintagel. We may collect thus much from Richard of Cirencester, that, after the decline of the Roman emperors, the marches of Cornwall as well as those of Wales were infested by people who merited the title of Cymmry. The common story is,* that Wales and Cornwall were the two portions of the Roman dominion which remained under the local authority of British dynasts. No doubt they were the most imperfectly reclaimed and the earliest to break loose. We find that both the one and the other were decorated with the same epithet of savage praise and civilized abhorrence. Richard, who avowed his ignorance how ancient the Cimbri of the western brachium were, did not hesitate to declare that the name was a *modern one* in Wales. The total disappearance of the South-western Cymmry is capable of explanation. The most violent ebullitions of British independence were Cornish. Arthur was of Cornwall, and came from Tintagel, which was perhaps Artavia Cimbrorum. His party was crushed in the dreadful war of Camlan, commonly thought to have been waged in those parts. The Cornish Constantine's ephemeral reign succeeded; and then no more is heard of South-western Britain in the annals of fame. In those days its Cymmry were swept from the earth. After the destruction of that turbulent people, the

* See Warrington's Wales, Rowlands's Mona, etc.

name of Cornwall obtained those more extended limits, which as Richard explains to us it did not possess in the times he is alluding to.

When the Britons of the Celtic tongue had got the upper hand of the provincials, and set to in good earnest to colour and disguise their annals, they did not omit to provide for this most untoward word. But they were not so astute as to say that it was a compound of *cyn* and *bro*. They said, that "the country of Cymbry received its name from *Camber*^a second son of Brutus." That fiction was best adapted to the foreign market, since the natives of Wales did not use *a* and *y* as permutable vowels. Probably foreigners were the only persons whom, at that time, it was possible to deceive on such a point.

The Cymmry were not the only or the first robber-nation in Britannia. The warlike Brigantes were among the strongest tribes of ancient Britain. Their name signifies *a violent depredator*.^b Brigand, voleur à main armée, *brigand* pl. *briganded*, says Rostrenen. In process of time the Britons became distinguished from this marauding race, as the Lloegrwys of later days were from the Cymmry. Claudius seems hardly to have acknowledged them as part of the nation;

Ille Britannos,
Et cœruleos
Scuta Brigantas.

V. The country which calls itself Cymmro is called by its next neighbours Wales (*pays de Galles*), a title involving some difficulties, but admitted to be of no remote antiquity. *Gwâl* has been employed by authors of recent date^c for *Gaul* and as a poetical designation of

^a Tysilio p. 117. Roberts p. 33.

^b See Owen in *Brigant*. Hence brigantine, a piratic vessel, and a brigandine, the armour of a soldier of fortune. The root of this very ancient word is not entirely lost. It exists in *brigh*, wealth or possessions (Gaelic), *prig*, a thief (old cant), and in *brigue*, *prensatio*, poursuite ardente pour obtenir, *briguer*, *prensare*, tâcher d'avoir. Richelet.

^c Owen Dict. in *Gwâl*.

France, but early Welsh authors do not use it as a proper name, nor do any use it as a name for their own country. The verse in a strange production ascribed to Taliesin, upon which Mr. Walters relied on the other hand, "they shall lose their lands, excepting wild Wallia, ond gwyllt Wallia," can only suffice to shew that the districts retained by the Britons were called *Wales* by others, at an earlier time than some have assigned to that foreign appellation. Because the author, by adding the Latin termination to this name, as to Germania, Asia, homicida, and others, indicates that it was not a Welsh word. It has been generally thought that the remnant of Britannia was so entitled after Cadwallader and his family had renounced their claims upon the whole island; and so totally unknown was the etymology of *Wales* in Wales, that it was derived from a certain Gwala, who is said to have been a daughter of Cadwallader. Foreigners have annexed the same word to the name of the British province of Cerniw, making it Cornu-galles and Cornou-wailles, but such use of it is again equally unknown to the native dialects.

The word of the Anglo-Saxons for a stranger, a person not of their nation, *wealh*, is the word in question. They call the Cymmry Bret-wealhas or British-foreigners, in deference to their long possession of the British monarchy, the Cymmry of Strathclyde or Cumbrians Strathclæd-wealhas, and the Cornish people Cern-wealhas. In the German or High-Dutch the adjective *welsch* or *wälsch* expresses *foreign*, *exotic*, and the Italians are the *Welsch* or *Wälsch*. In the Low-Dutch, that part of Gallia Belgica in which the Teutonic is not spoken is *Wals-land*, and its people the *Wallen*. The part of Italy (now so termed) which extends from the Alps to the Rubicon was the Cisalpine and afterwards the Togate Gaul. Therefore it seems that the name *Wälscher* signified a Gaul. By what name did the Germans call the inhabitants of Transalpine or Comate Gaul, before the fifth or sixth century? Doubtless, by that name. Afterwards the Franks transferred their own to it, and the other Germans adopted that change. But the use of the name *Wallen* in Belgica is a remnant of its general application to every Gaulish country. From which state of the case, I am led to the conviction that the words

Wal, Wealh, Welsch, and Wälsch, were all primarily applied to that extensive family of tribes which we distinguish from the Teutonic towards the West; and that, whenever it obtained the general force of *stranger* or *foreigner*, it has been among such tribes of Teutons as had then little collision with any other description of foreigners. In like manner as the Persian Magi, having been the rankest infidels with whom the early Mahometans had to deal, lent their name (Giaour) to persons not Mahometan of every kind. And, to choose an instance more immediately appropriate, in like manner as the Cambro-Britons extended the use of the word Allman (Alamannus) a German, pl. Ellmyn, Germans, to signify generally *any foreigners*.

If this be so, it is evident enough that Wal and Gaul are one word, and that the former is the regular truncation of Gwal. That remark leads directly to the important question of the appellations Celta or Celtus and Gallus or Galates. Concerning them, there exists a great confusion of authorities and opinions; and the only clear light upon them is to be had from the British tongue. In it,^a coverts or woodlands are styled *celt* and the wild inhabitants of the woods *celtiaid*; and in the allied dialect of Erse, coilletean signifies woodlands, and coillteach a woodlander. The analogy of Gwyddel, an Irishman, Gaidheal in contraction Gael, an Irishman or Highland Scot, Ysgotiaid, Scots, and Celyddon, Caledonia, all of which words denote woodlanders or woodlands, seems conclusive in favour of that etymology of Celtica and its people the Celtæ. In the same language gwal is interpreted to mean an enclosed agricultural district, a cultivated field, or a garden, and thence gwala, abundance, fullness, sufficiency, and gwalad, order, arrangement. Gal (as well as gwal) means cleared and reclaimed land as opposed to sylvan wilds, tir gal^b heb anialwch, “a land that is cultivated and without a wilderness.” We can perceive that Gallus or Galates and Celta were used by the ancients distinctively, and were only synonymous

^a Owen D. in vocabs. Cambro-Briton 1. p. 373. With no disposition to impugn these assertions, but the contrary, I would suggest that one good authority cited gives more satisfaction than many such.

^b Cit. Owen Dict. in *gal*.

among the vulgar and inaccurate. But, if their meanings are distinct, reason requires us to select for the others that etymon which has such a precise relation of antithesis to celt, viz. gwal or gal. Thus Gallus is a cultivator of cleared lands, and Galates, an orderly or civilized man. There was rarely such a combination of letters in either Greek or Latin as the gamma and the digamma or vau both together preceding a vowel; that is to say, it was not in the genius of their tongues to write Gvallus or Γοβαλατης, and therefore they preferred to say Gallus^a and Galates.

The distinction in question, between the sylvan tribes with martial, nomadic, and venatic habits, and the sedentary and semi-civilized tribes, is said by Dr. Owen (and perhaps rightly) to have conferred upon *gal* its secondary sense of *an enemy*, because the savage people or true Celts regarded them as their enemies. But had he well considered the effect which that gloss upon their language may have on the character of his *Cymmry*, derived forsooth from cyn and bro? That distinction which existed in the Celto-Gallic race, and which accounts for its two distinguishing appellations, did not exist in the Teutonic or Germanic, nor scarce in any other of the European barbarians. For they, until they conquered the Roman empire, continued to follow their savage ways.

A passage of the very first importance in Pausanias shews that the order in which the two names came into use is agreeable to the respective meanings of celt and gwal, and to the order by which barbarism precedes improvement. For, says he, "the practice of calling them Galatæ came^b late into vogue, and in ancient times they were "called Celti both by themselves and others." Though in probability that practice is older, no earlier instance of it is known to us than^c occurs in Callimachus. When Cæsar^d visited Britain the men of Kent "were by far the most humane, and their customs differed but "little from the Gaulish. Most of the people in the interior sowed

^a Gaule is merely the Romance Latin, as saule for salix, sault for saltus, etc.

^b Paus. 1. c. 3.

^c Temp. Ptolem. Philadelph. So says Spanheim on Hym. Del. 184.

^d B. Gall. 5. 14.

“no grain, but lived on flesh and milk, and wore skins.” The former were a society of the Gaulish or Galatic kind, while the latter were but a degree better than absolute Celts. The transition which had occurred on the continent within the memory of Pausanias’s authorities was still incomplete in the island.

As far as regards this particular passage of etymology, the articles *celt*, *gwal*, and *gal*, in Dr. Owen’s Dictionary^b may be consulted with advantage; though the first of those three is not duly authenticated. The languages of ancient Gaul and ancient Britain were described by Agricola as differing only in a slight degree.

VI. The anonymous geographer of Ravenna, who is supposed to have flourished in the 9th century, made use of certain Gothic authors, Athanasius, Eldevald, and Marcomir. Among other things which he cites on their authority is a name of this island otherwise entirely unknown to me, *Micosmis* or *Micosmi*. It does not appear with certainty, whether he cites the Goths as saying that the Greeks so called it, or whether *Græcorum* is only an erroneous reading for *Gothorum*. In *L. 1. p. 6.* he says *Græcorum philosophi quasi Micosmin appellant*, and in *L. 5. p. 107.* *Gothorum philosophi quasi Micosmi appellant*. I believe that the former is the case. This barbarous author means to express, that certain Greek philosophers of the Lower Empire denominated Britannia *Microcosmis*, Island of the Microcosm or Little World. We perceive that the revolution which changed the face of Britannia materially altered her geography and topography. The *Cymmry*, i. e. Depredators or Snatchers of Wales, Cumbria, and the Cornish Marches, are not the only people who obtained a new appellation. That bulk of the island which lies south of Humber and east of Severn obtained, in the Post-Roman æra, the title of *Lloegyr*, and its people, of *Lloegrwys*; phrases unheard of throughout antiquity. The *Lloegrians* were chiefly reclaimed to the Latin language and manners, and not less detested by the *Cymmry*

^b As this is going to press the newspapers announce the death of that zealous writer; which the author of these pages regrets, because of the frequent occasion he has to animadvert upon his productions.

than even the Saxons were ; and the term was, no doubt, merely one applied to them by the tribes of the Celtic tongue in no friendly spirit, and not one employed by themselves. Lloegyr signifies⁴ the Staggering Calf, or the Scampering Calf. The vocabulary contained in the 5th book of Ravennas is a specimen of that ephemeral geography which prevailed in the island, during the strange interval between the Roman empire and the Saxon conquest. The name Gwynedd, Guoienit, or Venedotia, for North Wales, belongs to the geographical vocabulary of that period.

⁴ Llo a calf, and ehegyr, staggering, or precipitate motion. Dr. Owen derives it from lloeg, having a tendency to open or break out, and that again, from llo, what is thrown out, and eg, what is open, plain, or clear ; but he is unable to adduce any instances of those words being thus used, or of the first being a word at all. The war-god of the Cymmry was worshipped under the emblem of a Bull, the *Tarw Tris*, therefore the less warlike neighbouring country was *Llo-Ehegyr*.

BRITANNIA AFTER THE ROMANS,

ETC. ETC.

CHAP. I.

BRITAIN UNDER THE ROMAN EMPERORS.—ELEVATION OF TYRANTS, AND
ITS TENDENCY TOWARDS SEPARATION.—CARAUSIUS.—MAXIMUS
AND HIS WIFE.—COLONY OF LITTLE BRITAIN IN ARMORICA.—
VINDICATION OF ITS HISTORY.—MARCUS.—GRATIANUS MUNICEPS.

Tyrannorum virgultis crescentibus et in immanem sylvam jam jamque erumpentibus, insula nomen Romanum nec tamen morem legemque tenens, quin potius abiciens, germen sue plantationis amarissimæ ad Gallias, magnâ comitante satellitum caterrâ, Maximum mittit.—GILDAS.

§. 1. THE history of Britain under the Roman empire and before the approach of its dissolution does not contain much controvertible matter. Cæsar's two expeditions exhibit little but what we might have expected from their nature. They were powerful reconnoissances, which sufficed to establish the superiority of Roman over British tactics, and the possibility of a conquest, but were not sufficient to subjugate a numerous and fierce people.

Cæsar imposed upon Cassivellaunus and his subjects an annual tribute payable to the Roman people. But, though he says that he fixed it, he does not state its amount. This imperfect conquest must have raised a great fear among the Britons of a more complete one,

and, being speedily followed by the civil wars, might naturally make them averse to the Cæsarean party. To this cause I refer the embassy of the British kings to Cato, of which John Tzetzes speaks, and erroneously understands it of Cato the Elder, in whose time Britain was wholly unknown to the Romans. "The fame of Cato" (he says) reached even to Britannia, and the kings of the Britons, "desiring to make him their friend, sent to him ambassadors with "coffers of gold." The rest of the story is merely that he declined their gold and promised to them his unbought friendship. This must relate to the hero of Utica. Whether the tribute was ever paid at all, may well be doubted. The lines of Horace

*Intactus aut Britannus ut descenderet
Sacra catenatus via*

seem inconsistent with any practical results to Cæsar's victory. It certainly cannot be credited that the Britons continued to remit their tribute during the remainder of his life and during those of Augustus, Tiberius, and Caius. Augustus meditated an invasion of Britain, which Horace esteemed so hazardous that he addressed a prayer to the Antian Fortune to protect him,

*Serves iturum Cæsarem in ultimos
Orbis Britannos!*

He seems to have reckoned the Britons as completely independent of Augustus as the Parthians were,

*præsens divus habebitur
Augustus adjectis Britannis
Imperio gravibusque Persis,*

and his words,

* Chliad. 10. v. 648.

Pestemque a populo et principe Cæsare in
 Persas atque Britannos
 Vestrà motus aget prece,

clearly shew that Britannia was dehors the empire and not esteemed in any sense a part of it. Those schemes of Augustus, if ever seriously entertained, were never effected. Therefore, when the same poet says to him,

*Te belluosus qui remotis
 Obstrepit Oceanus Britannis,
 Te non paventis funera Galliæ
 Duræque tellus audit Iberiæ,*

he merely signifies that the ships of Augustus were, by his possession of the Gaulish coasts and havens, masters of the British sea. Tiberius left the island unmolested. And Caius made himself ridiculous by solemnly announcing to the senate and consuls the surrender of Britain, because Adminius an exiled son of King Cynobeline had taken refuge in his court. Cynobeline died in possession of his country.

After his death, Claudius by his generals and in person wrested the greater part of the island from his sons, Caractacus and Togidumnus. His conquests were preserved and extended, though with some vicissitudes of success, during a series of cruel wars in the reigns of Nero, Vespasian, and Domitian. The second capture of Mona by Agricola and his chastisement of the Caledonians gave consistency to the Roman province of Britannia.

The ancient superstition and barbarism of the Britons no longer met with toleration, or found an asylum, except in Ireland, Man, and Caledonia. But, until the breaking up of the empire, they were only formidable in the last-mentioned direction. To ward off attacks from thence, Hadrian and Severus constructed their famous ramparts on

the line from the Solway to the Tyne. The lieutenants of Antoninus Pius took in a larger territory, and constructed a rampart from the Clyde to the Firth of Forth, in order to protect from the incursions of the Brigantes a certain portion of the province then called^b *the Genunian district*, ἡ Γενουνία πόσις. This attempt at enlargement was not permanently successful, inasmuch as Severus was contented to refortify the line of Hadrian and abandon that of Antonine. The intermediate country was not reconquered till the expedition^c of Theodosius, who named it Valentia, and then but imperfectly and ephemerally.

From Claudius to Constantine, the arts, language, and civilization of Rome were diffusing themselves over the island. In the days of Trajan and Hadrian, "the Romans occupied (saith^d Appian) the "choicest portion of Britain and they found that even that was un-
"productive," whereas it afterwards became in their hands the most overflowing granary^e of the West.

From Constantine to Honorius the influence of Christianity was exerted throughout the empire by its rulers. But, in the reign of the

^b Pausanias §. c. 43. "Ordovicia (says Richard of Cirencester) with the countries of the Cangians and Carnabians was distinguished by the name of Genunia, under the emperors who succeeded Trajan, unless I have been misinformed." c. vi. §. 25. He must have been so; for North Wales lying about 100 miles within the wall of Hadrian, could not possibly have required the more remote rampart of Antonine for her protection. Reason would suggest that Cumberland, whose shores from Carlisle towards Whitehaven were accessible to marauders crossing the Firth of Solway, derived no adequate protection from the first wall, and was the Genunia on account of which the second was built.

^c After that event, Britannia was styled in official documents *Quinque Provinciae*. See Gothofred. de Stat. Pagan. p. 24.

^d Pref. c. 5.

^e Ammian. 18. c. 2. Zosim. 3. p. 145. Eunapius in Legat. cit. Vales. in Ammian.

latter, barbarism and heathenism had again raised their heads in defiance of the Roman empire and of the church ; and, of those edifices, that, which human ambition had reared and human hands could shake, was broken to pieces.

This was effected in most instances by *conquest* from without, and by the arms of Goths, Franks, Vandals, etc. But in Britain it was effected by *separation*. In the former cases the conquerors embraced the faith and manners of the conquered and lent their ears to the word of God. But, in the latter, the separated province abandoned the religious tenets of the empire and the institutes of civilization.

These extraordinary occurrences were preceded by circumstances tending to a separation ; to appreciate which, we must give a moment's notice to the tyrants who sprung up in Britannia.

§. 2. The Roman Empire was an institution founded upon religious imposture and military usurpation. It appears evidently that it was the former, from the Sibylline prophecies put forward in the *Æneis* and *Bucolics* of Virgil, the apotheosis of Julius, the atrocious orgies performed to his Manes at the Perusine Altars, his catasterism in the Julian Star, the pretensions of his successor to be an incarnation of the Sun predicted by the Sibyl, (of which the evidences may be seen in his *Life* by Suetonius and in the *Commentaries* of Servius) and from the styles of God, such as *Majestas*, and *Divus*, not to add *Augustus*, assumed by all who reigned in the succession of the *Cæsars*. The very word *Imperator* expresses that the system was one of military usurpation, for it merely means a generalissimo or person holding the highest rank of military command ; and the dictatorial extent of its power may be inferred from the verb *impero*.

The imposture of religion was mainly founded on the pretended descent of the *Cæsarean* family from *Æneas* and on the destined

restoration of the *Æneadæ*. But the show of legitimacy came to an end with Nero, the sixth and last of the *Æneadæ*. He was followed by a long succession of autocrats, who reigned as the *Æneadæ* had reigned, and were Quasi-Cæsars, proclaimed by the senate or, more usually, by the soldiers, who compelled that body to ratify the acts their acclamation had carried. In the confusion to which such a system gave rise, the purple robe was assumed by many generals to whom the Romans denied the "Imperial Majesty," and styled them Tyrants. Not less than thirty such are spoken of, as having sprung up during the reign of Gallienus son of Valerian. It is not very obvious, what constituted *Majestas Imperatoria* (or, literally, *the Deity commanding armies*) and what, a *Tyrannus*. Whoever assumed the purple, without either occupying the city, or obtaining a formal recognition from the senate, or from the previously recognized and lawful emperor, was liable to be so called. Such recognition afterwards would purge the tyranny; but it was sometimes given deceitfully, or made null on the plea of compulsion, as Carausius, Maximus, and Constantinus experienced.

But the province, whose legions set up a Tyrant, was not accounted rebellious *towards Rome*, nor were the Gauls, Britons, or Spaniards to be esteemed as having shaken off the conquest, and re-established their native commonwealths or monarchies, however they might for the moment obtain a resident sovereign. The Tyrannus was a Roman officer, he arrayed himself in all the Cæsarean insignia, surrounded himself with consuls, a senate, a prætorian prefect and guards, and legions, and in every particular acted, to the best of his means, the part of a just and proper emperor. By the very hypothesis which he maintained, which was admitted within the limits of his district, and which was controverted by the authorities of the

metropolis, the laws and customs of the Roman empire continued in force. Occupying a part, he claimed all, and sought the earliest opportunity of reducing the City into his power.

Nevertheless, it would often happen that he was, in effect, assimilated to the king of a distant kingdom ; a large portion of his senators and his military forces being necessarily drawn from the territory which obeyed him.

In process of the Empire's decline, when the Colonies and Municipia were in a decaying state and the legionary garrisons weak, it was natural that the local Tyrannis should become more similar to a national monarchy within its limits, than it previously had used to be. But still, and always, the Tyranni were emperors, not kings, and governed in the name of the Eternal City, and in imitation of her laws and usages.

The magnitude, compactness, naval power, and defensibility of Great Britain, gave to its Imperial Tyrannis, a peculiarly national character, and at all times threatened a more permanent dismemberment to the Empire than the same attempts did in other provinces. The Tyrants who arose successively in Britannia, and of whom as Saint Jerome says "that province was fertile," were paving the way for the restoration of a British kingdom in an ulterior stage of the decay of the Empire.

§. 3. The interval of seventy-six years, from the departure of Bassianus Caracalla from the island and the rise of Carausius, contains nothing to gratify the vanity and exercise the inventive propensities of the Britons, unless it be the history of Posthumus. And that interval was suppressed by them with an unusual degree of hardihood ; for they did not scruple to make Carausius defeat and slay

Bassianus! The same error or misrepresentation occurs in the admirable Gaelic poems *Comala* and the *War of Caros*, which make *Caracalla* and *Carausius* cotemporary warriors upon the Caledonian border. Whether some common source of error long ago infected both Welsh and Gaelic tradition on this head, or whether Mr. Macpherson took his chronology from Geoffrey of Monmouth, I will not determine.

Marcus Cassius Posthumus ^f was governor of Gaul under Gallienus, and preceptor to his son; but he was proclaimed by the military in that province, by whom also his young ward was murdered. He reigned at Treves for ten years with great capacity and success, and was much beloved by the nations over whom he presided. His empire extended over Gaul, Spain, and Britannia, as appears ^g from his medals, and was chiefly composed of Celtic materials. *Isca* is known to have been one of his garrison towns in Britain. He seems to have courted the favour of the barbarous nations by blending their superstitions with the religion of Rome; if we may judge by those coins which represent him with the legends ^h *Hercules Magusanus* and *Hercules Deusoniensis*, names of a Gaulish Deity. The British Chronicles take no notice of him or his reign, perhaps from ignorance, or perhaps because he never visited the island, but ruled it as a mere province.

Soon after came the reign of Diocletian which restored some vigour to the Roman state. But that reign was remarkable for an Imperial Tyrannis of which the schismatic purple did, in effect, but robe the person of a King of Great Britain, and perhaps also of Ireland. *Carausius* (or ⁱ *Carausio*) was a Menapian of obscure birth,

^f Men. de L'Acad. tom. 30, p. 356.

^h See Dom Martin Relig. des Gaulois 1. p. 28, 9.

ⁱ Aur. Vict. Epit. p. 220.

who had risen by his valour to the highest military trusts. In the Cæsars of Aurelius Victor he is termed "a citizen of Menapia;" which is an ambiguous phrase. There was a tribe of Belgians near the Meuse called Menapii in whose country the Romans had a station called Castellum Menapiorum, now Kessel, but there was no city Menapia except that of Wexford in Ireland. I therefore suppose (though in opposition to his biographer Monsieur Genebrier) that Carausius was an Irishman. He invited the Franks to invade Batavia, upon which the Panegyrist Eumenius observes, that they occupied Batavia under the sanction of its *quondam alumnus*. But, for that matter, if he was once a native of the Low Countries, he could never cease to be so. The words in question rather signify a man whose extraction was derived of old from those countries; for Menapia in Wexfordshire was founded by certain of the Geldrian Menapii, and was one of the colonies of Fir-Bolg¹ or Belgians settled in Ireland. The Bruts (for as much as they are worth) admit the meanness of his birth, but maintain that he was of a British family. There seems to be no reason for thinking that Mynyw or St. David's in Pembroke-shire was ever called Menapia. Richard of Cirencester has the following² absurd passage, speaking of Menapia in Ireland. "From hence to the Menapia which is situated in Demetia the distance is thirty miles, as *Pliny relates*. One of these was the birth-place of Carausius, but it is uncertain which." Now it so happens, that Pliny does not say a word about either Wexford or St. David's. Menevia is the usual Latin for Mynyw, and the other style, Menapia,

¹ Rich. Cirenc. Hibern. s. 14. p. 217. ed. Dyer. Wood's Prim. Inhab. of Ireland, p. 100. Cæsar mentions that the Belgians, when founding colonies in Britain, always retained the names of their native lands respectively.

² Rich. c. 8. s. 14. ed. Dyer.

was a thing got up by modern British chicane, in order to find a place for Carausius in this isle. Before Dr. Stukeley interpreted M. C. on the coins of Carausius Menapiæ cusa and M. S. R. Menapiæ signator rogarum, and inferred the existence of a mint at St. David's, he should have produced some evidence of that place having been called Menapia.

Carausius, having been entrusted with the government of Armorica and the district of Boulogne, and with the Roman fleet in the channel, (by means of which he took from the Barbarian pirates an immense spoil, which he had previously connived at their amassing) "assumed the purple and 'occupied the Britannias.'" The proper force of that phrase^m is to include Ireland. It is on record, that Carausius first established the Gwyddelian Picts, an Irish colony, in North Britain; which circumstance strongly confirms us in thinking he was an Hibernian adventurer.

He retained possession of Britain during five years, by his maritime power and skill, notwithstanding "the superb fleets that "were built and equipped" simultaneously in all the rivers" of the Gauls to overwhelm him. After vain endeavours which were defeated by his consummate^o generalship, the Emperors Diocletian and Maximian came to terms of peace with him. The accounts of his maritime command, piracies, and treachery, as given in the Welsh

^l Eutropius 9. c. 21.

^m Albion ipsi nomen, cum Britannia omnes vocarentur. Plin. 4. c. 30. 25. c. 6. 33. c. 6. See Arist. de Mundo p. 3. Dion. Geogr. 500. Catullus 29. c. 21. But it may mean the two governments into which Severus divided this island, or the four which Constantine established under the names of Britannia Prima, Secunda, Maxima, and Flavia, and which were known to Eutropius, though not to Carausius. His subsequent words ita Britannia recepta rather favour the latter interpretation.

ⁿ Cl. Mainert. c. 12.

^o Eutrop. 9. c. 32.

Chronicles, are nearly accurate. Carausius (adds the Brut) planted the Gwyddel Fichti, i. e. Irish Picts, in North Britain; which he probably did, in order to defend himself against hostile clans. The Ossianic poems speak of "the war of Caros," in which Caros the King of Ships, is described as waging war against the non-pict Gael under Oscar, near the wall of Agricola. It is likely enough that some such wars as *the War of Caros* may have occurred; and that, for reasons probably unknown to Macpherson. There is, therefore, some probability that the War of Caros may be an oldish Gaelic poem and not an invention of his. Other considerations preclude us from supposing it even to approach the antiquity it claims. Carausius occupied the Britannias eight years, about the end of which time one of his generals, Allectus, whose visage on the coins seems to bespeak him a Roman, slew Carausius and took possession of the tyrannic purple.

Previously to the death of that illustrious adventurer the Romans had prepared a fresh expedition against the island, under Constantius, who took Boulogne from him by the most extraordinary exertions, and sent forward the prætorian prefect Asclepiodotus into Britain. By him the usurper Allectus (then reigning) was defeated and slain (before the arrival of Constantius) in a battle, the magnitude of which may be conjectured by its bequeathing its name to the Maes-Elect or Field of Allectus, the site of which is not well known. The Bruts affirm, that the Roman legionary troops of the Tyrannus were in garrison at London under one Lilius Gallus at the time of this battle; while Eumenius congratulates Constantius that few Romans had been slain, and that nearly all the bodies had the dress and long red hair of the barbarians. It seems, therefore, that the former contain, in this instance, some spice of authentic history.

The forces of Carausius consisted of one Roman legion, some

cohorts of regular auxiliary troops, and a great number of Franks and other barbarians whom he attracted to his banners, and all of whom (if Eumenius^p may be credited) he trained to the naval service. The character of Carausius, as a ruler of Britain, is not blamed by the Chroniclers, while that of Allectus is condemned for its cruelty; which distinction the Roman panegyrist indirectly confirms, by observing upon the great disaffection of the Britons to the cause of Allectus.

It is evident that Britannia was upon this occasion nearly separated from the Empire and established as an independent monarchy, upon the true basis of its independence, its maritime power. The example set by Carausius would not have wanted imitators, but for a circumstance which soon after occurred to reconcile the island to the Empire.

§ 4. The Emperor Constantius, who had been beloved to veneration in the Gauls, spent the rest of his days in Britannia, where his good qualities were not less appreciated. He had previously married a woman of low birth by name Helena, whom the Britons claim for their countrywoman; but, probably, if his destinies had not led him as a re-conqueror to our shores, no such claim would have been raised. He had also, when stationed at Naissus in Dacia, had a son by her, whom he named Constantine. Upon the death of Constantius, which took place at York in 306, (if not previously) his son was proclaimed Cæsar, and continued attached to and beloved by the island in which he had spent his boyhood, and reaped his great inheritance. There can be no stronger proof of his sentiments than this, that the inflated panegyrist of him and his father scarcely

^p Paneg. Constantii c. 12.

lavish more exaggerated praise on them than on Britannia. "Oh fortunate Britannia, and now more fortunate than all other lands, who didst first see Constantine¹ a Cæsar! With good reason did Nature endow thee with every gift of climate and soil, with temperate coldness in winter and heat in summer, harvests so abundant as to suffice for the uses of both Ceres and Bacchus, forests devoid of terrible beasts, lands uninfested by venomous serpents, etc. etc. Ye gods, how is it, that when new deities descend to be worshipped by the whole world, they always come from some distant extremity of the earth? So Mercury from the Nile, whose sources are unknown, so Bacchus from the Indians, etc." The conversion of Constantine to that faith which had found its first protector in his father, and the subsequent establishment of it in the Roman Empire, was another material interruption to the independence of Britannia. It promoted the civilization of the Roman province, and placed a bar of separation between it and the savage heathens, British, Irish, and continental, over whom Carausius² had influence. The conversion of king Lucius or Lles son of king Coel and brother of Helen the mother of Constantine, together with the establishment of Christianity and demolition of heathen temples throughout the island under the apostolate of Dyvan and Fagan missionaries from the bishop of Rome, are undoubtedly a fiction. It was a study of the British chroniclers to transfer from their Roman masters, to imagi-

¹ *Quæ Constantinum Cæsarem prima vidisti.* Eumen. P. Constantin. c. 9. Mr. Roberts, in order to support the fable of Constantine's birth in Britannia, dropped the word *Cæsarem*, and transcribed the passage thus, *quæ Constantinum prima vidisti!!* Notes on Tysilio p. 96. *Hic diebus Constantius Augustus appellatur eodemque tempore Constantinus Cæsar efficitur.* Aur. Vict. Epit. c. 40.

² *Diu parvult, ut imperatoria sedes, hæc insula Carausio, eisque quos in societatem adceverat tyrannia.* Ric. Cirencest. p. 195. ed. Dyer.

nary native princes, every memorable thing that was done in their country. The same humour has transformed the prefect Asclepiodotus into an *Earl of Cornwall*, and ascribed the conquest of Rome by Constantine the Great to the aid and valour of his three maternal uncles, Llewelyn, Trahaern, and Meurig! But the fiction is commemorative of this important truth, that Constantine and his zealous mother spared no pains in planting the cross upon the island of their affection. It is not improbable that London, York, and Caerleon, may have really been the three places selected for superior bishopricks; and, as regards York, especially probable. His Christian successors appear to have reigned^a peaceably over their province of Britannia, and to have been unmolested by insular tyrants, until the year 383 in the reign of Theodosius and Gratian. The whole of this interval is filled up by the Welsh with a certain king Eudav or Octavius, a creature of their fancy.

§ 5. In that year the legions revolted, and proclaimed emperor a Roman officer, named Maximus, born in Spain, but settled and married in Britain, where he had highly distinguished himself against the Picts and Scots, and continued to reside in a sort of honourable exile from the courts of Theodosius and Gratian, to the former of whom he had some domestic affinity. Maximus speedily crossed over to the mouths of the Rhine, and marched against Gratian, who was deserted by his African horse, and fled towards the Alps, but was overtaken and slain by Andragathius master of the horse to the new emperor. By these means he became ruler of Britain, the Gauls, and Spain, was recognised by Theodosius, and

^a A certain Valentinian perished in an attempt at usurpation. *Zoelm.* 4. 214. *Ammianus* 28. c. 3.

might have reigned gloriously at Treviri for the remainder of his days, if he had not conceived the dangerous ambition of wresting Italy from young Valentinian. In the fifth year of his reign he was defeated and taken at Aquileia by the officers of Theodosius, and they put him to death without the express sanction of their master. The Cæsar his son, Flavius Victor, who remained in Gaul at the head of other forces, was overpowered and slain by Arbogastes a lieutenant of Theodosius.

Maximus had a wife who accompanied him from Britain, a busy woman, of whose religious intrigues the history of the notorious and powerful Martin of Tours furnishes the following account. "The empress hung day and night on the lips of Martin, and, like that famous Gospel instance, she washed the feet of the saint with her tears and wiped them with her hair. Martin, although no other woman had ever touched him, could not avoid her assiduous nay servile offices. The wealth of the kingdom, the dignity of empire, the diadem and the purple, she regarded not. She would prostrate herself on the ground at the feet of Martin, and was not to be removed from thence. At last she obtained her husband's leave that she alone, in the absence of all their servants, should give an entertainment to Martin; and they united their entreaties to the blessed man, which he could not obstinately persevere in rejecting. The preparations were made by the chaste hands of the empress, she strowed his seat, and placed the table before him, and ministered water to his hands, and offered to him viands which she herself had cooked. While he was seated, she stood motionless at a distance, after the manner of a waiting maid, and displayed in every thing the modesty and humility of a ministering servant. She mixed his drink, and handed it to him. When his meal was

over, she gathered up with some care the crumbs and fragments of the bread he had used, and preferred those leavings to the banquets of the palace. Happy woman! and worthy to be compared for piety with her who came from the ends¹ of the earth to hear Solomon!" This shrewd person, who so well snuffed the points of the wind, is said by the British chronicles to have been Helena, a noble lady of their island, daughter of the same Eudav concerning whom they invented such impudent fictions, and heiress of the then imaginary kingdom of Britain. We might be disposed to disregard entirely this part of their contents, were it not for other matter which they *do not* contain. It seems to be true that Maximus (Maesen Wledig) not only married a British wife, but had by her a progeny, whose fortunes were intimately connected with the destinies of Britannia, and the total suppression of whose acts and very existence was a main point in the artifice of those fraudulent historians. Of that, hereafter. The Triads ascribe to her a warlike disposition, and surname her the armipotent or bellipotent.

The armies which Maximus led over into Gaul were chiefly composed of the natives of Britannia whom he enrolled into his service in numbers so great, that the island was never afterwards secure against the irruptions of the Scots, Picts, Saxons, and other marauding or piratical neighbours. Gildas, Tysilio, and the Triadists are all agreed on deploring the drain of British manhood in this revolution of the declining empire, as one of the main sources of ruin to the island.

Could Maximus have restrained his ambition or that of his Roman legions within the limits which Carausius had set to his, or

¹ Sulp. Sever. Dial. 2. c. 6.

at least if he had abstained from passing the Alps, it is not likely that any power from Rome would have been able to uncrown him. He seems to have been aware that Britannia was the foundation and strength of his monarchy, and to have executed a plan for securing it to himself. Commanding both sides of the channel, he would have held it secure against any effective attack from the Roman marine. Carausius was aware of it, and endeavoured to secure the channel by establishing a fortress and arsenal at Boulogne. But that place was, even in those days, too devoid of natural strength and maritime resources to answer such an end. Carausius consequently lost a garrison and a fleet by the very means which were to have secured his possessions.

The British, though nominally Roman, reign of Carausius, followed by the mildness of the re-conqueror Constantius and perhaps a somewhat incomplete re-conquest, brought back upon the stage some of those un-Romanized and Celtic-tongued chiefs of clans, whom the civilization and discipline of the *Quinque Provinciæ* had previously kept in an obscure subjection in the remoter districts. Cynedda the founder of the North-Welsh dynasty established himself in Anglesea and the neighbourhood about A.D. 371; and, at the same time with Maximus the emperor or tyrant, one Conan of Meriadawg (now "Denbighshire or a part thereof") made his appearance as a British chieftain. Maximus removed him into Gaul with a considerable power of native Britons and settled him in the maritime district called Armorica, the same which in consequence of that memorable settlement has since been termed Lesser Britain and

* Enderbie's *Cambria* p. 204. Powell's *Caradoc Llancarv.* p. 2. H. Llwyd *Commentariolum* p. 14.

Britanny. It was a military colony of some strength in the first instance, soon after reinforced by the remains of the unfortunate armies of Maximus, and, a century later, by the refugees from this invaded and desolated island. Their establishment stood firm, and the fall of Maximus did not compel the emigrants to evacuate their new possessions. But they were not made independent of the Roman system of administration, and the authority of the Roman magistrates was still maintained in the municipalities of that part of Gaul. The naval power of Maximus and the British, in the channel, could never have been shaken with such a formidable outwork as Armorica on its eastern shores. Excellent harbours both deep and shallow, broad lagunes, and impregnable promontories, some of them even insulated at high water, rendered the Armorican Britain an inexpugnable barrier to Britain and the British waters. But he was not wise unto the end.

The Bruts relate that Maximus established Conan in the Gauls by virtue of a pacification between them, and after a war in which Conan had been worsted. It is indeed probable that Maximus acted with a double policy. The same Celtic clans, whom it was most useful both for example and immediate tranquillity to transplant, were those whose language and manners would keep them most distinct from the Romanizing Gauls, and therefore make them the most efficient outwork to Britannia on that side. To bind them more effectually to the mother island, a multitude of British women were sent over to marry all among these colonists who had not wives; and the mischance of some of those adventurous damsels gave rise to the legend of the eleven thousand virgins. Armorica was no barrier to Britannia as against the Picts or Saxons, whilst, by affording an obvious and natural asylum to those who wished to fly,

it may have weakened her defence against them. But the passionate Cumbrian Gildas, and the Welsh, are unreasonable in their condemnation of Maximus, who did not contemplate his own ruin, and still less that of the Roman empire itself, and actually employed the most vigorous means in his power to secure and civilize the island.

This whole passage in the history of Maximus has been denied by the modern French writers, and that denial has been taken up by the historian of the Anglo-Saxons. It is said, that the Little Britain was not established in Armorica by him and Conan under him, and by the surviving adventurers in his unfortunate expedition, that no such man as Conan of Meriadawg lived in the fourth century, and that Little Britain was constituted no earlier than the middle of the fifth or beginning of the sixth century, under the auspices of Rhiwallon* a princely Briton, who fled from the anarchy and Saxon devastation of his island, in 513 according to most opinions, or in 458 according to Father Lobineau.

The doubts raised upon this subject by Vignier, Vertot, and others of the French, did not arise in fair unbiassed argument. Their desire was to establish, that no distinct sovereignty had existed in the Armorican Gaul previously to the establishment of the Merovingian Franks in that country. By such means they sought to justify the degradation of the Breton kings into counts, the claim of liege homage in lieu of simple homage, and all the series of usurpations which have made Brittany a part of France. There are

* This warrior, who freed the Armoricans from the Danes, was styled by them Rhiwallon Murnacen, i. e. Mur-Macsen, the Bulwark of Maximus. Alb. Le-Grand, *Evêques de Leon* p. 208. Brittany, therefore, had previously been settled by Maximus and called by his name, as by Conan's in Wales.

many occasions for condemning the spirit of falsehood in the British chroniclers, but in this instance we need not mistrust the substance of their statement, though a want of accuracy is discernible in several of its particulars.

Gregory^v of Tours, by his observation, that "ever since the death of King Clovis (i. e. for about 80 years) the Britons have been under the power of the Franks, and have been called counts not kings," implies that Breton kings used to reign anterior to Clovis. Jornandes establishes the fact, by shewing that Riothamus Rex was sovereign of the Britons in Gaul during the reign of Anthemius, who applied for his assistance against Euric the Visigoth. A subterfuge has been found, in supposing that Riothamus Rex, an insular Briton, sailed from hence with 12,000 men at the request of Anthemius. But it is well known that Great Britain had no means of protecting herself, at the time when she is surmised to have lent a helping hand to the Roman. Sidonius bishop of Clermont wrote a letter to Riothamus, complaining that his subjects received and harboured the slaves of the Gaulish farmers, from the context of which it seems that he was the sovereign of a territory and not the captain of a moveable column of mercenaries. It grows into demonstration when compared with his apology^x for Arvandus, who was accused of giving Euric the following advice, viz: that he should not make peace with the Greek emperor, and that he should attack *the Britons who are situated above the Loire*, for this reason, that Gaul ought to be divided between him and the Burgundians. The inference that Riothamus was from

^v Hist. Franc. 4. c. 4. In this island they were still accounted kings; the cross of St. Sampson has an inscription in honour of Juthael Rex, who was Count (as the Franks would have it) of Brittany in 505.

^x Sidon. Riothamo suo l. Ep. 7. p. 14.

^y Sidon. 3. Ep. 9. p. 61.

Great Britain, because his expedition was maritime, is altogether a false one; and the matter has been otherwise misunderstood. He embarked, it is not said whence, with 12,000 men, and *landing from the ocean out of his ships* was received into the town of Biturigæ," by which the town of Bourges en Berry, nearly the most central of all Gaul, has been understood! But the people here alluded to are not the Bituriges Cubi or men of Berry, but the Bituriges Vibisci at the æstuary of the Garonne whose capital city was the famous Burdigala. Bourg Sur Mer near Bordeaux (more anciently called, as some suppose, Noviomagus) is perhaps the sea-port which Jornandes terms Biturigæ. Riothamus did not sail from Albion to Gaul, but he embarked * in the Morbihan or at Nantes and sailed into the Gironde.

Mr. Turner has not duly considered that affirmative words are here of no value, whatever would have been the value of negative authorities. It is not doubted † or disputed, that Rhiwallon and John and Caradoc Vreichbras, and various other chiefs sought refuge on the Continent from the Saxons; and words affirming it to be so are beside the question. They did go to Armorica and, what is more, they went to Brittany, selecting the colony for their asylum when they abandoned the mother country; and it is true, that the Lesser Britain obtained an accession of warlike population and power from the ruin of the Greater. But the case is otherwise, as to the testimonials of Conan and the early kings. They are conclusive in the affirmative, if they cannot be exploded as lies.

If we revert to a subject which we alluded to in the outset, while

* Jornand. c. 45. ed. Muratori.

† Therefore Sigebertus need not have wondered to find no account of him in the histories of this island. See Turner Anglos. 1. 257. n. 49. But so far from laughing Geoffrey (as Mr. Turner insinuates) he, or rather his editor Robertus de Torineio, fully admits the truth of Geoffrey's declaration, that his history was nuper de Britanico in Latinum translata. Albert Le-Grand expressly asserts that Riothamus embarked in flat-bottom boats au havre de Morbihan. Catal. Evêques de Nantes p. 133.

* Alii transmarinas regiones dolentes petebant. Bedæ Hist. 1. 15.

vindicating the antiquity of Bardic poetry, viz: the Ambrosian prophecies, we shall perceive the vanity of arguing, on the authority of a Latin romance, that Meriadoc was "a boy when ^b Arthur and Urien were men." If he was a boy when they were men, then he was a youth when Taliesin was a man, or, at most, a man of Taliesin's own standing. But the poems of that bard repeatedly use Conan's name as the established type of the Armorican kingdom; and they allude to that practice as one of no very recent introduction, terming the then current prophecies of Merddin Ambrose "*the public chief-song* of Cadwallader and Conan," and signifying thereby "the national prophecy that a future king of this island should re-unite Armorica to it." The existence and reign of Saint Solomon (Conan's alleged grandson and successor) is attested by the work of Pauline or Paulinian, published by the Bollandistes in March 12th, an author who is supposed by the best authorities to have been bishop of Leon in 974. And his^c massacre in 435 at the Merzer Salaun near Ploudiry is commemorated in the very name of that place, viz. Martyrdom of Solomon. It is a wanton violence done to national tradition, to reject all the authorities which treat of Conan and his posterity. Both the Britains had fictitious history; but its character was one quite distinct. It is, at the same time, frivolous to object that Maximus himself did not land in Armorica but in Holland, as if we ascribed any thing more than its main basis of truth to such a vapouring narrative as Tysilio gives of the reign of Maximus. If Maximus did not, Conan did; and, when Maximus perished, the remains of

^b Turner Anglos. 2. 212. edit. 4. Meriadoc is a country or district, not a man's name. Sir Meliadus father of the fabulous Sir Trystan of Lionesse and Sir Meriadoc in this production are mere slipslop of the Romancers, ignorant of British history and geography.

^c Argentrè and Lobineau maintain that it was called from Salaun son of Rhiwallon, an impious and cruel tyrant, who was slain in 874, and certainly not there. Ogeé leans to their opinion. But it is ably refuted by Dom Morice in his great work. Hist. de Bretagne tome 1. p. 54. 619, and rejected without observation by Monsr. Felix Desportes.

his forces which Flavius Victor had commanded settled themselves permanently in the new principality of Conan. Gildas declares that the vast retinue of Maximus^c never returned. The Bruts both Welsh and Latin, Tysilionic and Nennian, record the transaction, with the collateral circumstance of the emigration of the Ursuline maidens. The primitive bards Merddin Ambrose, Taliesin, Merddin Wylt, and Golyddan alluded to its notoriety. While the Roman authors Sidonius and Jornandes inform us that the *Britanni* were *supra Ligerim siti* and describe the adventures of their king Rithamus; and Gregory who wrote at Tours about A. D. 590 speaks of a series of their kings anterior to Clovis, which same Clovis was probably acquainted with Rithamus himself, although he became king of France ten years later than the time when the latter is thought to have died.

There is no ground for scepticism on this topic. At the same time, we must neither overrate the dignity of their earliest breninodd or kings, who were the superiors over many tribes and clans, receiving a precarious obedience from inferior rulers, and whose office would be vacant whenever the turbulence of Celts prevailed over their federal theory; nor yet their independency of the Romans, which Maximus himself did not concede to them, which they wrested from the tyrant Constantinus, which the Roman legate Exsuperantius resumed from them, and which they twice ineffectually set up against Aetius. But after his death and that of the last Valentinian, there remained no authority in the Western empire by which they could be controuled.

§ 6. From the year 388 in which Maximus died to the year 407 in the reign of Honorius and Arcadius, Britannia does not appear to

^c Domum nusquam ultra rediit. Gild. Hist. c. XI.

have been^c disturbed or mutinous. In that year the troops revolted and exalted to the imperial throne a person who is only known to us by the prænomen Marcus. "Finding his manners not^d conformable to their own" they put him to death, and substituted in his place a certain Gratian (known by the additional appellation of Municeps, i. e. a Provincial, a Roman citizen^e born in a town of Britain) whom they robed in the purple and surrounded with guards. But they shortly became discontented with him likewise, and slew him. Although their names are barely known to history, this one remark is of moment, that their downfall was no effect of Roman power, and would not have happened the less had Honorius not existed. They were insular tyrants.

^c That she was passively transferred to Eugenius and Arbogast and back again to Theodosius is not unlikely; but I know of no authority upon the fact. The Panegyriste of Theodosius in prose and verse do not mention this island as recovered by his exertions.

^d Zosim. vi. p. 371.

^e Municeps ejusdem insulæ. Orosius vii. c. 40.

CHAP. II.

CONSTANTINUS, CONSTANS, AND GERONTIUS.—REVOLT OF BRITANNIA.—
EUGENIUS, SON OF MAXIMUS, FIRST KING.—SYMPTOMS OF RELI-
GIOUS APOSTASY.—GWRTHEYRN OR VORTIGERN.—HIS TREATY WITH
HENGIST, AND MARRIAGE WITH HENOIST'S DAUGHTER.—PRO-
TRACTED REBELLION AND DISASTERS.—BANQUET AND MASSACRE
AT THE STONEHENGE.—VINDICATION OF HENGIST AND GWRTHEYRN.
—MISFORTUNES AND DEATH OF THE LATTER.

*Duxerat Hippodamen audaci Ixione natus ;
Nubigenasque feros positis ex ordine mensis
Arboribus tecto discumbere iusserat antro.
Protenus everas turbant convivia mense
Certatimque omnes uno ore, arma, arma, loquuntur,
Vina dabant animos, et primâ pocula pugnâ
Missa volant, fragilesque cadi, currique lebetes.*

§ 1. AFTER Gratian's death, one Constantine, a Roman soldier serving in the ranks (*ex infimâ militiâ*), was proclaimed emperor by the troops in Britain, upon no better recommendation than the good omen of his name, *propter spem nominis*. The armies in Gaul acknowledged him, and he went over thither, having taken his son Constans, a monk, out of his monastery, and associated him to the imperial dignity. Constans, with the aid of Gerontius,^a a British general, conquered Spain from Honorius. So that Constantine was

^a This Greek name probably gave rise to the British *Geraint*, or it may be derived from it.

actual sovereign over Britannia, Gaul, and Spain. Constans gave offence to Gerontius, who consequently revolted in Spain, entered Gaul, murdered Constans, set up a young puppet emperor in Spain, and called in the neighbouring barbarians (consisting of Vandals mixed with Suevians and Alanians) to invade Gaul and Britain. Maximus, his nominee in Spain, who was an officer in the troops called *Domestici*, is said by Olympiodorus^b to have been the son of Gerontius, and there is no reason to disbelieve him. Though he never put on the purple himself, he probably had some views of domestic ambition. Gerontius marched against Constantine, and besieged him in Arles; but, while so engaged, the generals of Honorius arrived on the same errand, and equally hostile to the rebel Constantine and the double rebel Gerontius. The latter made off towards Spain, but his troops were offended at his want of decision on this occasion, and mutinied against him. They besieged him in his own house, which he, with an Alanian, his devoted friend, his wife Nunychia, and a few slaves, defended so valiantly, that he slew to the number of 300 of the mutineers. At last, his missiles being exhausted, and the house set on fire, he dismissed his slaves, who made their escape, and, having first at their own desire slain his wife and his Alan friend, slew himself. This Briton of gigantic valour had previously, while in the service of Theodosius and Arcadius, made himself conspicuous by the desperation with which, like a knight of romance, single-handed, he attacked a whole army of barbarians before Tomi, and infamous by betraying Thermopylæ to the Goths. Constantine was shortly after taken, and put to death, with his surviving son called Julianus Nobilissimus, in A. D. 411.

^b Phot. Bibl. p. 58.

Procopius^c makes the important observation that, when Constantine and his family perished, the Romans did not thereby liberate Britannia, but a succession of tyrants sprung up in that country. The possession of Britannia did not return to Honorius by the death of Constantine, because it had not remained in the hands of that intrusive emperor. Gerontius called in the barbarians to invade Gaul and Britain; and the result was that the^d people of the island itself, as well as the Armorican Gaul in which the Britons had settled, and certain other Gaulish districts, took up arms to defend themselves and expel the barbarian invaders. Having done so, they proceeded to eject the Roman magistrates and set up a local government of their own, renouncing the Roman empire and its allegiance. Honorius was content to cede what he was unable to defend, and to confirm measures which he was unable to repeal; and he wrote^e to the different cities of Britannia to commit to them the care of their own safety and the management of their own affairs. "The defection (saith Zosimus) of Britannia and the Celtic tribes took place while Constantine was tyrant, and when the barbarians were encroaching upon his negligent administration."

Those who revolted against Constantine's reign of anarchy, and to whom Honorius addressed his letters of dismissal, were the *Coloniæ* and *Municipia* of the *Romana Insula* (which contained most of the wealth, civilization, and Christianity of the country, and in which the Latin was spoken), and the rural districts dependent upon them. Their legal connexion with the empire was dissolved, and Britannia had then to establish her first separate and insular king since the

^c Bell. Vand. l. c. 2. ed Latin. 1594.

^d Zosimus, p. 376.

^e Ibid. p. 381.

days of Cynobeline. But the mastery of affairs was still in the hands of the 33 cities and 59 inferior towns, which contained the bulk of its Roman population. The tribes beyond the Roman pale, or but a little within it, barbarous, or semi-barbarous, in faith, manners, and dialect, were not as yet in possession of this rich and fair territory. Britannia even yet enjoyed the friendly protection of the empire, and twice received from her former sovereign Honorius the assistance of a legion to repel the Scots and Picts, who had passed the wall of Severus. The Roman Coloniz were invested with the attributes of the mother city, except the imperial dignity, and were governed by magistrates with consular power. When the imperial authority was withdrawn, they would in effect become so many kings; and, since the Celts were as partial to that title, as the Romans were prejudiced against it, would not be long of assuming it. Thus a suffragan body existed, by and out of whom a general ruler might be elected.

§ 2. We should be in total ignorance under whose auspices the separation from Rome was effected, and whether the island enjoyed any central and supreme government at this time, if the Triads did not throw some light upon it. Maximus had been married to a British lady, by whom he had a son Victor, who perished soon after him. It does not appear that his consort ever fell into the hands of his enemies. Probably she retired into the Armorican colony and thence into Britannia. His brother Marcellinus and his uncle (who were both with him in Gaul) do not appear to have lost their lives. Theodosius¹ did not give his open assent even to the death of Maximus; and the private individuals who joined him and served under his

¹ Latinus Pacatus c. 44. Theod. et Valent. edicta ann. 380, 390. cit. Vignier Petite Bret. p. 9.

orders suffered no ill usage beyond the deprivation of such new rank and promotion as Maximus had given them. It is therefore not likely that his widow and infant children were pursued or molested. And it also is probable that they remained possessors of considerable wealth, for Maximus^a was equally remarkable for his strictness in exacting all the claims of his revenue, and for his extreme parsimony in disbursing it, ut thesaurum (as Pacatus says) struat atque defodiat.

Maximus, it appears, left a son, who grew up in Britannia, took a prominent part in the revolt of the island, and was elevated to the rank of king when the Britons shook off the domination of Constantinus and were manumitted by Honorius. He was styled Owain Finddu, that is, Owen of the Black Border. The marauders who infested the province, ferocious tribes dwelling in the Ducaledonian Britain, are sometimes spoken of as the Black Tribes, y Llu Ddu. Therefore, Finddu would in effect signify *Defender of the Caledonian Border*. The name which the Cymmry expressed by Ewein, Owain, Ywein, and Ywain, the English by Owen and Ewen, the Picts by Oeng, and the Gael by Eoghann, Aoghann, and Oen, was Eugenius. The country of Tir-Oen in Ireland is terra Eugenii. The Irish priests (says Camden^b) knew no other Latin for the name, and in ancient records the same author found the Welsh name Owen expressed Eugenius.

The Triads speak of Eugenius so often and so consistently, that I cannot but think they speak on some good foundation. Triad XXI

^a Pacatus c. 26, 7. Sulp. Sever. Dial. 3. c. xi.

^b See Camden's Remaines p. 83. Gough's Camden. 4. p. 439. The Franks had in their language a different but resembling name, written Audocenus in Latin, and Owen in Romance.

says, "it became an obligation upon the men of Britain to pay 3000
 " (talents?) of silver as a yearly tribute to the men of Rome, until
 " the time of Owain ap *Macsen* Wledig, when he refused that tri-
 " bute." The fact, that Armorica and its neighbourhood shook off
 the Roman connexion and laws simultaneously with Britain, affords
 some farther proof that the peculiar connexion of Armorica with this
 island has truly been said to be of an origin earlier than the reign of
 Constantinus, viz. of the time of Maximus. The readiness with
 which the colonists entered into the views and acts of the parent
 state favours, on the other hand, the statement that a son of Maximus
 was the British leader who shook off the superiority of Rome. Ar-
 morica was subdued as effectually by Cæsar as the rest of Gaul, and
 its towns were municipia governed by Roman magistrates, down to
 the year 410 when they were ejected. Carhaix, the ancient Vorga-
 nium, in the heart of that territory which now speaks the Breton lan-
 guage, is remarkable for the splendour of its Roman remains. There
 is no reason for doubting but the Latin tongue, which diffused itself
 so completely through the Roman provinces of Gaul, and has dege-
 nerated into the Romance and Walloon dialects, was spoken in the
 whole of Armorica, as it still is in a large portion of that territory
 over which the Breton sovereigns reigned. It was replaced by the
 language of the British mountaineers from Meriadawg, and other
 British Celts who joined them in the succeeding ages. Violence was
 used to abolish Latinity, when every thing Roman was proscribed
 and held up to hatred. The formal abolition of the Latin tongue is
 remembered in a curious legend.^b It is said, that such of the British

^a A MS. of the 10th century, supposed to be the oldest Welsh MS., spells this name *Maxin*. *Cambr. Qu. Mag.* iv. p. 16. 18.

^b Addit. Nenn. c. 23. Acts of St. Goueznou cit. *Le Baud Hist. Br.* p. 37.

colonists of Maximus as had Gaulish wives cut their tongues out, that their children might not learn the Latin language, and that, in memory of that event, the Bretons were formerly called *lletewicion*, i. e. *half-mute*. I am inclined to hearken to it, so far as this goes, that the mothers and nurses were menaced with such cruelty if they suffered their children to adopt the Gaulish latinity. For some reason or other, it is a fact that the people of Armorica did really obtain that appellation. Æneas of Brittany is termed Æneas *Lledewig* in the *Bonedd y Saint*.

“Three sovereigns-by-vote of the Isle of Britain (says the 17th Triad) were Caswallawn, Caradawg, and Owain ap Maccen Wledig; that is to say, supremacy was assigned to them by the voice of the country and people, when they *had no right of primogeniture*.”¹ Another Triad says, “three conventional (or congregational) monarchs of the Isle of Britain were Prydain and Caradawg and Owain ap Maccen Wledig, when the Cymry resumed the sovereignty from the Roman emperor agreeably to their natural rights. They were called three conventional monarchs, from their rights being conferred upon them by the convention of country and exterior-country within the whole limits of the nation of the Cymry, by holding a convention in every territory, commot, and cantrev in the Isle of Britain and its adjacent islands.” The meaning of country and exterior-country is not clearly known. Probably² it signifies that certain tribes situated in Valentia, Caledonia, Man, or elsewhere beyond the

¹ Or, *were not seniors*. Tr. 17. series 3.

² It is the *cywlad* of Pseudo-Dyvnwal, tr. 63, 4. In respect of a petty kingdom, it seems to denote all the other petty kingdoms composing the monarchy; but in respect of the monarchy itself, *gorwlad* and *cywlad* should be understood of districts outlying and imperfectly united, as the Norman Isles, Man, etc. are to our kingdom.

provincial boundaries, co-operated with the revolted Province in asserting British independence. It may be supposed that power so acquired would be limited in its extent; and other Triads seem to indicate that the Britons made Owain sensible that he was no more than a creature of their will. "Three *supreme servants*" of the Isle of Britain, Caradawg, Cawrdav, and Owain ap M. Wledig;" or in another Triad, "Gwyder, Owain ap M. Wledig, and Cawrdav." We may regard^a as authentic matter the elevation of Owain Finddu. But we are ignorant of the events of his reign, except so far as Roman history throws any light upon the time which followed the commencement of that reign, of which the actual duration is to us indefinite. It must have commenced in or about the year 410. In the year 416 Honorius sent a legion to assist the distressed Provincials, and another in 418, both of which did good service during their sojourn. These last contributions of the Romans towards the preservation of the island they had adorned and civilized, should probably be assigned to the days of King Eugenius. But as the imperial purple and the styles of Cæsar and Augustus were laid aside in Britannia, neither he nor any subsequent sovereign appears in Roman annals.

If we may judge by the only fact which British tradition (as recorded^p in print) ascribes to him, we have reason to think that the Roman manners of the island and British Christianity declined

^a Tr. 41. s. 3. 21. s. 2. The reason added in Tr. 41, that all, from the prince to the slave, were ready to obey them, is an absurdity.

^p A brief chronicle of 24 pretended kings, founders of the 33 colonies, asserts that Peblig, eldest son of Maximus, founded Armorica; that Constantine, his second, reigned in Britannia, and was father of Constans, Ambrosius, and Uthyr, and that Owain was his third son. This modern author has made a wretched attempt to mix up together and reconcile the real history and the extravagancies of Brut Tysilio.

^r The unprinted Mabinogi of Macsen Wledig may contain others.

rapidly under his auspices, and that he fell away from the God of his father Maximus to the superstitions which had always lurked in the extremities of the island, and perhaps were cherished by his mother.² Owain³ buried the head of Bran ap Llyr the Blessed in the White Hill of London, and, while it remained there, no foreign oppression could come upon the island, etc. But Arthur revealed the head of Bran ap Llyr, because he scorned to keep the island except by his own might. This Bran ap Llyr, mythological father of Caractacus son of Cynobeline, was a wizard in whose cauldron the dead were brought to life.

Hector Boethius gives some information, in the confused and inaccurate style of his own writings and of his northern authorities, in which, notwithstanding its anachronisms and mistakes, we may, I believe, trace some record of Owain. Between the death of Constantinus of Arles, and the times of Vortigern and Hengist, the principal figure is made in his history by one Maximianus. The whole energies of his successful government were directed against the Scots (of whom Boece is the historian) and their allies the Picts. To secure the doubtful support of the Cambri, he married the daughter of one Dunawd, chief of Tegenia, now Tegengl or Flint.⁴ And while he governed Britannia the Scots and Picts, whose kings Feargus and Durstus fell before him, were unable to make any head against the Roman province. “Maximianus,⁵ Scotorum Pictorumque opibus fractis, ut provinciales Britannos exinde eorum

² She was busy in works of hypocrisy or fanaticism. How far her connexion with Martin argues either orthodoxy or piety will be seen presently, in treating of the saints.

³ Tr. 53. ser. 3.

⁴ See H. Llwyd Comment. p. 88.
Boeth. vii. 122, b.

levaret injuriâ, pacem eis vix petentibus ultro concessit." The history of Maximus had been previously given, in its due place, and with correctness. Maximianus (to whom some acts of Maximus are falsely ascribed) succeeds Constantinus (not immediately, but with the erroneous interpolation of Victorinus's prefecture, which was anterior to the usurpations of Marc, Gratian, and Constantine), and his actions are altogether such as to stamp him Finddu, warden of the black border. At the same time, the derivative proper name Maximianus may well stand for Maximides or ap Maxim. In him, therefore, I am inclined to recognize Eugenius Maximi f. or Owain ap Maxim Wledig. The king of Scots to whom he granted peace after Feargus's death is styled Eugenius, certainly no Gaelic name; and it may be thought, that Eugenius and Maximianus are two names obtained, according to the frequent practice of semi-fabulous histories, by dividing one person into two.

It is manifest that British history has been completely falsified in its *Chronicles*, and that another and more true history was formerly known, which a Nennius, a Mark, and a Tysilio did not think good for our edification, and of which the memory is now lost. The life, acts, and death of Owain Finddu are our prime desideratum. While ignorant of them, we are ignorant of the origins alike of the Post-Roman monarchy in Britain and of the Neo-Druidic heresy. In the suppression of that supremely interesting passage of their history, the British prevaricators laid the foundation of all their figments.

§ 3. After Owain we must turn to the Gwynethians. One hundred and forty-six years before^a Maelgwn of Mona began to reign over Gwynedd or Venedotia, Cynedda Wledig sailed south from

^a Appx. Cotton. ad Nenn. p. 116. MS. ssec. 10 in Cambr. Qu. Mag. 4. 23.

the isle of Manau (i. e. into that of Mona) with his eight sons, and there laid the basis of the Gwynethian dynasty. His posterity spread themselves through the western parts of the island, both north and south. Maelgwn's accession to the kingdom of Gwynedd was in 517, and so the dynasty of the princes of Gwynedd began to establish itself about A. D. 371, and grew up in the troublesome times of Maximus and those which followed. This computation upon the 146 years harmonizes with the statement (for which I suppose the Cambrian^x Biography has some grounds) that Cynedda Wledig died about A. D. 380.

The tabular pedigree in Rowlands^y allows but two links of descent between Cynedda Wledig and Maelgwn Gwynedd, viz. Einion Urdd and Caswallawn Lawhir, which will not suffice. But it may be collected from another^z part of his own volume, that two links are dropped in his pedigree. Einion Urdd had a son Owain Danwyn, whose eldest son was Einion Vrenin or the King. This latter Einion must be esteemed the father of Caswallawn, whatever Vaughan^a of Hengwert may have said to the contrary. He is termed in Latin Anianus rex Scotorum, i. e. Einion Vrenin o Wyddelod. That implies, that he was king of Mona; for Mona was in great measure occupied by Scoti or Gwyddels, whom Caswallawn^b subsequently expelled by gaining the battle of the Ceryg y Wyddyl, after they had been predominant for 29 years in Mona. Einion "leaving his royalty, came

^x Owen Camb. Biography.

^y Mona Ant. p. 163.

^z Ibid. p. 155.

^a Ap. Gibson's Camden 2. p. 70.

^b Tr. 40. p. 12. This Gaelic settlement in Mona was once almost as famous as that in Caledonia, and it may be doubted whether it was very effectually extirpated. Oolyddan speaking, it is true, in respect of times long anterior to his own, but yet of a time subsequent to Caswallawn the Long-handed, divides the Gwyddel into those of Ireland, Mona, and Scotland, Gwyddyl Iwerddon Môn u Phrydyn.

to Llyn in Gwynedd, where he built a church," and he became a saint. An excessive duration,^c viz. 74 years, is vulgarly allotted to the reign of Caswallawn, which is another indication of links dropt in the pedigree. The Cambrian Biography will not obtain much authority in this instance. In one place^d it terms Einion the uncle of Seiriol, and in another place his brother. It also styles him "Einion the king of Llyn" instead of "king Einion of Llyn," (which is the meaning of Einion Vrenin o Llyn) thus converting the seat of his religious retirement into a kingdom.

The next person, after Owain, whose elevation to the monarchy in any way appears was a member of this Celtic family; and hereafter (in treating of Maelgwn) it will be shewn probable, that he was a son of Einion Vrenin and a brother of Caswallawn Lawhir. This was the celebrated Gwrtheyrn Gwynedd, commonly called Vortigern. The name Gwrtheyrn is compounded of gwr, man, warrior, hero, and teyrn, a sovereign prince. But Gurthigern, as Gildas (who lived not very long after him) and the author of the App. II. Cott. ad Nenn. expressed his name, is formed from gwr in British and tighearn which is the same as teyrn in Erse. Vortigern, as it is written by Bede, Galfridus, and most others, is a combination^e of bhir, man, and tighearn, both in the Erse. This indifferent and, in one instance, mixt use of two dialects now so completely separated, and the prevalence of the Erse tongue in expressing the name of a prince of North Wales, cannot but recall to our minds that the Cynethian kings of Mona reigned over Gwyddelians, and that Einion Vrenin was Rex Scotorum. Vortigern's accession is supposed to have been almost

^c Cambro-Briton 1. p. 247.

^d See Biogr. in Einion and in Seiriol.

^e Now used as a plural; but anciently as a singular, e.g. bhlrean, a dwarf, bhirionn, masculine.

immediately anterior to the arrival of Hengist and Horsa; but it cannot be ascertained who was his predecessor. Perhaps no other king of all Britain may have intervened between him and Owain ap Maxim.

We have now to observe upon the fraudulent spirit of the Bruts. Mr. Turner with his usual sagacity perceived, that their history of Vortigern's accession is a system of facts borrowed from that of Gerontius and substituted. Vortigern plots against the family of Constantinus, pretends to assist his son Constans, who had been a monk, procures his death, usurps the power himself, is pursued by the vengeance of Constantine's friends and connexions, and perishes with his wife in his own house, which is surrounded and set on fire. This important and just remark (which was my motive for reciting the adventures of Gerontius) is the key to much of the remaining history, and may serve towards undeceiving us of several gross delusions. If so, the thanks are not due to me, but to him.

The allegory, or transfer of facts, is not made at random, but is meant to convey bitter allusions to the real acts of Vortigern, whose memory was detested by its authors.

Gerontius invited the Alans and other German Barbarians from over seas to ravage Britain.

Gerontius incurred the contempt of his own followers, and was assailed by them.

Gerontius, being in his house with his family, slew three hundred of his own warriors.

Vortigern invited the Saxons into Britain.

Vortigern became despised by the Britons who rebelled against him.

Vortigern gave a feast, at which he was concerned in slaying a number of noble Britons, which some state precisely at three hundred.

Gerontius did so, in company with a beloved wife, and an Alan barbarian, his devoted friend.

Gerontius, his wife, and Alan friend, were destroyed by his own people, by the aid of fire applied to their dwelling.

Vortigern was acting in concert with his wife Rowena, and his ally Hengist the Saxon.

Vortigern, Rowena, and Hengist perished by the resentment of the Britons, and the two former by fire applied to their dwelling.

Vortigern, in the substitutional language resorted to, is quasi Gerontius. Therefore Vortigern is a traitor to Constans Cæsar the monk, and his murderer, and an usurper of the authority which he had enjoyed. In this manner, the mysticism of the British turned into allegory the alleged adventures of a man whose acts and character they were resolved not to exhibit with fidelity. From that fountain there comes a flood of falsehood. Owain ap Maesen Wledig entirely disappears, and Gwrtheyrn appears as the direct successor, personal enemy, and murderer of the family of Constantinus of Arles. That Roman emperor, dwindled into a Celtic king Cystennin, is made to die peaceably in Britain in possession of all his honours, and having previously remarried himself to a lady of Cirencester, by whom he had two illustrious sons who were rescued in their childhood from the cruelty of Gwrtheyrn, and returned after many years to destroy him, Aurelius Ambrosius, and Uthyr Pendragon. The family of Constantine, a Roman private soldier devoid of merit, against whose imbecile and disastrous administration at Arles all Britain and Armorica rose up to assert independence, perished with him; and if it had not done so, it had not the slightest tie on the British affections. The whole story is a fiction without verisimilitude. But it arose thus. When the Bardic equivocation had turned him into Gerontius, the persons, or rather the

mighty faction, whose vengeance pursued him were, by a continuation of the same *lusus*, the surviving brethren of Constans the royal monk. Mr. Warrington and other pains-taking historians have been following an *ignis fatuus*.

§ 4. In fact, when the throne was vacant by the death of Owain or otherwise, he was elevated to that dignity. Instead of being the son of a Roman Emperor, he was the prince of a clan of Cymmyr or Western Mountaineers, and belonged to the Cynethian house, which probably claimed a descent from princes who anciently, and before the Romans, had reigned in the island. The decline of civility, Christianity, and Roman manners, during the few years of independence that had elapsed, may be strongly inferred from that circumstance. The remote inhabitants of poor pastures and rugged mountains in the extremity of the island, whom their fellow-countrymen designated as the *Depredators*^c or *Snatchers*, had made good a pretension, of which they never after lost sight, to rule the whole of that splendid and rich province which had nearly given the world to Maximus. Kent was by far the most civilized part of the island before Julius Cæsar's time, and no part of Britain partook more early and completely of Roman civilization. It can scarcely be supposed that Honorius had so much as a single Cantian subject acquainted with the ancient Celtic. Yet we find a chieftain bearing a Cymraeg name in possession and king of Kent, when Vortigeru was king of Britain. The name in Geoffrey is Gorangon and in Nennius Gnoirangon, and, as Nennius uses *oi* for *y*, I suppose his name was Gwyrangon, being the same as that of the founder of Worcester. William of Malmesbury has it Gorongus, a corruption of the same word; while W. de Mapes call him *Gwrgant*,

^c Cymmyr.

which is evidently but a surname, expressing his station, for it means *the potentate of Kent*. The existence of such a personage as Gwyrangon Gwrgant upon the littus Saxonicum of Britannia is a fact that speaks a volume.

Gildas, unfortunately, had motives for delivering the information he possessed in brief, ill-arranged, and somewhat obscure phrases. The continued molestations of the Picts and Scots brought on a scarcity in this island, amounting to famine. The Britons, in consequence of its pressure, for the first time made a fierce and powerful effort to repel the Caledonian and Irish marauders. Their success was complete. But it was not the result of the superior skill and civilization which their country possessed. In the ruin to which they were reduced, they betook themselves to mountains, caves, and forests, and exterminated their invaders by operations not less savage and desultory than their own. This was the real epoch of the first supremacy of the Cymmry; who by their valour contributed to rescue the country from the savages, and then wrested the government of it from the enfeebled Lloegrians by performing the action of the verb *cymmyrd*. But of these matters we learn nothing from Gildas ap Caw, the Cumbrian or North-Cymmro. The Scoti of Ireland for some time discontinued their attacks, and the Picts of North Britain never (as I understand Gildas^d) renewed them in earnest after this serious reverse; *Picti tunc primum et deinceps requieverunt, prædas et contritiones nonnunquam facientes*. During this interval of calm the country prospered beyond expectation, but the words in which Gildas de-

^d Gildas may extenuate the subsequent outrages of the Picts, in order to depreciate the services of Hengist and the Saxons, and their "*magna ut mentiebantur discrimina*."

scribes its prosperity are inflated and exceeding credibility. Understood of the Cymmry, they may perhaps be true. *They* never grasped so much wealth and power before. The island (he says) enjoyed such an affluence of all resources that the like is not to be found in the memory of any past age, and, together with their greatness and variety, luxury grew up. The complete apostasy of the Britons from Christianity (mentioned by Gildas in his preface), and their lapse into the most extreme depravity, is assigned by him to this interval of good fortune, and the nature of it described by him in violent but indistinct language. In the midst of this licentious exultation, the nation was alarmed by strong rumours of an approaching return of the marauders, and felt themselves as little disposed and as incapable as they had ever been of making any regular and systematic efforts for their own defence. About this time the famous Gwrtheyrn was made king of all Britain, and had to bear the brunt of the new Scotie war, besides Pictish incursions.

The Gwynethian found his country not destitute of resources, but full of alarm and faction and vice, and manifestly unable to defend itself by the use of its own resources. The Prefect of the Gauls, Actius, was^b in vain applied to, for his utmost exertions were hardly sufficient to preserve his own provinces from other barbarians. In this emergency it was proposed to do as the Roman emperors had long done, to hire the aid of some of the best and bravest of the barbarian nations, and employ them against the others. This advice, which probably proceeded from Gwrtheyrn, met with the general approbation of his consilarii. The Saxons were invited upon certain terms, and effectually performed their part of the contract. Gwrtheyrn

^b The declamation of Gildas mentions this fact out of its proper order.

appears to have acted with a desire to knit firmly the new alliance, and make it as intimate and sincere as it must be to be useful. He allowed them a settlement in Thanet, and took the daughter of their duke Hengist in marriage. Nothing appears of his acts or councils but what was honest and judicious; unless it were his omitting to compensate Gwyrangon satisfactorily for the cession of Thanet. But a violent faction broke out against the Saxons and Gwrtheyrn's queen, which arose from the general envy of the Britons against the foreigners, and against the favour which they enjoyed and by effective services had merited, and from the resentments of Gwyrangon. The Chronicles add to these causes the enmity of Saint Gwrtheyyr and Cyndeyrn,¹ said to have been his sons by a former wife, against their Saxon stepmother; a cause probable in itself, and at the first sight not unworthy of credit. But, when we come to consider the epoch of his death as we must do in treating of his kinsman Maelgwn Gwynedd, and also to examine the fabulous legends of the British saints, we shall find reasons for believing that Gwrtheyrn had no such sons, and that in this point as in all besides the history of his family has been discoloured.

It is said that the primary cause of dispute was, that the Saxons complained of the British not duly furnishing them with supplies, as every hirer of mercenary warriors is bound to do, and as they had stipulated to do monthly, *epimenia non affluenter sibi contribui*. History, being chiefly derived from British sources, speaks of this as a mere pretext. It is equally reasonable to suppose that it was true. The ancient poet Golyddan adverts to it in these phrases,

¹ Cyn-teyrn, first or chief king. But Latin historians usually call him (as they do Gwrtheyrn) by his Erse name, Catigern, i. e. Cath-tighearn, the war-king.

“ Pay, or withhold payment, alike 'tis a refusal to the Germans.
(Taled, gwrthoded, fled i Ellmyn.)

The neediness of the land-owner gave rise to the calumnies.”

If they were altogether calumnies, the iniquity of the demand itself would have been a better plea than the inability to meet it. I should suppose that the German auxiliaries were at least as much sinned against as sinning. They considered themselves as defrauded of the just wages of their blood and toil, and did not hold themselves bound to evacuate Thanet, in which their stay was desired by the lawful king, in obedience to the demands of turbulent rebels.

The faction succeeded in dethroning or at least depriving Gwrtheyrn of all power, and setting up a certain Saint Gwrtheyvr in his place, and so they commenced a bloody war of questionable justice against the Saxons. It is a curious illustration of national character to see those, who were confessedly unable to repel the incursions of their barbarous neighbours, turning their arms against their own defenders. The natural result was that matters went from bad to worse. Kent or the better part of it passed into the hands of Hengist; and the Britons wearied out by a protracted contest of many years, recalled their king and queen, and a congress was appointed for settling a pacification. Golyddan (though out of his reckoning in supposing that Horsa was then alive) may perhaps be right in supposing that a *bonâ fide* cession of Thanet as a fief under the king of Britain would even then have satisfied the desires of Hengist. That they were still engaged in “ bargaining for Thanet ” amounts to an admission that Hengist kept faith with his son-in-law and was not devoid of moderation.

§ 5. By this time the peculiar heathenism of Britannia, founded upon the abolished Druidism of former ages, had made such progress

as to leave merely a cloak of Christianity over its revolting excesses. Already we have a prince of Britain presented to us in the hideous form of a Scandinavian berserkr. When Gwrtheyyr Vendigaid^h waxed wroth in his battles, he would tear up a leafy tree by its roots, and fell his adversaries with no other weapon than that. This was no casual fiction, nor of unascertained import. It was a well-known symptom of the horrible passion brought on by fanaticism among the votaries of Mars, in which they ran amuck with frenzy and were endowed with that excess of strength which the delirious and the mad possess in their paroxysms. When he died of smelling to a poisonous flower, he directed his body to be burnt, and its reliques preserved in the hollow of a brazen statue, and carefully concealed as a palladium against foreign conquest. This is an imitation of the Persian Zoroaster, who left similar directions. The disclosure of Gwrtheyyr's bones and ashes was one of the three disclosures which led to the subjugation of Britannia. Though I be persuaded that both he and Cyndeyrn were but imaginary beings and dæmons of the Neo-Druidic polytheism, I may infer from these stories to what principles and doctrines the turbulent Celts of that faction had addicted themselves.

The name Gwrtheyyr has enough of difficulty and importance to merit a brief digression. As we have Gwr-theyrn from the Welsh, Gur-thigern from Gildas and the Cottonian appendix, and Vor-tigern from general use, so the Welsh Gwrtheyyr is written Vortipore in Gildas, and Vortemir in Bede, Fordun, G. Monmouth, etc. etc. This striking analogy proves that gwr, and not gwrth, is the first element of Gwr-thevyr. The name Vor-temir may be dismissed with the

^h Nennius c. 36.

remark that its *m* is merely the common permutation of *m* and *v* which occurs between British and Latin names, as Cadvan, Catamanus, Dyvnaint, Dumnonia, Adav, Adamus. Having got the British *gwr* and the Erse *bhir*, (perhaps¹ anciently *blor*) the great difficulty is to find for that subject any predicate to which we can refer the Cambro-British *theyyr* and the Gildasian *tipor*. Perhaps we shall not do better with this anomalous name, than by resolving it into *Bhir-thuboir*, the manly (or mighty) utterer, or giver of effata. The word *thubair* is found in the conjugation of the irregular verb *abair*, as *wend* is in that of *go*, *eo* and *fuo* in that of *sum*. The words and derivative words in Cambro-British corresponding to *abair* and *thubair* in Erse are *ebur*, to utter, *ebyr v.* to utter, *ebyr s.* an utterance, an^m effatum, a place of utteranceⁿ or an oracle, *ebri s.* an utterance, passing a word, *pebyr*, what is uttered, *pebyrwr*,^o the utterer. Upon this hypothesis, the name of Vortipore, (if fairly and without disguise rendered into Cambro-British) would have been *Gwr-ebyr*, instead of *Gwr-thevyr*, and a synonyme to *Pebyr-wr*. Had that of his alleged brother Cathighearn been fairly and honestly transfused into the sister tongue, it would have been *Cattheyrn*, and not *Cyndeyrn*.

§ 6. The congress for pacification was appointed to be held near Ambri or Ambresbury on Salisbury Plain, a situation sacred in the superstitions of the people. The time fixt was the feast of the Cyntevin or May-day, which was a solemn convention of the heretical hierarchy then existing in Britain, who (like the Druids of ancient

¹ In these respects the language has, in regard of space, and has had, in regard of time, many variations.

^m *Gorchan Maeld*, v. 1.

ⁿ See *Meib Llyr* v. 4.

^o See *Gwyddnau*, *Cau*. 1. c. 14.

Gaul) used to "assemble" at a stated season of the year in a consecrated place." The object was not so much to discuss matters, as to ratify the peace, the grant of land to the Saxons, and the restoration of Gwrtheyrn, by all the most solemn sanctions that the nation then owned. Hengist repaired thither from Kent with a princely retinue, and was there met by the king and the great synod of the nation at a solemn and, no doubt, religious feast, which was to conciliate and fraternize the old and new inhabitants of the isle. The British, it is said, came to the banquet unarmed, but the Saxons, with the privity of the king and queen, sat down to table with concealed knives or daggers called *seaxas*, and, upon Hengist's exclaiming *nemet oure seaxas*, they drew upon the carousing Britons and slew them all. A desperate scuffle ensued between the two nations, in which many lives of both were lost, and the Saxons departed leaving the breach irreconcilable. The king and queen escaped the present violence of either party, but the remainder of his life was a struggle for existence under the protection of the foreigners and as an instrument in their hands.

This transaction certainly occurred. It has been⁹ unjustly brought into doubt. The memory of it is generally diffused among the British. It is detailed in their Bruts. It is referred to in their triads as a notorious event. And it is alluded to by their Bards in language of dark and mysterious allusion, which proves its reality

⁹ Cæsar, vi. c. 13.

⁹ Dr. Lingard ascribes to the British such an account of it as I believe they have nowhere given, and for which he quotes no authority; and then he asks, "can it be necessary to say that many of these pretended events are contradicted by undeniable evidence?" Vol. 1. p. 93. ed. 2.

better than the direct narratives do. The place of it is fixed, and its truth authenticated, by the various towns to whose neighbourhood it is assigned, viz. Ambri or Ambresbury, Caer Caradawg, and Caer Sallawg or Old Sarum, all places that border on the fatal *Plain of the Cymmry*. The site of Caer Sallawg (i. e. The Exposed Station) may, I think, be curiously ascertained by a fable in the Triads, of which the relator probably knew not its force. "Eidiol Gadarn' in the plot of Caer Sallawg slew 660 Saxons with a billet of the service-tree, between sunset and dark." It is elsewhere said that he fought with a staff. But why was it of service wood? Old Sarum is the Roman Sorbiodunum, which may signify, and perhaps actually did signify, *the Hill of the Service-tree*. Its names in more modern Latin were Salesberia and Sariaberia, if we combine the two consonants, Sarlesberia, which appellation I conceive to be in like manner derived from arlesbeer, a service-tree. Of three treacherous meetings of Ynys Prydain, "the second was that of the Mount of Caer Caradawg, where^a the treason of the long knives took place, through the treachery of Gwrtheyrn; that is to say, through his counsel, in league with the Saxons, the nobility of the Cymmry were nearly all slain there." The Plot of the Long Knives, Twyll y cyllyll hirion,^c is a proverbial name for this affair, such as nations do not readily adopt on fictitious grounds. At their annual kindling of the Coelcerthi^b or Omen Fires on the last night of October or All Saints Eve, the Welsh mourned from immemorial for the great men slain by Hengist in the plot of long knives. When and why did they first begin to do so? Was it when Nennius the pupil of Samuel Britannus or when Marcus Eremita stated the

^a Tr. 60. p. 68.

^c See Cambro-Briton 2. 147.

^b Tr. 20. p. 61.

^d Ibid. and 1. 172.

fact in a Latin book, or Tysilio in a Welsh one, or whenever the first author of this fable (if it were one) invented it? A narrative in a new book, of some alleged old transaction, previously unknown, can hardly produce an annual popular commemoration.

The bard Cuhelyn ap Caw wrote a poem as early as the middle of the 6th century of which this notorious event was the subject.

Scorching* the anger of the wolf;
 The law of steel is his nature
 And his usual mode of judging.
 Puissant was Eideol
 Ruler of the circumference,
 Excelling in wisdom.
 The rage of the piratic leader
 Directed against the Britons
 Was an incomplete achievement.
 The custom maliciously resorted to
 Was the fair and equal custom of
 A solemn convention at a mead feast.

.
 The reaping (i. e. cutting down) confounded
 The honey of the bards,
 And rage, their courtesy.

.
 A battle of direct onset,
 A shriek prolonged, loudly uttered,
 The secretly concerted act of the ruler.

A more ancient poem than Cuhelyn's and a more obscure one, the Ymarwar Lludd Mawr, refers to the same event in one emphatic line,

"I know when the battle was caused over the wine-feast."

* Arch. Myvyr. l. 104. Davies Myth. 310.

The Song of the Sons of Llyr, composed about the time of Cadvan's accession, compares the slaughter of the cœnobites of Bangor is y coed by Ethelfrid to that of the British synod by Hengist, which latter it terms,

A battle in our self-defence, over the unjoyous beverage,

A battle against the sons of Llyr, in the oracle of *Hên-Velen*,

that is to say, in the temple of *Belenus the Ancient*, by which name the Neo-Druidists or Apollinares mystici called the god of the sun. Since they who were assailed at the Ebyr Hên-Velen have been termed the sons of *Llyr* (i. e. of *the sea*) and since the head of *Bran* son of *Llyr* (i. e. *the Raven son of the Sea*) was consecrated by Owain Finddu as the palladium of the island, I esteem that the turbulent and bloody banquet of *Morach Mor-uran* (signifying *the joy of the raven of the sea*) which is often alluded to as a thing proverbial both for its splendour and its disasters was no other than the banquet of Gwrtheyrn and Hengist. It occurred at a *Bau-Gor*, or *High-Circle*, as nearly all the sanctuaries of this island were anciently called. Although the allusions to it are not rare, they have never received any sort of explanation. The Song of the Sons of Llyr, after complaining of the calamities inflicted on the Cymmry by the Roman provincials, Irish, and Caledonians, again reverts to the same bitter recollection, saying,

A battle against the dominion, over the vessels of mead.

The *Destiny of Britain* by Golyddan belongs to the close of the 7th century, and speaks to this effect ;

For the chieftain of the Saxons and their darling

Distant was the journey's end unto Gwrtheyrn Gwynedd,

The joint course of the Germans into emigration.

No man attaineth what the earth will not undo.

* See Evans' Specimens, notes on Owain Cyveil. and Hoare's Giraldus 2. p. 223. Cynddelw p. 207.

They know not who migrate into every æstuary.
 When they bargained for Thanet through lack of discretion
 With Horsa and Hengist, who were in their career,
 Their prosperity was derived from us, to our dishonour,
 After the secret, pregnant with results, of the servile man at the^{*}
 confluence.

Imagine the drunkenness of the great potation of mead,
 Imagine the inevitable deaths of many,
 Imagine the dreadful lamentations of the women.
 It is the feeble sovereign who stirs up the grief.

Mr. Turner remarks that the only words here which imply pre-meditation are "the consuming secret or destroying secret" (as he renders the words *rhin dilain*) but in verses of mere allusion and not of direct narration, what could he expect more? Taliesin alludes to the time of the annual convention (*viz.* May-day) in his Praise of Lludd, observing thereupon, that the assembly was convened by the song of the cuckoo; and he proceeds to say,

Pusillanimous men are somewhat misled
 By the fame of the white-bellied *trotter*,[†]
 Who cried halloo upon the children of baptism.
 No miserable knife-bearer,
 The sword of warriors!
 Not yet have they attained their desire,
 The owner of the land, clumsy of both hands,
 And the violent bloody men,
 Cymmry, Angles, Irish, and North-British.

The meaning of that passage is, "let not the memory of Hengist
 " and Gwrtheyrn and the plot of knives discourage us from holding

^{*} Probably of the Stour with some one of its tributary streams.

[†] Hengst, a horse, and the proper name of the Saxon Duke. Gwawd Lludd Arch. 1. c. 74. See Davies Myth. p. 568. Would it not read better, *Torwen tuthawl iolydd*?

"our stated solemnities, for they, with all of their faction, have not yet conquered us." Mr. Davies argued at length, but in an^a unsatisfactory mode, that the Gododin of Aneurin related to this event, in which opinion he was vigorously opposed by Mr. Turner and has had few followers. As I reckon Mr. Davies to have formed a just conjecture, but cannot in few words, nor indeed without pre-assuming things not yet before my readers, explain all my reasons, I must throw them into a digression at the end, and trust they will be found convincing.

I am aware of no argument against the reality of the fact, unless it be that a similar affair is described in the Saxon Chronicle of Witikind of Corbey, who flourished circa 950. That author,^a in his account of the first arrival of the Saxons in Saxony relates that they touched on the shores of Thuringia (having sailed^b up the Elbe), and a leader of the Saxons landed, richly adorned with golden chains and bracelets. A Thuringian leader asked him what price he would take for them. The Saxon answered, what he pleased to give; and the Thuringian, having a mind to cheat him, pointed to a heap of earth, and offered him as much of the dust as would fill his lap. It should be added to make good the story, but is not—"and as much ground as the dust would cover." He consented and all the Thuringians highly applauded their countryman's bargain. The Saxon took the dust, and sprinkled it as finely as he could, so as to cover as much

^a Mr. Turner justly observes that such "latitude of construction would almost make any poem mean any thing." l. 296. Mr. Davies wrote a poem of his own on the subject, which he misalled a translation of Aneurin; but I shall maintain that Aneurin also wrote one on that subject.

^b Witikind Annal, p. 2.

^c See Chron. Holsatie p. 14. Ed. Leibnitz.

space as possible ; and, when he had thus made the ground his own, the Saxons fortified it strongly. The Thuringians then changed their opinion, and reviled and cursed the man who had made the bargain. Wars ensued, and the Saxons conquered the adjacent districts. At length the Thuringians, finding them too strong to be expelled by force, proposed by messengers that both parties should meet unarmed on a given day, to treat of a pacification. The Saxons came to the conference with their sachs (daggers) concealed under their cloaks, and murdered all the assembly of unarmed Thuringians. This may look, at first sight, as if the story was an immemorially old one imported from Germany, and a traditional blemish in the Saxon history revived against them by the British. But it is not so. This is nothing but the tale of Hengist and the Britons, as will be seen if we compare it step by step.

The Saxon landed in Thuringia.
The Saxon stipulated for as much
land as a lap-full of dust
would cover.

Hengist landed in Britannia.
Hengist stipulated for as^c much
land as the thongs of a bull's
hide would enclose.

^c This very ancient fable has passed into a sort of proverb, for such persons as, by obtaining peaceably a small station wherein to fix their residence, do afterwards avail themselves of it to get a mastery over the country. Dido's *Byrsa* or bull's hide at Carthage is well known. The place where Orion was born was called *Byrsa* because a bull's hide covered it. Hassan Subah prince of the Assassini fortified himself in Allahamout by the same stratagem. Ivar the Dane, in like manner, except that he used a horse's hide, established himself in England. And it is now gravely related in the East, that the English first obtained their factory in Calcutta by the thongs of a bull's hide. It is become a standing metaphor and, as such, is applicable to the location of the Saxons in *Thanet* ; as to the story of Thongester (or the *Caer y Carreiau*) in *Lincolnshire*, it is merely grafted on the sound of the words.

The Thuringian was applauded
for his treaty with him.

The Saxon fortified the ground
and established himself.

The Thuringians cursed the
man whom they had lately
applauded.

The Saxons conquered the mari-
time districts of Thuringia.

The Thuringians proposed a
solemn conference, to settle
their disputes.

The Saxons came secretly armed
and slew the Thuringians at
the conference.

Vortigern's policy was unani-
mously applauded.

Hengist built Thong-Castle, and
seemed disposed to settle.

The fickle people reviled Vor-
tigern for his treaty with the
Saxons.

Hengist conquered Thanet and
other parts of Kent.

Vortigern appointed a con-
ference, to settle the disputes
of the two nations.

The Saxons came secretly armed
and slew the Britons.

The most remarkable circumstance is yet behind. No sooner has Witikind finished this tale of the mode in which the ancient Saxons first settled themselves on the banks of the Elbe, than he adds, *whilst all this is going on* between the Saxons and Thuringians, *dum ea geruntur*, the Britons send over to the Saxons for aid against the Scots and Picts; and then he describes in few and general phrases the visit of the Saxons to Britain and their occupation of the island. He was not aware of the actual identity of the two stories, but yet he was persuaded of their synchronism! Either something had puzzled and deceived him, or he was writing in bad faith and with a reluctance to offend the English kings and people. The circumstance cannot be accounted for. But he is a witness in establishment of the fact, and not in defeat of it.

The scene of this disastrous meeting has been laid at different

spots, Ambresbury, Sarum, and *Caer Caradawg*, which G. Monm. gives us to understand is another name for the only Sarum that existed in his time, *Caer-caradoc*^d quæ nunc Salesberia dicitur. But it took place at neither of these towns, but at a place then more important than either. The meeting was on a solemn occasion of such religion as then existed, viz. the *cyntevin* or May-day. The *Meib Llyr* expresses the havoc to have occurred at a sanctuary of *Belenus* the Ancient, i.e. of the Sun. According to Cuhelyn, "the place appointed was the enclosure of (*ior*) eternity, the great sacred circle (*cor*) of the dominion." We are led to infer without doubt that it was at the *Cor Emmrys* and *Cor Gawr*, being the "*locus consecratus*" of their annual synod. And this I believe is signified by *Caer-Caradoc*, the identity whereof with *Caer Sallawg* I discredit. The real *Caradoc* was not encamped in those parts. His *Caer-Caradoc*^e was in *Salopia*. King *Cynvelyn* was his father. But *Cynvelyn* was the supreme deity of the *Mystici*, styled also *Branap Llyr*. *Caradoc* being in reality son of *Cynvelyn*, became son of *Bran*, in jargon or *cyvrinach*. So *Melyn* or *Belenus* (the second divine Being, and *Mithras*, of Britain) being son of god *Cynvelyn*, becomes, in the same jargon, *Caradoc* son of king *Cynvelyn*. That eminence on the great plain which supports the *Cor*, *Geoffry's Mount* of *Ambri*, is the bardic *Mount of Caer Caradoc*, and *Caer Caradoc* is the *Cor Emmrys*. The *Bruts* relate that the stupendous work in question was erected as a sepulchral monument in honour of the slain, which is not a credible statement; but nevertheless it involves the real truth, that being slain they were buried there, and that consequently it became their monument,

^d G. Monm. viii. c. 9. and Leland cites one John Rowse as affirming, that it was founded by Saint *Caradoc* Earl of Hereford. Itin. 4. 143.

^e App. ad Nenn. 2. Gale. 130.

although it was not originally constructed as such, and its erection had by that time ceased to be a novelty. To prove the point farther, I have rendered to my best ability an ancient poem which alludes to the disastrous meeting, and distinctly intimates the nature of the place and occasion at which the violence occurred.

THE TALISMAN OF PRECIOUS STONES

Sung by Taliesin before Arthur at Caerleon upon Usk.

When, from their place of repose, the *bardic-convention* are united
At the *central place of the precious stones* with a congregation,
And fair is the evening on the ground-plot of the *Place-of-Presence*,
And each is saluting with reverence the Chief,
In that place shall be blood-red pride and presumption,
And wrong done to the War-Horse, and the truth undermost,
And the dominion under the horn in the place of trampling,
And mutual slaughter in all the land because of warfare,
And slaughter from the place of the Chief* of the Elements,
And the disorder of our war-shout to be condemned by wisdom.
In that place, the number of warriors far and near,
And lack of sustenance and the want of bread,
And the dead men and the vigorous now close together,
And there a downfall, in our confusion, of the sinister† congrega-
tion,
And the oppression of driving us very far away.
When the grey hind shall come to the Mount of Asaph
And the eagle, preying on warriors, to the head of Garthganna,
Woe to the land of ‡ *Essyllt*, because of its violation!
In a peaceful state blessed is the prosperity,
In which vagabond men have no habitation.
Let hope, because of the long tyranny, come to us

* The Sun, or rather his father, the *Ætherial Jove*. See Owen Dict. in *Nev.*

† *Ceith cymauva, infausta synodus.*

‡ Gwent or Siluria, where Caerleon was situated.

Hostages dragged in trucks round the place of severity,
 With some one to force us up to the foremost branch of the elm-trees,
 Irishmen over the land, to be seen there,
 And the bending of men's steps towards Maelor^b the great.
 In that place, prudent shall be the Mount of the Place-of-Presence,
 And of the Saxon a disappearance forth from hence.

A tradition to this day is cherished, that the gorsedd or bardic convention and bryn gwyddva, or mount of the place of presence, was in a circle of vast stones such as the Stonehenge; and that belief is sanctioned by the above poem. Unless the stones of the bryn gwyddva were, on some other and unknown occasion of the great annual solemnity, a scene of massacre and horrid violence, (which would be a wanton hypothesis) the twyll y cyllyll must be the thing here adverted to.

The first day of May was the opening day of the solemnity, but the vernal jubilee did not last less thanⁱ seven days. It does not follow that, because the havoc took place at the festival which is always called that of May-day, Cyntevin, or Belteinne, it occurred precisely on the first day of May. It seems to have taken place on a Thursday. In Taliesin's poem called Mic Dinbych, i. e. the Malice of the Concealed Sin, we meet with this strong intimation of the fact;

Wednesday I saw men in mutual enjoyment,
 Thursday there was contumely to that which they defended,
 Their scalps were made red, and clamorous was the shriek.
 They learnt that it was the day of going into dust,

^b Bangor Maelor, a remarkable seat of learning among the British, near Chester. This poem was probably composed about the same time as the Meib Llyr (viz. soon after the battles of Bangor and Chester, and elevation of the victorious king Cadvan) and passed off for a prophecy by Taliesin.

ⁱ See the Gwawd Lludd.

And they broke the circle, curved round the flat-stone of Maelwy.
Fallen are they, the fettered¹ host of friends.

The massacre above described was at a meeting held for "mutual enjoyment," i.e. pacific and festive, and at a circular structure surrounding a large flat stone; particulars which cannot be mistaken. Merddin Wyllt, prophesying in his Avallenau that the sect should experience fresh disasters in a second war of Camlan, subjoins, "it shall then be a Thursday;" and the Ymarwar Mawr. v. 24, alludes obscurely to the same ill-omened day of the week. A poetical proverb in the Gaelic dialect says,²

Woe to the mother of a magician's son
When the Belteinne happens upon a Thursday.

That notion cannot easily be explained, but by supposing that the great slaughter of the Neo-Druid magi happened upon that day. Mr. Pennant³ mentions another tradition among the Highlanders. On whatsoever day the third of May happens to fall in any given year, they will during the year undertake nothing of moment upon that day of the week. In these particulars we find some inducement to suppose that the event happened on Thursday the 3rd of May; and the hint may hereafter serve as an aid towards fixing the year, if it be in doubt.

One fact is very important as shewing the nature of that power which was upon the ascendant in Britain. The members of the national synod were the college of Bards. The Bards did not simply attend as musicians, to enliven the festival and usher in the approaching summer with hymns. They composed the congress, and they were the persons massacred. These bards were not mere poets, but were

¹ See above p. xiii.

² See Cambr. Qu. Mag. 5. p. 564.

³ Tour in Scotland 1. p. 111.

the Druids of nascent heathenism, the priests and prophets of the apostasy; nor were they mere priests officiating as such, but a domineering conclave who dictated to king and people. Besides the Gododin poems, concerning which I am forced to reserve my argument, Golyddan avouches the remarkable fact, that the synod of 360 were so many bards, while (by a play, such as bards often indulged in) he exactly diminishes the number.

^m The artificers of music collected together the tributes.
 Nine score of songsters arrived,
 But from the great outrage there returned not save four.

Although the loss of eighteen score of their leaders would seem a fatal blow to any such association, we shall find that these events in the issue transferred to the people called Bards of Beli all power and government both religious, civil, and military.

§ 7. The lions were not painters; neither were the Centaurs poets, to explain and justify their bloody carousal with the Lapithæ. The Saxons did not become a literary people until long after the event, so that we have, and I may say they had, but one of the two stories, the charge without the recrimination. That one story, even so, is a very lame one. The rebels Gwrthfeyr and Cyndeyrn (supposing them real and not fabulous beings) were no more. The people were returned to their obedience; and it was desired by the king, the Saxon queen, and no doubt by every reasonable man then existing among the Britons, to conclude a solid peace and alliance with the Saxons of Kent. They held but a portion of that province. Thanet was their strong-hold. And their Duke was invited to come into the heart of Wiltshire, with only such a following as suited the occasion.

^m Golyddan r. 72-4.

On the faith of the British king and British nation, and under the sanction of the national superstition then about to have its vernal solemnization, they were invited to place themselves at the mercy of their enemies. It would be imputing a sort of madness to Hengist and his followers, to suppose that they could design such a murderous aggression upon the assembled senate of the Britons, in the heart of their dominions, and in the midst of a crowded jubilee. His consenting to trust himself among them might be termed imprudent, but that he knew he had to deal with a faithful prince his son-in-law, who had even been driven from the throne on his account, and who had many zealous supporters among the British clans, both "Cymry, Irish, and North-British." And even thus, it appears that the Saxon guests got away from the dangers that surrounded them with severe loss and much difficulty. That the fighting was renewed on the Friday, Saturday, Sunday, and Monday, much to their loss would appear from the *Gododin*^a poems, if admitted as relevant; though Aneurin speaks as a poet, when he says one did not escape out of a hundred. However the fact is, that Hengist and those who were invited with him, came privily armed to the banquet, and slew nearly all the British who partook of it; and that fact we have to account for, if possible.

This is the only probable construction I can put upon it. The Bardic college (being upon this occasion assembled) and the leaders of the Gwrtheyyr faction (which had previously upset Gwrtheyrn, and waged war upon the Saxon allies of their king and country) came to the meeting with words of peace and conciliation, but with a deep and

^a Aneurin p. 10. *Maeldere* p. 87.

privily concerted plan, to destroy the Saxon Duke and all his chieftains and their own Saxon Queen, if not the King himself.

I will cite from Mr. Turner a similar instance of a murderous plot under pretence of a congress of pacification, organized by Dunstan and his faction, against the nobility and secular clergy. "A council of the nobles was summoned at Calne. It was managed that the king should be absent on account of his age. While the senators of England were conversing unsuspectingly on the question then agitated, and were reproaching Dunstan, he gave a short reply, which ended with these remarkable words. 'I confess that I am unwilling to be overcome. I commit the cause of the church to the decision of Christ.' As the words were uttered, the floor and its beams and rafters gave way, and precipitated the company with the ruins to the earth below. The seat of Dunstan alone was unmoved. Many of the nobles were killed upon the spot; the others were grievously hurt by wounds which kept them long confined." Such and even more deadly was the purpose of the Neo-Druids at the congress of the Stonehenge.

Means would not be wanting to that ingenious and occultly organized body, to destroy an unsuspecting and intoxicated party. The details of this dark project lie probably beyond^o the reach of our conjecture. But it seems that the Saxon duke had obtained timely warning of the reception intended for him, and took care that his people should not come to the table entirely unarmed. When the proceedings of the banquet had gone so far, that he, looking with the eye of a man previously aware, could see mischief impending, he

^o I entertain a suspicion, that it was intended to intoxicate them utterly, and then to set fire to a surrounding mass of combustibles, cunningly predisposed in such manner as to consume or suffocate the drunken sleepers.

issued his commands, and his perfidious entertainers perished by the blows of the *seaxas*. He certainly did not commit this desperate act without a motive. Ambitious aggression could not have been his motive, for on those terms he would have speedily perished. Self-preservation was the only cause, that could render it possible, I do not say for him to do it, but for him to do it and return safe and sound into Kent; because that alone could bring the king and the British royalists, Gwrtheyrn's party in the state, to favour and protect him under such circumstances. They were very unfortunate ones for him and his royal connexions. He had broken the salt-dish and stained the board of hospitality, of which others and not he were the real profaners, and he thus lay fully open to all the invectives which the surviving factions could address to a hot-blooded, ill-informed, and ill-affected people.

This remark may be expected. The British conclave may have been entirely innocent of any guile, and venerable men butchered like lambs at the sacred altar of peace; not indeed by the audacity of Hengist himself, but by the atrocious policy of Gwrtheyrn, who wished to make use of his wife's countrymen as instruments to put away all the leaders of the party who had sided against him, and actually employed the German to massacre the chief men of his own people. But there is an ample reply to that argument.

Gwrtheyrn's memory was detested by the Britons, who were taught to consider him as the main cause of their ruin, and by their Bards and learned men, who taught them to do so. That is one reason, why his character has been loaded with the absurd and aliene charge of betraying and murdering Constantine Cæsar. But there was also another reason. It was not desired that his real history and the honorific circumstances of his elevation should be known, but it was

determined to surround his name with clouds of suspicion and disgrace. They invented a story of his having a daughter, and getting her with child himself, having a son Faustus by her, and being excommunicated for it by St. German of Auxerre, who really was at that time dead and buried. They affected disgust at the Saxons for their fairness of complexion. Taliesin terms Hengist a *white-bellied* hackney, and his followers a people

“Of *pale* hue, hateful hue, and hateful form,”

and again,

A Saxon shivering and quaking,

His white hair washed in blood.

and in Golyddan,

Close upon the tails of the *pale-faced ones* were the spear points.

With respect to his daughter, they did not even permit her name to come down to our days. They styled her Alis i. e. Hell, as they also used to call the Saxons the Plant Alis, Offspring of Hell; and they styled her Rhon-wen i. e. White-tail, whence her vulgar name^r Rowen. Those who have been minded to be sceptical as to the existence of this Queen of unknown name may satisfy themselves of it from this. Scurrility does not vent its jests upon imaginary persons, but upon those who are known and detested.

I have said all this to shew that the king and his household were spoken of with the exaggerated bitterness of extreme hostility. Therefore if Gwrtheyrn had been the monster of treachery, sacrilege, and inhumanity, which the above hypothesis would make him, every harp from Bernicia to Cornwall would have sung out his infamy till

^r Vortimerli noverca Rowen. Fordun. 3. 15. Brouwen, White-breast, was a proper name of women among the Britons.

they made the welkin ring. They would have assailed him with their *awen*, the furious ebullitions of their damnatory eloquence, and not with their *cyvrinack* or artful involution of words and substitution of facts. But no such adequate censure is pronounced upon Gwrtheyrn. Tysilio and his followers cast no sort of imputation either on his moral or prudential conduct, as regards this transaction, neither does the author of the year 858 called Nennius. Taliesin, in his allusions to him and it, only derides him insultingly, and distinguishes him from the sanguinary foe as "the clumsy of both hands" or "clumsy of grasp." Golyddan, after deploring the violence committed, ascribes it to *the weakness* of the king. It is clear upon the whole of this, that his conduct tended to produce the deaths of the British conclave, but that his worst enemies could not and did not accuse him of being the atrocious butcher of his own people. A poem of Taliesin is extant entitled "Twyll y cyllyll hirion," the Plot of Long Knives, but the Myvyrian editors have withheld it from the public.

The discovery must probably have been effected by the British government and royal family, whose persons were scarcely in less jeopardy than those of Hengist and his friends, and by them imparted to the latter. Both were in nearly equal difficulty how to act. The Saxons were in the heart of a foreign territory without resources at hand; and the king, though honourably treated, was surrounded by an artful and popular faction whose power had already once prevailed over his. One resource remained, rendered safe by its own boldness, to anticipate their design, and take them in the pit which they had dug. Gwrtheyrn having discovered their murderous and treasonable intentions warned his father-in-law to provide for his own and daughter's safety as well as he might. It is not wholly unworthy of

notice, that Gerontius slew the 300 in defence of his own life, that of his wife, and that of his Teutonic friend. But we will proceed to more conclusive grounds.

Let us consider the surname of reproach which they fastened on to his name, and which has cloven to him for ever, calling him Gwrtheyrn *Gwrthenau*, Vortigern of the *Untoward Mouth*. It appears from thence, that he wrought the evil they complain of, by something that he said; and that if Gwrtheyrn had kept silence all might have been right. Mr. E. Davies imagined that he was so called, because he gave the word to the troops to halt, upon some occasion of victory, when they might have destroyed the Saxons. But it does not appear to me that he (personally) was ever engaged in hostilities with that nation for a moment. The 53rd Triad approaches the truth, though warily, and in the jargon of the mysteries. "Gwrtheyrn Gwrthenau revealed the hidden dragons which Lludd ap Beli had concealed in the stronghold of the Higher Powers, in revenge for the displeasure which the Cymry felt towards him, for calling in the Saxons under the semblance of auxiliaries to fight against the Gwyddel Fichti; and after that, he revealed the bones of Gwrthevyr the Blessed, out of love for Rhon-wen the daughter of Hengist the Saxon. These two disclosures (with that of Bran's head by Arthur) produced the subjugation of the Britons." So we find, that the contrariety of Gwrtheyrn's mouth lay in the disclosure of secrets, and not in orders given to his troops. Some secret of vast moment was divulged by him, out of friendship to his allies and love for his wife. Next I will shew, that the same had reference to the intrigues of the Druidizing fanatics and faction of Gwrthevyr. But let it be premised, that the second order of Bards, who succeeded to that first order of Bards who flourished before Christ, and the same who belong to

the Neo-British period of which I speak, were called *the^a Bards of Beli*; and secondly, that the obscure poem in which Taliesin reviles Gwrtheyrn and Hengist, and exhorts his sect not to be shaken in faith and courage by the calamity their predecessors suffered at the banquet of the knife-bearers, is entitled *the Praise of Lludd* the son of Beli. Yet, strange to say, Lludd's name does not occur in it, nor does it contain any perceptible allusion to him or to any thing that concerns him. It is a praise of the Sect, and of its annual Pan-Druidic conventions, and a vindication of it and them from any supposed disparagement by reason of the fatal and bloody meeting of May 472. It seems to follow, that Lludd ap Beli, (no^r matter why) stands for the sect and its meetings; and if so, *his* concealed dragons must be some of *their* hidden machinations. It follows, that when Gwrtheyrn of the Untoward Mouth revealed his dragons, he did, in plain phrase, betray their secret designs. I can further add, that those secret designs were immediately connected with the fatal congress of May-day; because *the hidden dragons of Lludd* may be shewn to be closely connected with that event, and *they* were what Gwrtheyrn's mouth revealed. In the ancient reign of Lludd ap Beli (says the Brut Tysilio) a shriek was heard over every hearth in Britain *on the night of every May-Day*, and so struck every man and beast to the heart, that the men lost their strength, the women miscarried, the youth of either sex became senseless, and the beasts and trees unproductive. Llefelys, the brother of Lludd, and a great proficient in occult knowledge, said to Lludd, "the shrieks arise from a contest between the dragon of Britain, and the dragon of a foreign nation which on the night of May-

^a Institutional Triads, published by E. Williams. Tr. 4.

^r But see above p. lvii, lviii.

^s P. 67, Roberts.

Day endeavours to conquer her, and the shriek you hear is given by your dragon in her rage and distress." He then instructed Lludd to bury the dragons deep in the earth, and whilst they remained there, no calamity from abroad should afflict the island. Cuhelyn said in his ode on the massacre by Hengist,

"A shriek prolonged, loudly uttered,"

Taliesin said in respect of the same event "clamorous was the shriek," and that shriek was the only one which a foreign nation ever gave Britannia occasion to raise during the solemnity of her Belteinne and Cyntevin feast. Its recurrence annually, every May night, during the reign of Lludd ap Beli, (i. e. during the ascendancy of the Bards of Beli), is an anniversary lamentation which they instituted and kept up during their sway. This passage is one which goes to evince, that some of the ancient British history was invented after Gwrtheyrn's reign, in the Neo-Druidic æra, without retrospective truth, but anticipative, and derived from circumstances of later date. It also shews, that the secret which Gwrtheyrn's untoward mouth divulged concerning the dragons of Lludd was one immediately relating to the congress of May-day. Need I add, that they who have the awful secret to conceal from others, and not they unto whom the truth is revealed, are the guilty plotters? Direct narratives may invent the facts they relate; but a series of occasional, indirect, proverbial, and even occult allusions, such as require our pains and close inspection to appreciate them, repay our pains by becoming irrefragable proofs of reality. If the Gododin and Gorchan Cynvelyn be upon the subject of that feast and massacre, the style in which they are composed shews plainly enough that the event really happened and was no romance or fiction; and that they *are* upon that subject, I am entirely satisfied. The Gododin and the other productions connected with it,

thus understood, are strong evidence of British guilt and of Hengist's innocence.

§ 8. Gwrtheyrn came from Gwynedd where Roman manners were but imperfectly established, and his education was vicious on matters of religion, and deeply tinged with pagan error. But we may infer from the virulent opposition of the Bardic polytheists and heathens to his government that he at last saw mischief in their intrigues, and no longer lent his authority to urge on the apostacy of Britannia. He had a hard task to perform. His people were composed of the provincial and Romanizing Britons, who partook of that general depravity and bad faith which were a cause of decay to the whole empire, and of various tribes of untamed and half-converted or unconverted Celts, whose minds were continually intoxicated with mead, bloodshed, and fanatical song. He in a manner belonged to these himself, and was probably beholden to them. Finding his people incompetent to resist the predatory forces of Ireland and Caledonia by their own efforts, he seems to have formed a wise plan and adhered to it steadily. If those whom he governed had been capable of appreciating his counsels, it is likely that they would have been extricated from all their trouble, and the drained population of Britannia replenished by colonists of the utmost value to her. The employment of foreigners is no evil of itself, it is sometimes necessary or singularly useful, but it becomes an evil, not by the fault of the strangers in being strangers, but by the bad passions and prejudices of those into whose country the strangers are introduced. A nation so constituted, that it can neither dispense with foreign interposition, nor acquiesce in it, cannot prosper in any way. But Gwrtheyrn of Gwynedd was a little above the rate of his countrymen, who had so lately been fierce and lawless *Cymmeruwr*. He was a king, not a

mere clan's chief, and could embrace some larger views than brawling with his next neighbours and getting tipsy on mead. Gildas, who abstains from bestowing the slightest moral praise on any British prince, describes him by nothing worse than the phrases *infaustus tyrannus* and *superbus tyrannus*; and he is the only prince whose name he mentions without the imputation of gross immoralities or atrocious crimes. He expressly exonerates him from blame in the affair of inviting the Saxons, which he says was done with the unanimous voice of all his counsellors. I feel a complete persuasion that he is the man whom Gildas had in his mind, when he wrote the following. "They anointed kings, but not by God, anointing those who were the most cruel. The same men were soon after put to death by those who had anointed them, not from a just consideration of their demerits, but to elect others more fierce. *But if there was one amongst them of a milder character, and somewhat less remote from the principles of truth, they all united to turn their weapons against HIM, as if he were the subverter of Britannia.*" It will not be easy to name any other prince to whom those words are applicable.

It is said that Gwrtheyrn was made a prisoner by Hengist on that occasion. But the meaning of the assertion is, that he and his queen had then no security left for them, but in the midst of their foreign auxiliaries, from whom his subjects sought to *liberate* him, as the loyal subjects of Edward II. and Charles I. took arms to liberate them from the custody of evil counsellors. It is agreed in all statements that Gwrtheyrn sometime afterwards retired into Wales, but whether in the view of renouncing the affairs of the insular monarchy altogether, or of raising succours in his own native land, does not appear. It is stated in Tysilio that, after a certain lapse of time, his enemies followed him into that country, besieged him in a castle (near

the river Wye in Gwent) to which[†] they set fire, and burnt him and his wife and family. Nennius (c. 49) lays the scene upon the river Tivy in Dyved. Others have even removed it to Rhydychain[‡] or Oxford. But tradition avers that he perished in Gwynedd in a deep glen of the Snowdon district, yet called Nant y Gwrtheyrn or Vortigern's Ravine; and I would believe so probable a tradition, in decided preference to historians such as have fallen to Vortigern's lot. The lying Book of[‡] St. German said, that he and his castle were burnt by fire from heaven; others related that his castle was set on fire, yet that he was not burnt, but that the earth yawned and swallowed him; and others again, that he wandered about till he died of a broken heart. But these three stories have never prevailed against the preceding one, which is cherished in the hereditary belief of his countrymen, and also derives an oblique sanction (as in due time we shall see) from Gildas. Whatever arts were employed for his destruction they were most probably not such as to destroy his body as well as his life, for Taliesin says in his *Beddan* or *Graves*, st. 40,

The grave in Ystyvachau

Is as all men suppose

* The grave of Gwrtheyrn Gwrthenau.

For several reasons (as we shall likewise see in due time) a veil is flung over those transactions, and it is woven up into that original allegory with which the calumination of Gwrtheyrn commenced. Gerontius was destroyed in his strong house, which was set on fire, after the slaying of his 300 followers; but he was the murderer of

[†] Brut Tysilio.

[‡] See H. Llwyd Comment. p. 32.

[‡] Cit. Nennius c. 49—51. Gale.

* A small tumulus of stone covered with turf and situated above Nant y Gwrtheyrn is entitled *Bedd Gwrtheyrn*. It was found to contain a stone coffin and the bones of a tall man. Pennant's *Wales* 2. 205.

Constans son of Constantine; and consequently the leaders, by whose vengeance Gwrtheyrn (the Quasi-Gerontius) perished, were sons of Constantine and brothers of Constans. We cannot estimate from any direct data the length of time which elapsed between the plot of knives and the combustion of Gwrtheyrn's house. But, when we come to consider the chronology of the prince of Gwynedd by whose treason Vortigern perished, it will appear to have been a period of many years.

The cry of war both civil and foreign ran through the country, which never tasted of peace again. That which had hitherto been a long-protracted and sanguinary dispute of the government and its German auxiliaries with the seditious, concerning unsettled accounts and the fulfilment of stipulations, (the said auxiliaries being exasperated against the factious, but continuing closely attached to Rowen's husband and the royalists) was now becoming a national war of internecion. Ælla and Cerdic came over openly as invaders, to take the country of which the *tekell ufarsin* had been written at the bloody banquet.

CHAP. III.

MYTHOLOGICAL HISTORY.—BARDIC THEOCRACY.—EMMYRIS GWLEDIG OR
AURELIUS AMBROSIUS, OTHERWISE MERDDIN.—REIGN OF THE SUN.
—IMMOLATION OF HENGIST.—REIGN OF UTHYR PENDRAGON OR
GORLASSAR, THE JUPITER OF THE GREEKS AND ROMANS.

*Aureliam familiam ex Sabinis oriundum a Sole dictam putant ; quòd ei publice a
populo Romano datus sit locus in quo sacra facerent Soli.*

POMP. FESTUS.

§ 1. THE next steps in the legend of Britannia leave us nothing on which to fix our belief. Princes are exhibited to us more eminent and splendid than any before or after, but not recognized in any Saxon history, rejected from the chronography of Florence of Worcester, whose names are heathenish titles of superstition, and their adventures full of marvel and incredibility.

The Bardic power was now moving the nation, and exciting them to revenge. The whole ensuing æra may be regarded as the reign of the Bards of Beli. Pasgen son of Gwrtheyrn was driven away ; and Aurelius Ambrosius were the titles of the new sovereign. Both are titles of the Sun, borrowed from the alchemy of the Mithriæes ; the former signifying the *Gold of the Sun*, and appropriated from immemorial to the priests of that luminary, and the latter signifying the *Elixir of Life*.

The Latin word Ambrosius was celtified into Emmrys, and Gwledig was substituted for Aurelius in the inverse order of arrangement. That fact appears not only in the names Emmrys Wledig, but also in Cynan Wledig, whose names Gildas himself (his cotemporary) expresses Aurelius Conan. Paul, a noble Briton who went over to Armorica in 512 and is honoured there as St. Pol de Leon, is invariably styled by the writers of his legend S. Paulus Aurelianus. Could we trace that appellation into his native tongue, we should expect to find that he was Paul Wledig. The reasons of this are not obvious, and may be adverted to again.

Aurelius Ambrosius has been described in all the several capacities of an² Augustus or Roman tyrannus, a British king, and a priestly wizard. But in the latter, he is also called Merddin, whereas they who make Ambrosius a king of this island give him no such name, but make a separate Merddin, that king's chief bard and sorcerer.

His first victory was that of the *Field of Beli*. And he is said to have built Stonehenge by preternatural agency as a sepulchre for the slain at the bloody banquet. No doubt, but they were very solemnly interred at that place. It should seem that the Saxons slain at the feast were also buried with honour. At least, so much may reasonably be inferred from the mythological jargon in which the Britons enveloped the matter. After the sanguinary contest between the British and foreign dragons on May-day, the enchanter Llefelys advised Lludd ap Beli to bury them deep in the earth, not the shrieking

² Only by the interpolator of the Ambrosian MS. of Warnefrid's Hist. Miscell. L. 15. in Murat. Scr. Ital. 1. p. 100, and by such as have followed that interpolated document.

British dragon only, *but both of them*. That were a strange honour to pay to German assassins; but it was a natural propitiation to offer to the manes of injured men.

The Brut Tysilio scarcely ascribes an act to Aurelius Ambrosius personally, but every thing is done by the act of an aulic council or other assembly. It was the like afterwards in Uthyr's days. And Arthur presided over a table whose shape intimated the equality of the guests. Britannia had no longer one head. Those, however, who deliver the tale of king Ambrosius, say that he was poisoned and buried in the Stonehenge.

But if we take that version of the story, by which Merddin Emrys Wledig is a bard and a wizard, we find that after a miraculous birth, and a marvellous sojourn upon earth, he sailed away in a house of glass, or was imprisoned for ever in a subterraneous chamber, or in a prison of air under a hawthorn-tree. It is enchanted ground, and we are descending into the galleries of Eleusis.

§ 2. In truth, the Aurelian Ambrosian æra is not that of any real monarch elected by the minor kings to rule over Britannia, but it is the reign of the Sun himself, during which the country was entirely governed upon a model of theocracy by the college of Neo-Druids. *Tuus jam regnat Apollo*. The Bards, and the Triadists, whose learning is of Bardic and not Brutic origin, recognise Ambrosius as the chief of Bards, enchanters, and prophets, but very rarely as a king, in which latter capacity the dissembling authors of the Tysilionic and Nennian Bruts represent him. Yet were they not two personages, both adorned with the same title, but one Being differently described. That was clearly perceived and stated by the famous Milton⁷ in his history, and

⁷ Hist. p. 32. Ed. 1706.

Nennius (as Milton observed) makes but one person of them. The same party who endeavour to prop the credit of fable by imagining two Arthurs, may also wish to dispute this proposition. But it is one of which Taliesin gives evidence in his first collection of Graves,

In the mount of election the grave² of Ann ap Lleian,
The host-marshalling lion Ambrose,
Merddin Ambrose the chief of enchanters.

Eidiol Gadarn who slew so many Saxons at the banquet of the Cor Emmrys over which sanctuary he presided, and his brother a priest, are mentioned as prominent persons during the Ambrosian reign. The principal achievement of that reign, besides the murder of Gwrtheyrn and his family, was the overpowering and slaying of Hengist.

§ 3. Tysilio, the venerable Beda, and a host of succeeding writers, being misled by the misconstruction of a passage in the obscurely worded tract of Gildas, have paradoxically imagined that Hengist's forces came over to England in three Jutland boats, called *cyuls*. They more likely came over in three score. "Then," says Gildas, "the herd of lion's whelps, a tribe from the den of the barbarian lioness, broke forth in their *cyuls* or long vessels." *Tribus* is not always the ablative of *tres*. But their force was comparatively small, and there is every probability of its having been overpowered, by the burst of fanaticism which now occurred. Hengist having been

² Merddin from the circumstances of his miraculous conception was styled *Ann vab y lleian*, son of the nun. Tysilio p. 260. G. up. Arthur 261. The word *anhap* which squares well enough with *Ann ap*, has no similitude to *Ann vab*; and *hap*, what happens, *anhap*, a mishap, are words unknown to the Armorican and borrowed from the English, no doubt at a much later period. I conceive that *Ann* is the Latin word *Annus*, the god *Abriaxas*, ὁ ἑλίου ἡμερῶν, the king of the solar year. See the Song of Graves st. 14. Arch. 1. p. 78.

made prisoner by the Britons at *Caer Cynan*^a near *Doncaster* (now *Conisborow*) was kept a prisoner for some days, at the end of which *Emmrys* held a council to determine on his fate. At this council a bishop (brother to that *Eidiol* who was superintendent of the *Cor Gawr*) declared that, whoever might befriend him, he would hew him to pieces as the prophet *Samuel* slew *Agag* king of *Amalek*. Hereupon *Eidiol* received a sword from his brother, and led *Hengist* outside of the place to the summit of a hill, and smote off his head. A mound (still remaining) was erected over his remains. There is in this narrative of the *Brut* enough to satisfy us of its truth. It is not only a passage in the history of the Britons foully disgraceful to them as stated. But it is stated with all the *Brudic* dissimulation. The motive for stating, instead of suppressing, this fact, was to disfigure it completely, and, by admitting a particular blot, to disguise the one grand^b and general blot of *Christ* rejected and the hideous orgies of *Druidism* revived. *Eidiol* "ruler of the circumference" and "knight of the enclosure" at the *Stonehenge*, was a fanatical votary of that superstition, his priestly brother was its consecrated minister, the summit of the hill was one of its high places, the weapon employed was one appropriated to sacrificial uses, and the whole transaction was the offering of an illustrious^c human victim to the powers they worshipped. The *Saxon Chroniclers*, after dwelling upon some of the acts of *Hengist's* life, avoid all mention of his death, and state that *Æsc*^d his son obtained the *Kentish* kingdom in A. D. 488, without

^a Concerning this place, see a digression at the end.

^b See the remarks above, p. xxxii.

^c We should explain those rhapsodies of the *Gododin*, which twice mention a solemn sacrifice done at the place of the omen-fire, *uberth um coelcerth*, as relating to this awful transaction. *Aneurin* c. 730. 808.

^d Her *Æsc* fenge to rike, and was 24 winter *Cantwara* cuning. *Chron. Sax.* An. 488. and see the like in *Ethelwerd*.

giving any intimation of the means by which it became vacant, or even of its being vacant at all. That something ominous and disastrous attached to the name of the famous founder of their kingdom, may be partly collected from the men of Kent styling their dynasty of princes the *Æscingas* and not the *Hengestingas*. Let us not fall into the error of supposing, that Hengist's exploits and fortunes were confined within Kent because his own duchy was. He and his gallant band were indissolubly linked to the person and fortunes of his son-in-law, who during a number of years was supported by his British adherents against the madness which had exploded. Volumes of direct human testimony may pass into discredit, sooner than this evidence which arises out of the equivocating admissions of impenitent shame.

During the reign of Ambrosius civil as well as foreign war afflicted Britain. A great war entitled the *Cat-gwolph*⁴ was waged by Ambrosius against the British prelate Guitholin. It is said to have broken out twelve years after the reign of Gwrtheyrn, but nothing is known of its incidents or results.

§ 4. The next short period is assigned by the Chroniclers to a brother of Emmrys Wledig named Uthyr, i. e. the Portent or Portentous, and Pen-Dragon, i.e. having the Head of a Serpent. This imaginary prince was instrumental, as the fable goes, in erecting the great Cor upon the Maes Mawr, Maes Caer-Caradawg, or Plain of Salisbury, during the reign of his brother. His own reign was short, and the termination of his life the same as that of king Ambrosius, viz. being poisoned, and interment in the Stonehenge. Those who have been studious to exculpate the Britons of this intermediate period from their gross errors, have endeavoured to put upon the name *Pendragon*

⁴ Appx. 2 ad Nenn. p. 118. Gale. This unintelligible word may be corrected into *Cat-gwallof*, *war of effusion* or *sanguinary war*.

the rational construction of *Head-leader* or Commander in chief, instead of "having a Dragon's Head." But they are not borne out in their attempt. Old Tysilio himself, than whom no man was more strongly animated with the same desire, fully admits *the meaning* of the word, and is content to explain it away by saying, that a comet with the head of a dragon appeared at the time of king Uthyr's accession, and that he made two golden images of it, one of which he deposited in Winchester church, and made the other his standard in battle. "From this circumstance he was thenceforward * called Uthyr of the Dragon's Head." Such is the best apology that the son of Brochvael ventured to offer for the name of the royal sorcerer, whose incredible and vile acts he commemorated. Fable assigns to him one other son, besides the famous Arthur, by name Madawg ap Uthyr; but the etymon of *Madawg* is "of or belonging to a serpent." Gervas of Tilbury a contemporary and kinsman of Richard Cœur de Lion says to the Emperor[†] Otho the Fourth, "Pendragon signifies dragon's head, and hence it arose that the English kingdom makes use of a dragon with a golden head for its banner, which same was not only well known to his neighbours, but was terrible even to the Pagans in ultra-marine parts, under thine uncle the illustrious king Richard." The Gorchan Maelderw, or Incantation of the Proficient of the Oak-Tree, is a poem delivered upon the formation of the magical banner of the Red Dragon of Britain, which was prepared after the massacre of the mead-feast, and by way of a talisman against Hengist, in which it is written "stretch the warp of wrath, stretch the wrathful warp of the flexible streamer," and which describes it as "the Red Dragon, the victory of the Higher Powers, accompanying them

* Tysilio p. 133, Roberts.

† Gerv. de Reg. p. 43.

upon the blast, flying in unison with them." It is a war song, probably, of the Ambrosian æra. Taliesin's Dirge^a of Uthyr Pendragon does not contain either of those names; but, in their place, the name of Gorlassar, which signifies the æther, or blue firmament, and it speaks of the Dragon visiting the sanctuary of the great stones. Arthur, his son, is called by his own name, and by the appellation of Hen-Pen, the Old Head.

It appears to me, that these mysteries depict the Heavens, or Pantheistic Jove, as a serpent, of which the sun is the golden head. Uthyr together with Merddin, deceiving Eigyr at Tintagel, are the Jove and Mercury of Alcmena, in all the material points of the narrative. And the Jove of Alcmena is the lascivious Dragon in the Babylonish temple of Jupiter Belus, and the Dragon of Olympias, and of Scipio's mother, and of the mother of Cæsar Octavius. A few passages of classical mythology were borrowed and transferred to their own with scarce any alteration by the Britons of the 5th and 6th centuries; and the tale of Jove and Mercury at Amphitryon's house is one of them. As the Mundane Serpent contained the essence of all things that be, so did his own head contain his own entire essence. That doctrine was expressed by the Hermetics of Ægypt, in their parable, that the great serpent Aspidogorgon^b devoured all the other serpents in the temples of Ægypt, and then devoured his own body till nothing was left but the head. As early as Homer, the Gorgæan Head of the *Terrible Portent* (which words express the sense of *Uthyr*) was the last and most appalling of the mysteries which are

^a That mysterious poem is not an Elegy *upon* Uthyr but one *by* him upon his son Arthur. That it is so, is sufficiently evident, but I mention it as the mistake has been made in *Hore Britannicæ* and elsewhere.

^b S. Epiphani. Hæres. p. 61. p. 151.

concealed in Hell itself. And the Middle Ages¹ had a disgusting legend of the procreation of the Gorgon Head without body, from a warrior and a dead woman. The Gorlassar or Pen-Dragon and the Arthur of the British Bards tally with the Oromazdes and the Mithras of the eastern Magi.

The former of those beings is² Cyn-Velyn and Cyn-Velen i. e. Yellow-Headed; and the latter is Melen, Melyn, or Hen-Velen, the Yellow, or the Yellow and Ancient, in Latin Belenus and Belinus. The latter is, in theosophy, the son of the former, and is termed in British mythologies Melyn³ mab Cynvelyn, i. e. Flavus Flavicipitis filius. These words, which are written with a short *e*, and are simple equivalents of Flavus, are perpetually confounded with the Chaldee name Belus, written with the long vowel, Βηλος, or with its equivalents the two short ones, as in Baal and in Beel-zebub. But they are totally unconnected. The Bealtuinne, or May-Day, is also styled in Gaelic the *La Buidhe*, the *Day of the Yellow*. Mad-Velen or the Yellow Serpent was spoken of by poets as the most exquisitely beautiful of all beings; yet contagious pestilences were ascribed to the Mad-Velen, as the plague in Homer is to the arrows of Apollo.

The notion of the Serpent's Head, as distinguished from the rest of his body, seems to have been originally derived from God's declaration against Satan; and was actually connected with that passage of Scripture, in the minds of the Bards of Beli, who were a sort of heretics, and not mere heathen. That curious group of stones at

¹ Gerv. Otia Imp. 2. c. 12. p. 920.

² Cynvelyn, Pendragon, and Gorlassar is Bran ap Llyr the secret protector of Britannia. But the man Cynvelyn (who perhaps was born with red hair) was father of Caractacus, ergo, in Bardic jargon Bran was his father.

³ Triad 79. p. 69. Triad 36. p. 8.

Abury was in the form of a serpent, or what Dr. Stukely terms a *Dracontium*; and the conspicuous circle forming the serpent's head is called the Hagpen. The quodlibetarian Stukely endeavoured to unite the British pen, a head, to an *Arabic* word for a serpent, and so to make out of it, what he could not find in it, *Serpent's Head*. But the case offers no apology for such an outrage upon good sense. The word is a plain British one, and means *the Wounded Head*, the head pierced through the skull and through the brain at Camlan, "dead¹ and alive," which never suffered death, yet was never healed.

§ 5. The fable of Uthyr, is of such a character as to lead us to the supposition that the apostasy became more fierce, barbarous, and undisguised than under the Ambrosian regimen. It also gives us to understand that the Cymmry who then occupied parts of the modern Cornwall and Devon, and among others the fortress of Tintagel, aspired to a prominent part in British affairs under the Uthyrian regimen. They held that prominent station during the period of the Arthurian regimen, and for two or three years after it.

The chronology of the fabulous king Uthyr Pendragon has been thought to coincide with that of one Natanleod, who according to the Saxon Chronicle was defeated and slain by Cerdic in 508. He was so eminent a person that the district in which this happened received from him the appellation of Natan-leage, the lee (or land) of Natan. From hence we clearly learn that this man's name was Nathan, being one of the many Britons who affected Jewish appellations; and, as to the annexed word, I think the Chronicler was too well acquainted with the word *leod* in his own tongue (a tribe, or nation) to have possibly mistaken it for a man's title, and we should therefore turn to

¹ *Prophecies de Merlin* fol. lxxiii. a.

the British tongue, in which the noun *leod* signifies *lectura*, reading, and interpret *Nathan Leod*, *Nathan the Learned*. Although he was a person of such lasting celebrity among his enemies, those who wrote of British affairs did not find it square with their convenience to mention his name.

Having disposed of these two Bardic vanities, we arrive at the vanity of vanities, *Arthur son of Uthyr Pendragon*, nephew of *Ambrosius Aurelius* and *Constans Cæsar*, and grandson to *Constantine of Arles*, as runs the *Brudic tale of Britain*; but son to *Meirig prince of Dyved*, son of *Saint Tewdrig the Martyr*, son of *Teithvalt*, son of *Teithrin*, son of *Niniaw king of Graewg* and *Garth Mithein*, if you will listen to the more shamefaced tale of the *Legendaries* who composed the *British Acta Sanctorum*. Any attempt to pourtray this historical monster would be an useless trouble. But as many people still believe in its real existence, some observations are requisite upon that head.

CHAP. IV.

MYTHOLOGICAL REIGN OF ARTHUR.—ATTRIBUTES OF THAT DEITY.—
THE MONKISH IMPOSTURE AT OLASTONBURY.—MEDRAWD MYTHOLOGICAL.—NOT TWO ARTHURS.—ARTHUR IDENTICAL WITH HERCULES, AND CALLED HERCULES.—ATILIA THE OBJECT OF THE HONOURS PAID TO ARTHUR.—NATURE OF THE PRETENDED BATTLE OF CAMLAN AND OTHER SIMILAR BATTLES.—EXPOSURE OF BRAN'S HEAD.—ARTHUR SON OF ALGOOTHUS.—DANIEL DREMRUDD.—THE HOBGOBLIN DYNASTY, ITS POLICY, AND DOWNFALL.

Aethai heb dant a cantawr

Ar goll hanes Arthur gaur.

§ 1. It appears to be indisputable that a strong effort was made to preserve Britannia by her own resources, after the Romans had confessed themselves unequal to the task, and the effective support of the Saxons had been turned into enmity ; and the moral and religious means employed for that purpose were as strange as the effort itself was desperate. If we think upon all that has been said or sung concerning Arthur, upon all that resounds

In fable or romance of Uthyr's son

Begirt with British and Armoric knights,

and also upon the solemn, fierce, and mystic strains in which that name and other kindred names are mentioned by the bardic fanatics, reason and general experience will teach us that such a superstructure,

however coloured with lies or adorned with inventions, was never raised but upon some suitable basis of reality. What were those who besieged and defended Troy, and Alexander, and Charlemagne, the greatest heroes of romance except Arthur, but the founders or destroyers of empires who changed the face of the world for ages? In their proportion, and as far as the magnitude of this country admits, the events which Arthurian romance commemorates must have been very great.

The name of Arthur is so great, that, *if such a man ever reigned in Britain*, he must have been a man as great as the circumscribed theatre of his actions could permit.

The poems contemporary with his supposed date describe him rather as an incarnate dæmon of polytheism than as a mere man. They appear to identify him with the Mars or god of war in their religion, and with the flood-king who^m returned with seven, himself the eighth man, from the deluge or sea of Dylan. He is said to have contained one-ninth of the virtue of the firmament. It is Uthyr Pendragon who speaks, in theⁿ following lines.

Am I not multitudinous in the din?
 I have not desisted, between two hosts, without gore.
 Am I not called^o Gorlassar?
 My belt, against my foes, was the rainbow.
 Am I not a prince in darkness,
 And my form, water round the two ends^p of the basket?
 Am I not, like the basket, begirt with gloom?
 I have not desisted without gore, between two hosts.

^m See the *Preiddau Annwn*.

ⁿ *Marwnad Uthyr Pendr.* Arch. Myvyr p. 72.

^o i.e. the æther, or azure sky.

^p The flood surrounding the ark, as I suppose.

Have I not protected my protector
 In the undoing of the kindred of wrath?
 Have I not habituated my fierce one to bloodshed,
 Bold in the sword-stroke, in front of the sons of the giant-
 rampart?

Have I not imparted of^a my protecting power
 A ninth part in the prowess of Arthur?
 Have I not stormed a hundred forts?
 Have I not slain a hundred governors?
 Have I not given a hundred veils?
 Have I not cut off a hundred heads?
 Did I not give unto Hen-pen
 The great-sword of the very-great enchanter?
 Did I not produce the crisis
 When Iron-Door^r came from the head of the mountain?

From a succeeding line it may be inferred, that Arthur was nothing
 less than the demiurge or immediate creator of the world,

Nid oedd vyd na bai vy eissillydd,
 That the world existed not, was no fault of my offspring.

The great bear or constellation of the Seven Triones was his star in
 the heavens, and was exprest in his name Arth-ur, the Bear-aloft.
 The group of stars which the Romans called Lyra, and which was the
 lyre that Hermes gave to Apollo and he to Orpheus, was *the Lyre of*
Arthur.

^a Literally, "my protector." By his *protector* I understand him to mean the
 divine power or energy which presides over warriors and gives victory to those whom
 it favours.

^r Halarndor e daeth o'r pen mynydd. The biographer of St. Augendus mentions
 that in the 5th century there was a temple in Gaul called Isarndor which he interprets
 Iron-Door, cit. Dom. Martin l. 374. In the Mithriacal initiations the iron door
 designated Mercury. Origen Cels. vi. cit. ibid. Mercurius Mercator is termed the
 profit-bringing Iron-door, gwarthegawg Halarndor. Arch. l. p. 64. See above
 p. lxvii.

It has been observed that Llywarch Hên "speaks of" Arthur with respect but not with wonder," and that, while a certain chief called Geraint "is profusely celebrated with dignified periphrasis," Arthur "is simply mentioned as the commander and conductor of the toil of war." From thence Mr. Turner infers that he was a man but moderately esteemed in his own day. But the inference to which it leads me is rather, that no such man then lived. Ordinary praise was seldom bestowed upon the presiding spirits of heathenism. Mars was not brave, as Gyas and Cloanthus were. While mortals were extolled in proportion to their merit or to the motives for flattery, simple presidency or tutelage was ascribed to the Deities, to be exercised over men by each according to their respective attributes. If they were praised in hymns or direct invocations for their peculiar attributes, they were praised in respect of other gods to whom those attributes were respectively wanting. So the *facundus nepos Atlantis* was eloquent in comparison of Mars, Vulcan, etc., but could not be so termed in comparison of Demosthenes or Æschines. Arthur presided over the wars of Britannia as her Quirinus or Enyalios, and was placed out of all comparison with so minute and obscure a being as Geraint ap Erbin, whom the bard labours to magnify. The character of Arthur supreme and unpraised is Mavortian; and so an inference contrary to Mr. Turner's arises from the passage of Llywarch

' In Llongborth was slain Geraint
A brave warrior from the woodlands of Devon,
Slaughtering his foes as he fell.

¹ Turner *Anglosax.* 1. p. 275, 6. Edit. 4.

² See Owen's Llywarch, p. 8.

In Llongborth were slain unto Arthur,
Emperor, conductor of the labour,
Brave warriors who hewed down others with steel.

A strenuous assertor of Arthur, Sir J. Pryce, mentions* that Urien Reged, Cynddylan ap Cyndrwyn, and Cadwallon ap Cadvan who defeated the Northumbrians, are termed by the bards "warriors of Arthur," milites Arthuriani. But Cadwallon fought against Edwin not less than ninety years after the end of Arthur's period. It seems to follow, that the phrase is no more than an equivalent to that by which Archilochus described warriors, "servants of king Mars," *θεραποντες Ἐνναλίου ἀνακτος*. Arthur is that same being to whom the bards allude as the Bull of Conflict, King of the World, "Tarw Trin teyrn byd," and to whom in hyperbole they sometimes compare their heroes. Concerning him, Llywarch has a most explicit passage, which may help us to judge, whether he really meant to say that one Arthur had been his commanding officer at Llongborth, or that the deity "Sol Invictus Mithras" had been his tutelary god and Lord of Hosts. He was addicted to the mysteries even to the latest days of his Nestorean life and buried his last surviving son Gwen according to those rites,

"Sweetly sang the *birds* on the fragrant-blossom'd *apple-tree*,
Over the head of Gwen, ere he was covered with earth ;"

yet alluding to Mecerdd another son, who had received Christian burial in a monastery, he exclaims in the disgust of disappointed superstition,

* May it be better for his advantage
That he be left on the banks of the river,
With the assembly of grey men.

* Hist. Brit. Defens. p. 123.

* See Owen's Llywarch p. 142.

The bull of conflict, guider of the war,
 Support of the battle, bright elevated lamp,
 Pervader of heaven, too long has he been listened to!

What odds are there betwixt the "conductor of the labour" and the
 "guider of the war"? The bull of conflict is also the bull of *Beli*, i. e.
 havoc or devastation, a title likewise transferred to violent warriors,

⁷ Broken are the shields before the bellowing cattle of *Beli*.

The same daemon becomes more plainly identified with Arthur as the
Bear of Violence, *Arth gwrys*,

⁸ They back very much, they resort much to the sword,
 Following the red footsteps of the dauntless bear of violence.

Gale's Nennius says, that the war was between the Saxons and the
 various kings of the Britons, but Arthur was their *dux bellorum*; and
 Marcus Eremita or Gunn's Nennius says that *Arthur belliger* led the
 soldiers and kings of Britannia into action and was twelve times *dux
 belli*, although many Britons were his superiors in rank. They were⁹
 aware that he was no king of the island. The words of Llywarch are
 as nearly as possible sufficient to assure us that the Sun or spirit of the
 Sun was honoured under the name of Arthur. But another poem of
 much antiquity will set that point at rest. In it, the ghost of Eliwlod
 of the Golden Tongue, son of Madoc, son of Uthyr Pendragon, appears
 to Arthur (in the form of an eagle upon an oak tree) and converses
 with him. He addresses him in these words,

Arthur arddercawg lamp rhe!
 Arthur, exalted swiftly-moving lamp!

and this colloquy ensues between them.

⁷ Probert's *Aneurin* p. 7.

⁸ *Ymarwar Mawr* in *Arch.* 1. 31.

⁹ Nennius a Gale c. 63. a Gunn p. 78.

- A. Yr Eryr barabl divystyl
A'th ovynav heb gynvil,
Ai da cael gwasanaeth sul?
- E. Gwasanaeth sul o cessi
A gras gan Duw gwedi,
Gwynvydedig wydd o honi.
- A. Yr Eryr barabl divri
A'th ovynav dros Geli,
Pa beth ym, o bydda hebddi?
- E. O byddi heb eiriau llên,
Di y sul, eb rhaid, eb angen,
Hyd yr ail sul na chward wen.
- A. Eagle, not petulant in discourse,
Without offence I will ask thee,
Is it good for the sun to receive ministry?
- E. If thou seekest the ministry of the sun
From God there is scorching heat hereafter,
The state of beatitude,^b if otherwise.
- A. Eagle, not flattering in discourse,
By the Mysterious-One I will ask thee,
What shall be mine, if I shall be without it?
- E. If thou wilt be without a veil to thy refulgencies,
Thou shalt be the sun, saith necessity, saith destiny,
Until the other sun of no illusory lustre.

The author of these verses manifestly avows that Arthur is the sun, but he affects to reprobate the ulterior tenet of the Mithriacs, that the sun was God and the fit object of worship. It would be hard to dispute in face of such evidences, that Arthur was the Apollo Belenus of the Britons in the first half of the sixth century.

^b For this use of o honi see Psalm 38. v. 16.

§ 2. The Arthurian æra was one in the course of which the British frontier receded, and Hants, Somerset, and other districts passed for ever into the hands of the invader. It is not by suffering a series of severe defeats that any Saxon or other man conquers provinces. It is done by gaining successive victories. If Arthur lived and fought, he did so with a preponderance of ill success, and with the loss of battles and of provinces. But exaggeration must be built upon homogeneous truth. For a Cornish prince to be renowned through all countries and feigned a universal conqueror, he must really have been a hero in his own land and a signal benefactor to it. No man was ever deified in song for being vanquished and losing half a kingdom. But the God of war would retain his rank in any case. He might indeed be liable to such reproaches from time to time, as those which old Llywarch bestows upon him, or as the dying Bodvar directed against Odin, "I cannot see Odin, but I know that he is in their ranks. Oh! that any one would shew me that perfidious one, that I might pursue and seize him, that foul firebrand of hatred and enmity. Surely I would crush him like a mouse, and use him with all ignominy and disgrace." Subject, however, to these little indignities, the god of war would keep his station and preside over valiant acts, whether the results of war were fortunate or not. But the disasters of the British, historically and geographically certain as they are, make it also clear that they were commanded by no king fit for their hardy to canonize.

§ 3. The constellated lyre of Apollo being styled in British astrology the Telyn Arthur nearly amounts to saying that Arthur is Apollo himself, such as he was said

Victori laudes concinuisse Jovi.

If not, he must have been at least an Orpheus or a Homer. Yet the

nation who placed his harp in the skies cherish no tradition of his poetical excellence. A Triad speaks of him as one of three "Irregular Bards," but his works may be inquired for in vain. Three wretched lines, consisting of a poetical triad, and rehearsing the names of three men, are ascribed to Arthur, and not wholly without reason. Some of the works of Apollo are extant, and are just of the same character as these three lines to which I shall allude again, viz. oracles. Arthur, though he is the bard of heaven itself and the stars of heaven are the golden strings of his harp, was an *unpraised* bard, while Aneurin's versification earned him the titles of Monarch of Bards and Bard of the Flowing Muse; the effect of which in this argument I have lately pointed out. Aneurin was to him in music as was Geraint ap Erbin in war.

§ 4. Its weight must not be denied to popular tradition. Before the time when Geoffrey published, even foreign nations delighted to rehearse the legends of Arthur; and, soon after it, when Gervas wrote, the common folk were persuaded that the forests of Caerleon and other parts of the island were haunted by Arthur's spirit attended by a host of dæmons. They did not believe this, because scholars had read of him in books. Such are not the sources of tradition among peasantry. But they continue to believe, even under an altered faith and religion, the things which they have heard with their ears and their fathers have declared unto them. A variety of places in the island bear the name of the hero. Some circular knolls are called his Round-Tables. A round tower is called Arthur's Oven and it was said that neither rain nor snow could fall within it. Mountains both in Wales and Scotland were termed Cadair Arthur, the Seat or Chair of Arthur, who was enthroned upon his high-places. These things, again, are not out of

books, but come down from the time when the system of Arthur was in act and energy.

§ 5. Besides three concubines, Arthur had three wives, and it was one of his peculiarities, that he married three women all of the same name, to wit, Gwenhwyvar daughter of Gwythyr ap Greidiawl, Gwenhwyvar daughter of Gawrwyd Ceint, and Gwenhwyvar daughter of Gogyrvan Gawr. Daniel Langhorne inverts the order of the two first, and says that the father of the last was a Pict. He particularly loved the second of them, and directed that she should be buried with him; but the third or Pictish one who betrayed him to Medrawd was buried at Amesbury. The three Gwenhwyvars, considered as characters in history, may take their place with les quatre Facardins. But the story is not ill-suited to the trimundane character of Apollo Belenus and bears some analogy to the *tria virginis ora Dianæ*. It would be strange if a king with three wives and three concubines had no posterity; but Arthur had none that obtain a place in history and are not mere creatures of mythology. The Monks of Llandaff had a story that one *Noah*^c son of Arthur made them a grant of land, but whoever does but glance on this mythology must see how the name of that patriarch was introduced into his family. Mention is also made in the Mabinogion of *Lechau*^d son of Arthur, "and there was nothing of which he did not know its material existence, and its property, whether of kind, or of part, or of quality, or of compound, or of coincidence, or of tendency, or of nature, or of essence, whatever it might be." Busy stirring times, for so much study, were those of his father Arthur. But we may dispose of him,

^c Sir J. Pryce *Defensio* p. 127.

^d Tr. 70. p. 60. *Cambro-Briton* 2. p. 242.

by observing that the noun plural which serves him for a name means *Stone Tablets*; and the whole story amounts to this, that the doctrines and secrets of the Arthurists were engraved upon certain tables of stone. They are commemorated elsewhere as "the stones of Gwyddon" upon which all human knowledge was inscribed.

§ 6. Among the British princes who tyrannized in various parts of this island while Constantine son of Cador (who succeeded Arthur, and was a real king) was the brenin ar yr ynys, and all of whom Gildas vehemently reviles, there was a certain Cynglas, whom he thus accosts. "Why dost thou wallow in the ancient dregs of thine iniquity? thou, who from thy earliest manhood upwards art a bear the^c [destroyer] of many people, and charioteer of the chariot which is the receptacle of the Bear, contemner of God, Cynglas! red-haired butcher of the Latin language." The first "bear" is a mere epithet of invective, but in the second it is distinctly implied that Cynglas set himself up for a high-priest of Arthur, steward of the Septem-Trional^t mysteries, and Aretophylax to the Bear or Northern Wain. The chariot of the bear is the wain of the Triones in which "excepting seven none returned with Arthur." It is

^c *Sessor*, a word not found in Latin. Perhaps we should read *ensor*, itself a bad word. Or is *essor* put for *qui sedere facit*, who initiates many by the ceremony of *causing them to sit* in his *currus ursi*? Gild. Epist. p. 11.

^t The Aurellian family established certain Mithriac lodges in Rome, who were called the Synodites of Apollo, and their mysteries the diapanton (male diapandon) of Apollo. The synodites affected the name Aurelius. Under Commodus the "priest of the synod of Apollo" was styled Agilius *Septentrion*. Gruter Inscript. p. cccxxx. See p. ccxiii. As regards this island, it may just deserve mention that a poet of the age of Claudius Cæsar had these lines,

Brumalem sortita polum, quæ frigida semper
Præfulget stellis Arctos inocciduis.

Ἄρκτος . . . ἦν καὶ ἁμαξάν ἐπικλησὶν καλεοῦσιν,

Οἷη δ' ἁμμορος ἐστὶ λοετρῶν Ὠκεανοῖο. *Homer.*

Its immunity from the submerging waters of the Oceanus made the northern wain a just symbol for the Ark. The ordinary name of that constellation in Welsh is *llun y llong*, the image or representation of the ship. From this passage of Gildas we learn, that the mystic orgies of the spirit of the Great Bear were already completely organized, and ministered to by princes, in the brief reign of that sovereign who succeeds in the list of kings to the pretended Arthur, and within two years of his supposed disappearance from the field of Camlan. It is no idle vagary or flattering jargon of the bards, but a fact publicly notorious at the time and historically recorded. Yet if Arthur was a real man who lost his life in the battle of Camlan, it is morally certain that he could neither have been a very great man nor at all a fortunate one; and he could never have become in his own lifetime an object of superstitious adoration. It seems to follow, that Arthur's immediately antecedent reign can only be intended to signify the æra of the complete establishment of his gloomy ritual upon the ruins of British Christianity.

§ 7. The respectable Alfred of Beverley winds up the history by *Britannicus* (as he terms the anonymous Brud) by saying,[†] "I am filled with no small perplexity, why neither the history of the Romans nor that of the Angles says anything of the celebrated king Arthur." Well he might be so. The Saxon Chronicle does not suppress the names of islanders with whom the Saxons had to deal, but mentions those of Vortigern, Natanleod, Aidan, Brochvael, Geraint, Constantine of Scots, and Cadwallon. Its author betrays no knowledge

[†] Alured. Beverlac. 5. p. 76.

of Arthur's existence. The Venerable Beda either never heard of it or despised it as a fable. Florence of Worcester was a profest chronologist, who introduced the reckoning of Dionysius the Little, and a more critical historian than some of his time; but in his account of years he does not vouchsafe any place for the names of Ambrosius and Arthur, which must have been sufficiently familiar to his ears. The works of Gildas now make and, as extant in Geoffrey's day, did make mention of no such person as Arthur. Two reasons have been adduced for Gildas suppressing the name of a sovereign, of whose whole reign he had been an eye-witness. One is, that Caw his father^b was the same person as Gawolan father-in-law of Medrawd; and the other, that Arthur had offended him by killing^c his brother Hoel, and that he therefore flung into the sea all the books he had composed in praise of Arthur. If the facts were true, which nobody will avouch, they still furnish no reason for such a departure from common practice, and especially the practice of Gildas, as to pass over in silence a man, whom he might have abused with impunity. The reason why Gildas did not mention his deceased sovereign was that he never had any such.

§ 8. The Round Table of Arthur is declared to have been a similitude of the World; and the twelve knights seated round its circumference represent the twelve signs of the ecliptic. The twelve great victories gained by Arthur, "the guider of the war, the support of the battle, the bright elevated lamp," of which twelve the last was at the hill above Caer Badon or the *Aquæ Solis*, are the twelve Zodiacal entries of the sun and the twelve labours of Hercules. The Perilous Seat which was reserved in the centre of the round table, but in which Arthur never

^b Rowland's *Mona Ant.* p. 185.

^c Giraldus de *Illaudabilibus Wallie* c. 2. p. 448. ed. Wharton.

ventured to place himself, signifies to us the private belief of the Druidists in a code of astronomy different from that which they published, but one of which they deemed the establishment essential to the secure enthronization of Apollo Belenus.

Though Arthur was "the bull of conflict the bright elevated lamp," though he was the Sun, he was not that luminary (and Eliwlod intimates as much) heb eiriau llên, "without a veil to his refulgencies." He was not the Ambrosian Aurelius, the golden vivifying sun in heaven, but the incarnate Mithras in the llun y llong or unsubmerged and floating wain; and it is consequently a title applicable to the god as sojourning in the infernal regions (to which his^k vessel conveyed him), and upon earth afterwards, when he emerged from his "quadrangular enclosure" and shook off "the heavy blue chain." Though the name Arthur may seem to express the vessel literally, it undoubtedly signifies the man-god who navigated the same; for if the arth-ur or bear-aloft were simply the llun y llong, independent of its captain, it must have been said "excepting *eight* none returned with Arthur." Yet, where we read that Noah was the son of Arthur, the latter name denotes merely the *llong* or *ship*, the *wain* or *currus*, and the former is the great captain of the llong, and the "auriga currûs receptaculi ursi," proceeding from out thereof.

The hero Arthur is the terrestrial Apollo, Mithras the warrior, robber, huntsman, and king; but his descent into the prison with the strong door, and his mournful labours therein, transform him into the

^k See Athenæus xi. s. 16. s. 36. Schweigh. Macrobius L. 5. c. 21. Hercules sailed over the Ocean in the goblet or cauldron of the Sun to bring home the oxen of Geryon; but those were the Seven "Triones" or "Yoked Oxen" of the Wain and should rather be said to have towed *him* home. See Varro L. L. p. 95. Festus in Septem Triones.

subterranean Apollo who is Dis. Duly to appreciate Neo-Druidism, it is necessary to consider the doctrine of Neo-Pythagorism (another Mithriac sect, if not quite the very same) as expounded by Porphyry its grand-master, in his volume¹ entitled *the Sun*. "The virtue of Apollo is triple, for he is the Sun in heaven, and upon the earth he is father Liber, and he is Apollo in the infernal regions; for which reason his images are adorned with three insignia, the lyre, which is an image of the celestial harmony, the griffin, which indicates terrestrial god-head, and the arrows, by which he is pronounced to be an infernal and noxious god." Subject to this modification of the great Alter et Idem, the legend of Arthur is that of Aurelius Ambrose reiterated.

Emmrys was a bard and a magician according to the Bardic system and also named Merddin; but Merddin Emmrys was not a king. The Bruts and Histories however deny that name to the bard Merddin, and transfer it to a victorious monarch, son (as they feign) to the Roman emperor Constantinus. King or no king, he was Arthur essentially, though not formally. Arthur was begotten of a woman styled Eigyr, i.e. the Virgin, in the midst of magical illusions, by a personage styled the Terrible One with the Dragon's Head, aided by the black art of Merddin Emmrys; and when his time was out he sailed away in a magic boat to an enchanted isle, from whence he was expected to return. Merddin Emmrys was begotten by Satan on the body of a virgin for the express purpose of subverting the religion of Jesus Christ, and when his mission was ended he sailed away in a floating house, and no man knew whither he was gone.

§ 9. Caradoc Vreichbras was one of the three cadvarchogion or

¹ Porphyr. Sol. cit. Serv. Virg. Eclog. 5. v. 60.

knights of battle under Arthur. The life of Saint Padarn ^m says that king Caradoc Vreichbras conquered the entire isle of Britannia and Armorica. Cawrdaf his son was, according to the Triads, one of the sovereigns of Britain elected by vote of the whole country. But no space can be found for the supremacy of Caradoc and his son Cawrdaf, except in that which is vulgarly allotted to Arthur. During some part of that turbulent period, Caradoc and his son were the principal depositaries of the Arthurian power. Their ceasing to be such, may have induced Iddawg Corn Prydain, son of Cawrdaf and grandson of Caradoc, to turn against that power, and lend his efficient aid to its subversion; for we read that disclosures made by him destroyed Arthur's reign.

§ 10. It being taken for certain, that Arthur, whatsoever he was, was some person or some thing of high importance, he could not have been that for which he passes, an heroic king of all Britain, and have really lost his crown, and departed this world, in a great and disastrous battle for ever fatal to British independence, without the same tradition which recorded that battle being distinct and unanimous as to the country in which it was fought. What Roman could fail to recognize the plains of Pharsalia, what Burgundian those of Nancy, or what Swedishman those of Pultawa? The Bruts affirm that Arthur's fatal conflict with Medrawd the Pict and his Saxon confederates took place at Camlan, which we are given to suppose was near Camelford, in Cornwall. The Mort d'Arthur and the more ancient romances from which it is derived assign the great plain of Salisbury, near the Stonchenge, for its theatre. While Veremond (one of those

^m Cit. le Baud. Hist Bretagne p. 66.

Scottish chroniclers of Iona, of whom Hector Boece has been surmised with illiberality, and unquestionable^a falsehood, to have invented the names) maintained that it was fought on the banks of the Humber in Deira, and that Gwenhwyvar was carried prisoner to Dumbarton in Pictland, where she died. The legend was so rife and popular, at the time when the calumniated Hector Boece wrote, that the women of Dumbarton were afraid to walk over the pretended grave of Arthur's queen, lest their wombs should become barren like hers. It was a battle fought in nubibus between the phantoms created by Bardic metaphor, and mythologists may lay the scene of it where it best pleases them. But it would have been otherwise, had he been indeed one of their fortes animæ belloque peremptæ. In that case, methinks it could equally ill have been a matter of controversy, whether he was the grandson of Constantinus who reigned at Arles over Gaul Spain and Britain, or whether he was son to the petty Demetian prince Meirig ap Tewdrig.

§ 11. It is remarkable that neither the veneration of his faithful Britons nor the repentant piety of his kinsfolk who betrayed him should have erected either pagan cairn or Christian gravestone to mark where the famous Arthur is laid. In Taliesin's poem the Graves of the Warriors, the 44th stanza is in these extraordinary words,

The grave of the horse, the grave of the Fierce-One,
The grave of Gwgawn^o red-sword,
The grave of Arthur, a mystery of the world.

^a David Chambers, in his *Hist. Abr. des Rois de France Angleterre et Ecosse*, cites two passages of Veremond which are not in Boece. fol. 228, b. Veremond's Book of the Historians of Scotland was dedicated to Malcolm III. in 1076 *ibid.* His *Scotorum Antiquitates* is said to have been written about 1090. He was much indebted to an earlier author called Marcerius. Dempster *Hist. Eccl.* 467. 685.

^o Dr. Owen (on the authority of Triads 29 and 66 series 1.) made Gwgawn Cleddyvrudd a distinct person, who distinguished himself in A. D. 603. The same

The name Gwgawn is formed from gwg, frowning, or grim-visaged. The title Gwyth-wr, the fierce man (or fierce warrior) is applied to Arthur by Pendragon in his Dirge r. 11,

Neur orddevnais i waed a'm wythwr?

and in another dark effusion entitled the Song of Horses,^p

A ninefold protection
Is the return in old age
Of the horse of the field
Qualified to advance,
The horse of the *Fierce-One*,
The horse of the prohibitor,
The horse of Arthur
Bold in bestowing care.

The immediately preceding stanzas of the Graves are upon Elphin (a creature not less ideal than Arthur) and will shew in what spirit he was writing and how far his words are to be accepted in a plain and natural meaning.

ST. 42.

Is not my groan for Elphin?
For a proof of my bardic mysticism
Primordial above those who are first,
Rhuvawn's grave is the dominator's portion.

ST. 43.

Is not my groan for Elphin?
For a proof of my bardic mysticism
Above the foremost primordial,
Earthy is the grave of the very young Rhuvawn.

gentleman in the same volume said, that one Braint was distinguished in 633, and was the son of Nevydd ap Grenig ap Garanog ap Digar ap Cwnws ap Rhychwain ap Gwgawn Cleddyrrudd. Seven generations in thirty years! Cambr. Biogr. in *Braint* and *Gargan*.

^p Arch. Myv. 1. 44.

Besides their general style, the superadded titles Rhuvawn (the Reddened) and Gwgawn mark the similar character of the three stanzas, a character mystical in the extreme. William of Malmsbury had heard of two sepulchres, one at Dover, and one in South Wales, both said to contain the bones of Sir Gawain ; but the grave of Arthur he says¹ nowhere appears, *sed Arthuri sepulcrum nusquam visitur*. In the ensuing century that deficiency was in some sort provided for, and his works interpolated, so as to place him in direct contradiction with himself.

It is alleged for certain proof that Arthur was a real king and no fabulous creature, that in 1172² when Henry II. returned from Ireland (though others³ say it was done in 1180) he caused his nephew Henry de Saily abbot of Glastonbury to make search for his remains in a place which a bard had pointed out to him during his stay at Pembroke. He accordingly found them buried in a hollow tree sixteen foot under ground, being of proportions nearly gigantic, and by the side of the king lay his wife, conspicuous even in the last stage of decay for her golden tresses. Seven foot under ground, and nine foot above the skeletons, there was a thin cruciform plate of lead thus inscribed, *Hic jacet sepultus inclitus rex Arturius in insula Avalonia*. Adam of Domesham, and Leland who examined the plate “*curiosissimis oculis*,” bear witness to these words, and the fac-simile of the plate itself which is contained in most editions of Camden confirms their exactitude. The original is supposed to have been lost when

¹ De Gestis Regum p. 115.

² Hist. and Ant. Glast. in Hearne Glast. p. 156.

³ Leland cit. *ibid*.

the Abbey was dissolved. It is a clumsy piece of work with the letters thus arranged.

HIC IA
CET S
EPV
LTVS. INCL
ITVS. REX
ARTV
RIV
S. IN
INSV
LA. AV
ALO
NI
A
.

This I hope, says Rowlands in his *Mona*, will be sufficient to convince my readers that there was such a person as king Arthur. If this tale be a true one, Arthur must undoubtedly be permitted to take his place in history. But we may discern in it every mark of an unskilful fiction practised in the cloisters of Glastonbury, otherwise notorious enough for their legends and their miracles.

The omission of the H in Arthur formed from Arth, a bear, is contrary to the orthography¹ of the British tongue and the cotemporary authority of Llywarch and Taliesin. But it agrees with the French and Latin pronunciation as it would be used by a Norman Abbot in the twelfth century.

The portentous tales then in circulation respecting the birth of Arthur might deter the Benedictines from inserting any filiation;

¹ See L. Morris in *Camb. Reg.* 2. p. 283.

but the absence of any such does not improve the credit of the monument.

The word *Rex* was sufficient to meet the ideas of the Norman English. But it hardly suffices for the grave of Arthur. Britannia abounded in kings, some say to the number of^a two hundred, and certainly to a considerable number. There were kings of Gwynedd, of Dyved, of Caredigion, of Cerniw, of Reged etc. Over all these it was usual to elect one paramount monarch. That supreme rank was denoted by several^v styles, such as *brenin coronawg*, the crowned king, *unben Prydain*, the one head of Britain, *brenin Prydain oll*, king of all Britain,^w and *brenin ar yr ynys*, king over the island. The monument placed in honour of Cadvan at the time of his elevation alludes to his election by and out of the college of kings, *Catamanus rex sapientissimus opinatissimus omnium regum*. So that the words *rex Arturius* give no adequate idea of the rank and condition which the authors meant to describe.

It is reasonable and usual to give people credit for knowing where they are; because a man who is reading a grave-stone in Somerset does not suppose he is reading one in Middlesex. The usage of grammar also repudiates the expression of the place by name after using the demonstrative adverb *hic*. We therefore do not meet with such epitaphs as "*Here lieth John Styles in the Isle of Purbeck.*" Yet the epitaph of Arthur is composed in that fashion, *Here lieth buried the famous king Arthur in the Isle of Avallon*. It is easy to

^a Jones's answer to Tate, p. 222, 3. ed. Hearne.

^v See Hywel Dda 2. c. 19. *Mabinogion* part 1. cit. Edw. Llwyd.

^w The Saxon princes, whose superiority was to some extent, and from time to time, admitted by the other heptarchs, were not styled *Seaxwealdas* but *Bretwealdas*, and the dignity to which they aspired was the *unbennaeth Prydain*.

read what was passing in the conscience of the Glastonian Benedictines. The fable of Arthur was ended, or interrupted, by his aphanismus, his retirement into a mysterious and enchanted isle, where he remained alive but wounded, his wound being annually cured, and ever breaking out afresh on the anniversary day of his receiving it. Gervas of Tilbury^{*} nephew to Henry II. terms it the Isle of Damalis, that is, of the sacred cow or heifer worshipped in the mysteries of those Druidists. Others termed it the Ynys Avallon or Isle of the Apple Tree; the apple tree being a term equally significant in those dark initiations, as plainly appears in the Avallenau or *Song of Apple Trees* by the raving fanatic Merddin of Celyddon. It was the general belief in Wales and Brittany that he had never seen death, but would one day return alive from Avallon, whence the French[†] proverb against chimerical hopes, espoir Breton, or esperance Bretonne. Joseph of Exeter (in the reign of Henry II.) said, "thus the ridiculous belief and credulous error of the Britons is waiting for Arthur and may wait until doomsday,"

Arturum expectat expectabitque perenne.

Peter[‡] of Blois at the same period composed these monkish verses,

Quibus si credideris
Expectare poteris
Arturum cum Britonibus.

The doctrine of Arthur in the gardens of the fairy Morgan his sister, who (as Gervas says) "by the continual application of fresh remedies heals his annually recrudescent wound," is the pagan legend concern-

^{*} De Regno Brit. p. 48.

[†] Troubadours, ed. St. Palaye. 1. 34. 3. 101.

[‡] Ep. 57. cit. de La Rue Bardes Arm. p. 51.

ing Memnon son of Aurora and Adonis (or, as Egypt styled him, Osiris) son of Myrrha, with scarce any change or modification. But the fortunate isle or paradise of the goddess was connected in the minds of the heretics of the sixth century, with the Paradise of Holy Writ. The Avallon of the British was the Irish Flathinnis, primarily Isle of Heroes, and secondarily Isle of Heaven, called likewise^a Avallghort, the Garden of Apples. The authors of the Bruts, neither purposing to offend nor to proclaim such a prevalent but heathenish superstition, merely say, that Arthur was conveyed to Avallon to be *cured of his mortal wound*, and resigned his crown in favour of Constantine the Cornish prince. But as to whether he *was* cured, or not, and when he died, or whether he ever died at all, Tysilio had the prudence to say never a word.

The inconsistency of curing a mortal wound does not offend against the notions to which the British had addicted themselves. For their evil thoughts were probably directed to this verse of Revelations, And I saw one of his heads as it were wounded to death, and *his deadly wound was healed*, and all the world wondered after the beast. The Bards had a spurious or interpolated Apocalypse, which would elucidate this point, could we meet with it.

It so happens that the Vale of Glastonbury, being in fact a vast orchard of Apple Trees, and also a considerable sanctuary of the Neo-Druidists before it was held by Catholic Benedictines, was called Avallonia or Ynys Avallou. It was therefore obvious enough to apply these romantic fables (how

Νησοὺς ἐν μακαρῶν σε φασὶν εἶναι)

to the real site of Glastonbury. The Abbot and his people argued

^a See Edw. Llwydd Etymologium.

thus. "We know that a Bardic tradition has handed down, that Arthur sailed away to Ynys Avallon, but this place *is* Avallonia, and so, the fact will agree with the tradition." But they had the weakness to betray their thought by composing an argumentative epitaph, against the usages of grammar and principles of common sense.

This solution may possibly be offered. The sepulture of the dead man in hallowed ground was not incompatible with an expectation of his return. It is expected that the Saints shall come again and reign upon earth, by persons who no-wise dispute their death and burial. And so the Avallon of the false prophets might only be the consecrated place of his interment where (as Llywarch said of his son's funeral) the *birds on the apple-tree* sweetly sang his dirge. My best reply is, that, if it might be so, it was not. When the Armoricans heard of the discovery at Glaston, all their hopes and expectations of Arthur^b were destroyed. Such is the fact. And in their grief, and for its consolation, they bestowed the name of Arthur upon their young prince who was born in 1187; whereas some few years before (when Alanus^c de Insulis was writing) they abused and were ready to stone any person who believed in his death.

I have little scruple in rejecting this epitaph, as a sorry specimen of monastic ingenuity. I will merely add, that ten visible wounds are pretty many for a man to receive in his skull, and afterwards be conveyed alive one hundred miles (or thereabouts) from Camelford to Glastonbury! And, that a rotten tree and a thin plate of lead form a portable mausoleum, well adapted to the use of such Antiquaries as are most sure of finding what they seek. Our suspicions will be confirmed

^b Lobineau Hist. Bretagne l. p. 172.

^c Alanus de Proph. Merlini p. 17.

by finding that lies have been invented and forgeries committed in support of this tale.

Giraldus Cambrensis,^d observing that the inscription was not a fair and full invoice of the articles discovered, was so impudent as to say that he had read these words upon the plate, *Hic jacet sepultus inclitus rex Arthurus in Insulâ Avaloniâ cum Weneverid uxore suâ secundâ*. This is open to three remarks, of which the two latter are supernumerary. 1. It is a lie, contradicted by more respectable witnesses, and by the extant fac-simile. 2. It is founded on the silly Triadical fable of the three Gwenhwyvars, and of the second of the three, the daughter of Gawrwyd, being buried with him. 3. Gwenhwyvar is not well expressed in Latin by Weneveria; the Neo-Druids who buried Arthur would have written it Wenuovara.

The Benedictines were glad of the occasion to add another venerable relique to the various marvels of their Abbey. But the English government had larger and more statesman-like motives for the solemn sanction it gave to this fraud. The peaceful submission of the Welsh princes to the superiority of their Norman masters could no way be so effectually promoted, as by proving the entire vanity and falsehood of the Bardic legends and popular superstition; and especially of the famous and mischievous predictions ascribed to Merddin Ambrose. Giraldus even declares that some such motives induced him to write the lying narrative just above cited. "Since concerning King Arthur and his death many things are doubtfully reported and fabulously invented by the tribes of the Britons, who contend foolishly that he still lives, I have taken care to subjoin hereto some facts

^d Spec. Eccles. Dist. 2. c. 11. ms. cit. Langhorne Chron. p. 94. Price Defens. p. 129.

ascertained by indubitable verity, in order that the reality of this matter may hereafter be clearly apparent, the things which are true and certain established, and the things fabulous exploded." Then he states that, "after the Battle of Camlan, Arthur being mortally wounded was carried to *Insula Avalonia*, now Glaston, by a noble matron his kinswoman by name *Morgain le Faye*, and afterwards, dying, was buried by her. Therefore the fabling Britons and their minstrels feigned, that *Morganis*, a fantastic goddess, took him to the Isle of Avalon to heal his wounds, and that when he was healed he should return to rule the Britons, for they expect him as the Jews do their Messiah." The king his master, (in that same journey through Pembrokeshire, after which the search was instituted) made it evident that he was aware of the mischief. Across the river Alun lay a stone called the *Llechlavar*, or speaking stone, and the Ambrosian prophecies had said, that an English king returning from the conquest of Ireland should be slain on that stone. Henry passed over it with a slow and deliberate step, and then cried aloud, "Who will henceforth give credit to the lying *Merddin*?" I have no doubt that Henry's visit to Wales and Ireland was the cause of the discovery in Somersetshire.

As the story is made up, a Welsh bard at Pembroke indicated the place of sepulture to Henry and his followers, by stating in his song, that two small pyramids were erected over the spot. The Abbot, in consequence, dug under the pyramids, and found what he sought. That tale is in itself sufficient to blast the whole narrative. For the pyramids were[†] inscribed with the names of the persons to or by whom

* Sir R. C. Hoare's *Giraldus* 2. p. 8.

† See Leland's *Assertio* fol. 23. b.

they were dedicated; and those were palpably the names of certain Anglo-Saxons, viz. Winewegn, Walfred, Eanfled, Beorwald etc. This leads me to observe upon the interpolation of William of Malmsbury. That author avers in his History that the place of Arthur's burial was and continued to be entirely unknown; but in his Glastonian Antiquities he is made to say, "I will not enlarge upon the famous Arthur king of the Britons who was buried in the cemetery of the Monks with his wife, between* the two pyramids, nor upon various other princes of the Britons." If this passage were not in direct contradiction with the other, it would be no less impossible for William to have written a word of it: because the grave of Arthur was not discovered for more than twenty years after his death!

So far as this story goes, king Arthur must remain with a great name but without a local habitation; while the general acquiescence of the Welsh and Cornubians in such a story seems to prove that Bardic learning afforded them no tradition of his real sepulture, and therefore leaves his pretensions to be a real man rather worse off, than they were before the busy cœnobites meddled in their behalf. Sir R. Colt Hoare^b quotes a story out of Caxton's Chronicle, that the tomb of Arthur was found in Ross in South Wales, A. D. 1062, and that his body was fourteen foot long. I do not know the book thus cited, but if Caxton says so, he has quite blundered the matter, of which there is an account in William of Malmsbury. The grave in Ross was that of Gawain and not Arthur, and fourteen foot was the length of the sepulchre, and not of the man. That place of sepulture still exists under the name of St. Gowen's chapel.

* G. Malm. Ant. Glast. p. 306. Gale.

^b Ancient S. Wilts p. 245. Caxton *ibid.*

"The grave of Arthur (said Taliesin) a mystery of the world." The Bruts, which introduce the two brother kings Aurelius Ambrosius and Uthyr Pendragon, poison them both, and bury them both in the Cor Gawr or Stonehenge. The poisoner of Ambrosius is styled Eppa i. e. the Ape. Their eppa was a mysterious character of unknown import, mentioned by the bards in connexion with their mundane rampart or *govur byd*; "heb eppa, heb henvonva, heb govur byd." But Taliesin in his Dirge of Pendragon (which clearly shews that personage to have been a great deity of the world-worshippers) gives him these words,

Let my tongue, to rehearse the dirge,

Be from out of the stone-constructed rampart of the world, the same which he had previously termed cawrmur or the giant-rampant, and he proceeds to describe the dragon moving in a circle among the immense stones. It is therefore most probable, that the only tombs of Arthur are the circles of great stones representing the mystery of the world; and that his sepulture therein is the same as his imprisonment for three nights¹ in the prison of Gwen Pendragon and other mystic prisons. Such sepulture is but a well-known stage of transition in the rites of apotheosis, and does not signify that any real man's bones were there deposited. The Preiddeu Annwn immediately after mentioning the last of Arthur's mystic voyages, or his mystic voyage under its last appellation, (I say immediately, his abuse of the monks for contradicting his tenets being a mere parenthesis) thus intimates to us the ideal nature of Arthur's sepulture;

¹ See Triad 50 ser. 1. 49. ser. 2 in Cambro-Briton 2. 194. The three nights are borrowed from the mythology of Hercules.

When we went with Arthur into the mournful conflict
 Excepting seven none returned from *Caer Ochren*.

The grave of the Holy-One is vanishing! from the grave of
 the altar

(Or, as it may be rendered, "from the grave¹ of the cauldron")
 I will worship the *Gwledig*, the great noble-one.

§ 12. The reality of *Medrawd* son of *Leo*, who betrayed *Arthur* and gave him his deadly wound, seems to me almost as questionable as his own. That famous person was "so mild² and placid, and so "pure in his discourse, that it would be difficult for any one in "the world to refuse or deny what he asked." *Gwalchmai* says to *Madoc* of *Powys*,

¹ The dread of thee hath penetrated
 To the extremities of the world,
 As the mightiness of *Arthur*,
 The intellect of *Medrawd*.

In the *Avallennau* of *Merddin Wyllt* it is said by that nearly or quite cotemporary bard, "My prophecy shall announce the coming again "of *Medrawd* and of *Arthur* protector of the multitude; they prepare "for the battle of *Camlan*, it shall then be a Thursday, and excepting "seven none shall escape from the meeting. Then let *Gwenhwyvar* "reflect, after her over-weening arrogance, when an ecclesiastical "dignitary is the commander." This prophecy is very analogous to the Sibyl's *iterum ad Trojam magnus mittetur Achilles*; and when we meet with *Arthur's* *namyn saith*, *excepting seven*, we know that we are on hallowed ground, and that the words we hear are not of a

¹ *Allawr*, an altar; *callawr* in syntax *allawr*, a cauldron; *o bedd allawr* ambiguous.

² *Triad* 118. ser. 3.

¹ *Arch. Myvyr*. 1. 200.

plain import. The names of their wives *Gwen-hwy-var, the Lady of the Vast Extension*, and *Gwen-hwy-vach, the Lady of the Circumscribed Extension*, are clearly¹⁰ invented in reference to each other, and in a theosophic sense. The air and the earth appear to me to be implied. Medrawd can scarcely stand in a better relation to history than Arthur does.

It has been the endeavour of Dr. Owen and the later assertors of Arthur to uphold him, by distinguishing a mythological Arthur from the historical. But the language of the *Avallenau*, one of the works most nearly approaching to the date of his reign, clearly identifies the historical king (if such he be) who married *Gwenhwyvar*, fought against the Saxons, was betrayed by Medrawd, and overthrown at Camlan, with the Arthur of the *Preiddeu Annwn* and other dark mythologies.

§ 13. Mr. Davies constantly maintained that Noah was signified by Arthur, to which he was led by various allusions to his presence and achievements during the great deluge, without paying sufficient regard to his warlike, sanguinary, and most unpatriarchal attributes. Dr. Owen conjectured that he was Nimrod the Hunter, but failed to explain his voyage in the ark. The third of Noah's surviving sons preserved through the flood, and revived after it, the heathenism of the Antediluvians, and found an early occasion for introducing and combining the Bacchic and Ithyphallic mysteries. He was the Jove of the apostate patriarchs and of their divided posterity the gentiles.

¹⁰ This relation of the two names is fatal to Mr. Davies's opinion that the former is a mutation from *bar*, a summit. The same relation of ideas occurs in *Trystan* son of *Talluch* i. e. *wide expansion* and his mistress *Easylt* daughter of *Culcynacyd* i. e. *the narrowly extending*.

His grandson Nimrod was the Hercules of Greece and Mithras of Persia. But, though really the son of his eldest son, he was credited to be his own son, not by nature indeed, but by the incubation of his deified spirit, when he visited his temple of Jupiter Belus in the form of the lascivious dragon. In the obscure Dirge of Pendragon, the conception of Arthur by the congress of the dragon and the priestess *Eigyr* (i. e. *the Virgin*), "*gravida Arturo fatali fraude Iogerne*," is faintly shadowed out by Taliesin.

My side moving round the Caer,
While the Caer is anxious,
And the writing^a is excessive,
And the fair one retreats before it
On to the veil covering the huge stones,
The dragon whirling round
Over the places of the vessels of choice liquor, etc.

The visit of Jove and Mercury to the chamber of Alcmena in the assumed likeness of her husband Amphitryon and his servant Sosia, and the visit of Uthyr Pendragon and Merddin to that of Eigyr in the forms of her husband Gorloes and his servant Brithvael are not casual similitudes but amount to a case of identity. They are as much as to say outright that Arthur is Hercules son of Jove. There seems to be some reason for thinking that, in the Herculean divinity, in the magnum Jovis incrementum, the grandfather Saturn was made to reappear and the characters of the sage navigator of the flood and the proud king of men united in one. For such is the best construction which has yet been put upon the Eleusinian verse, "the Bull was father of the Dragon and again the Dragon was father of the Bull."

^a Rhy ysgriviad. Probably some telegraphic oracle, some mimic urim and thummin. Whatever it alludes to, it is astonishing that Mr. Davies should have rendered it "the gliding king."

The identity of the god Arthur with Hercules appears in the borrowed details of Arthur's procreation ; and there also exists a short poem upon his departure from this mortal state of existence, in which the Martial Mithras of the Britons is called by the very name of Hercules. It is nearly^o as follows.

THE DIRGE OF HERCULES.

Ominous become the elements
Like night in the day-time,
For the coming, in much glory,
Of Hercules the head of baptism.
Hercules would say,
" Death is no great evil ;
" On the shield of the sea-shores,
" Even on him it may burst."
Hercules was of constant mind,
And strenuous, in his madness.
Four columns of equal length
With ruddy gold on their whole length
Are the columns of Hercules,
In enterprise no braggard,
No braggard in challenging.
The sun's warmth of no partial expansion
Pure goeth even unto heaven ;
So far forth goeth he,
Hercules sword-smiter of the rampart.
A small matter marks the sand,
And a small matter gives us the Trinity
Merciful in the day of doom.

^o Arch. Myvyr. 1. p. 60.

^p The cabalistic triad, which they often alluded to by the name of Trindawd, and which might be confounded with or distinguished from Christianity, as suited their occasions.

If any one could imagine that this was a classical exercise upon the Hercules of Greek mythology, and not a fellow to Pendragon's Dirge of Arthur, the fourth of the above lines would suffice to set him right.

The Little Mysteries of Eleusis consisted of the ceremony of the initiation of Hercules; and Taliesin's poem the Throne or Royal Chair, in which Arthur is introduced to some awful personage who blesses him *ar gerdd gyvænad*, i. e. according to the firmly cemented compact of the bards, may be referred to the little mysteries of the *Apollinares Mystici*. I conceive that Heilyn, the person whose benediction is to abide with Arthur "when his face meets the battle," is that same Gorlassar or ætherial heaven,

"Id sublime candens quem invocant omnes Jovem,"

who says in his Dirge, from out of the stone-built mundane rampart and giant-rampart, *gwrthgloddiaid byd and cawrmur*, "did I not give unto Hen-pen the great-sword of the very-great enchanter?" In Eastern language, it is the benediction of Mithras by his father Oromazdes.

The award of the glorious song
Of immeasurable inspiration,
Concerning the warrior with two authors,
Of the generation of the slayer,
And his cow-pen, and his rampart,
And his swift invaders,
And his regulating king,
And his ^q scriptural number,
And his empurpling redness,
And his impulse over the rampart,
And his suitable throne
Among the retinue of the rampart.

^q His cabalistic number i. e. the abraxas and other cabala connected with it. Arch. I. p. 66.

Verily he is brought from the giant-rampart,
 The driver of the pale horses,
 The royal, the ancient,
 Heilyn giver of food,
 The widely-displayed, of commanding wisdom,
 That he may bless Arthur.
 Be Arthur blessed
 According to the cemented bardic union,
 And his face in the battle
 When it tumultuates around him !

We have some knowledge of this person from Gwyddnau Garanhir or whoever wrote in his name,

Goruc clod Heilyn bendefig awyrdwl ;
 Hyd brawd parahawd y ertywyl.
 Supreme the glory of Heilyn, the air-enshrouding lord ;
 Till doomsday endureth he, the vegetative.

Erasmio di Valvasone in his poem of *The Chase* fully describes Arthur's initiation into all the mysteries¹ of the three worlds, which took place when he was out hunting in a forest, and pursued a hind to a mount, situated in a plain, and covered with stones arranged in giro, circularly.

If haply thee thy stars should ever light,
 In chase with Arthur's lofty hind to meet,
 Whose beauteous horns with rubies were bedight,
 And hoofs of sounding iron to her feet,
 And skin, like Frixus' ram and Helle's, bright
 With hairs of purest gold, Oh ! how complete
 Were thy beatitude, should heaven allot
 Some path for thee into her secret grot.

La Caccia 4 st. 141.

¹ This series of mundane initiations constitutes *ta diavavrov* of the Synodites of Apollo, of which Aurelius Apolaustus of Memphis was the priest, and the high-priest of the synod itself, under M. Aurelius. Gruter cccxiii.

At the end of his sojourn in the infernal chambers, where he was initiated, he received from his sister Morgana the sword Excalibar. The Little Mysteries were held at a place called Agræ i. e. the Chaces or Huntings, because Diana and the murdered huntsman Myuns (seemingly an Eleusinian title of Hercules) used there to hunt together. The spirits of Arthur and his knights used to haunt the woods of Britannia and Armorica pursuing a goblin chase, and alarming the neighbourhood with the baying of their hell-hounds, *the dogs of Annwn* or of the Abyss; as the Wild Jager does in Germany, and as Hercules did in the mountains of Sambulus in Assyria. "The foresters and game-keepers of Great Britain (saith Gervas¹ of Tilbury) declare that, upon alternate days, at noon, and in the first stillness of night when it is full moon and moon-light, they often see a number of warriors hunting with much noise of dogs and horns, who, if interrogated, say they are of the *society and family of Arthur*." In the seventeenth century de L'Ancre² wrote thus, "in our age and of recent memory nocturnal apparitions of huntsmen have been seen, and the noise of men, horns, dogs, and horses has been heard, which is vulgarly called *la chasse du roi Arthus*." When Vortigern³ was in low spirits, Merddin Ambrose used to divert his melancholy, by presenting to his senses the visionary chase of a hare or hart, with horns blowing, and hounds pursuing at full cry through the vacant air.

§ 14. This topic may be handled to better satisfaction, by descending from the remote origins of human generations and errors, and shewing to what real man and actions the Arthur of the Britons had a

¹ Otia 2. c. 12. p. 922.

² Tableau de l'Inconstance etc. Spranger cit. ibid. p. 293.

³ Heywood's Merlin p. 28, 9.

more immediate reference, and why mortals so widely removed from the æra of the Lower Western Empire, as those who seem to revive in his person, have been called up like phantoms to cross our path in history. The round table was not the work of Arthur, nor was he the entire master of it. It represented the^v round world. In the centre of it was the Seat Perilous, representing the mundane station of the sun, according to the philosophy which was then occult though it has since become popular. To sit in that seat was the highest and most dangerous honour a man could aspire to. One Moses^w who presumed to do so was instantly seized by seven ardent and fiery hands and carried off into the wilderness. Subsequently the same experiment was made^x by Brumant nephew of king Claudas, who was consumed in the seat by fire from heaven. He who was destined to assume the Seat was also destined to achieve the Saint Gréal. Arthur failed of doing either himself. But there was an inscription on the Seat declaring that it ought to be filled in the year of Christ 454. Bearing that Romance date in mind, we must observe that Arthur was armed with a sword of preternatural origin and qualities, in right of which he was termed Cleddyvradd or Red-Sword and (as though he were himself the sword) Llyminawg^y i.e. having a very sharp edge.

A bright gleaming sword to him had been brought,
 And in the hand of Llyminawg it was left,
 And before the gateway of hell the horn of battle is blazing;
 And when we went with Arthur, refulgent in his labours,
 Excepting seven none returned from *Caer Mediwid*.

^v *Mort d'Arthur* B. 14. c. 2.

^w *St. Greal* fol. 103.

^x *Lancelot du Lac* fol. 38. a.

^y From *llym*, intensely acute, and *min*, a weapon's edge. Sometimes improperly written *lleminauwg*, from *llem* feminine of *llym*. See *Preiddeu Annwn* I. *Myvyr* p. 45.

The Eagle ghost of Eliwlod says to Arthur,

Arthur, gleddydawg uthyr,
 Arthur, portent of the sword,
 Nought standeth before thine onset,
 I am the son of Madoc son of Uthyr,

and again accosts him as if he were himself identified with or assimilated to a sword,

Arthur, ben cadoedd Cerniw,
 Arddercawg, *rimiang o llin* !
 Arthur, head of the battles of Cornwall,
 Exalted-one, *acute-edged of shape* !

From these modes of addressing him, it would seem as if Arthur appeared to the eyes of the eagle in the form of a sword and not in the human form. It is probable that the poem may be taken out of some Mabinogi of Arthur, the production of which would throw light upon it.

Mort Artur² relates that he saw a hand brandishing it over a lake, and that the Lady of the Lake gave him permission to take it. But Erasmo di Valvasone³ says that Arthur's sister Morgana bestowed it on him at the close of his voyage through the infernal regions and initiation into all the secrets of the universe. "The great-sword of the very-great enchanter," the

Cleddyvawr gorrwawr gynghallen,
 was so interwoven with Arthur's life that he could not depart this world for his appointed sojourn in Damalis or Avallon, until it was flung into the water. It was the seat of his divine intelligence. By regarding it with attention (says Valvasone) he could see in it all his own defects and the mode of amending them, and so became equal to

² M. A. 1. c. 25.

³ La Caccia, Canto iv.

the paragons of antiquity; and we read in Tyran le Blanc of Arthur imprisoned in a silver cage, having life, but void of knowledge and discernment, save that he could answer all questions by gazing fixedly on the blade of his naked sword. The conquests of the Brudic and Romantic Arthur included Ireland, the Hebrides, Iceland, Scandinavia, Denmark, Germany, and Gaul. His seal, upon which Leland was weak enough to rely as an authentic document, is inscribed^b *Patricius Arturius, Britannię, Gallię, Germanię, Dacię imperator*. He humbled the power of the Roman Empire and, as Leslie Bishop^c of Ross affirms, that of the Greek also.

Attila king of the Hunns claimed sovereignty over the Scythic and Sarmatic nations in right of the sword of Mars, (not a weapon used *by* that god but an idol *of* him, *miniawg o lliw*, and immemorially revered in Scythia, though seldom seen upon earth) which he pretended had been consigned into his hands by the gods. Most of the northern nations seem to have been obedient to his power, *ut solus inaudito ad eum diem exemplo possessionem Germanicorum Scythicorumque regnorum*^d *conjunxerit*, and both sections of Constantine's empire were humbled by his arms into the payment of tribute.

Arthur passed into Gaul with all his forces and gained a great battle in *Champagne* over the Roman general Lucius Tiberius, and was marching upon Rome itself to attack the emperor, when the intrigues of Medrawd the Pict and Gwenhwyvar recalled him home and shortly afterwards destroyed him. The emperor against whom he marched is termed Leo in the Brut of Geoffrey, and in the annals of

^b Stillingfleet Origines p. 340.

^c De Orig. Scot. p. 130.

^d M. Goldast. de Bohem. 1. c. 8. where he uses Scythic for Sarmatic or Esclavonic.

certain Welsh convents* and churches he is called Leo Major and said to have reigned eighteen years. The Hunn fought a great battle in *Champagne* against the Roman general Fl. Aetius, and soon after marched against Italy, where he was encountered by no emperor, but by Pope Leo, called Magnus, who filled the see twenty-one years; and by agreement with him, but for what private motives I leave his historians to enquire, returned to his own country. A few months completed his life, by means (as it has been supposed) of an unfaithful wife and of foreign and domestic treachery. This happened either in the winter of 453 or very early in 454. And the feast of Pentecost in the year 454 was the time fixt by the prophecies preserved in Arthur's court for the filling of the siege perilleux, or seat of Jesus Christ in the centre of the round table, and for atchieving the Saint Gréal.

Is it credible that two miraculous sword-bearers should have been thought or even feigned to spring up, conquer Europe, successfully assail and shake the Roman Empire, return home and perish, under circumstances so similar, and with so close a synchronism? True it is, that the Brudic Arthur bears date considerably later than the Romantic. But the date in the Bruts refers to the history of this island and its revolutions as they occurred; while that in the Romancers is meant to explain the secrets of the Arthurian superstition. They found in the dates of British history almost an anagram of the Hunnish date they wished to express. Arthur (according^f to Tysilio etc.)

* Cit. Sir J. Pryce Defensio p. 128.

^f Brut Tysil. p. 357, where Mr. Roberts (p. 172) has falsely rendered dwy vlyned a deugnau a vymcant by "A. D. 552." G. Monm. xi. c. 2. Hafod MS. p. 357 Arch.

fought the ruinous battle of Camlan in A. D. 542, which figures form an anagram of A. D. 452; and towards the close of that year the king of Hunns was met by St. Leo the Great on the banks of the Po, and persuaded or over-reached into the abandonment of his ambitious views. The warlike might of Arthur was contrasted with the intellects of Medrawd. Perhaps the sagacious pontiff may enter (at least) into the composition of the mythical Medrawd *son of Leo*, whose tongue used to drop the honey of irresistible persuasion. Merddin of Celyddon, in foretelling the renewed contest of Camlan between Arthur and Medrawd, uses the remarkable phrase, "an ecclesiastical dignitary (eglwysig bondefig) shall be the commander."

Arthur was engendered in miracle and magic by the Portent with the Serpent's Head; and king Attila's mother is described in Runic poems as a female^f serpent, not in metaphorical invective, but as being really such. Of Arthur and Merddin Ambrose, it is said that they disappeared mysteriously from among men, and are detained alive in enchanted places. In an ancient German^h poem (perhaps written in the twelfth century, but of which the materials in Latin were collected in the tenth) it is said of the Hunn, "Some say he was killed in battle, which others deny. I have never been able to ascertain whether he suddenly disappeared, or was taken up into the air, or buried alive, or taken up to heaven, or whether he fell out of his skin, or shut himself up in caves among the rocks, or fell into an abyss, or was swallowed up by the devil." A lake in the Armorican Britain contains an islet, in which there stands a large stone, under

^f Oddrunar Gratr st. 30. Gunnar's Slagr st. 22.

^h Nibelunge Not. ed. Lachman p. ult. Jamieson's Northern Ant. p. 213.

which¹ a giant is confined, who is not to escape from his prison, until a virgin removes the stone with her hands; and that islet is termed Isle de l'Hun, Isle of the Hunn. The existence of such opinions is what makes for our point, not the cause of them. But the disappointed yet persevering belief in religious impostures (which even detection does not confute, so obstinate is the deceivableness of man) will sometimes give rise to such ideas; of which our age and country exhibits one sad² example, and Persia another, as foolish, though more dignified, in her expectation of the twelfth Imaum. The Bruts pretend, concerning the river Humber, that it was called in the most remote times, ages and ages before the Hunns were named or heard of, from a king of that people who was defeated on its shores and drowned in its current; while Veremond of Iona reported that Arthur was slain upon the banks of it and his people drowned by thousands. I trust the following will be excused, as being offered with no sort of confidence in its solidity. Attila received his first severe check from the Patrician Aetius at the battle of Catalaunum in Champagne, perhaps unrivalled in the records of slaughter. The battle in which Arthur was wounded is placed on the banks of the Alawn (by which name many British rivers were called) and Leland terms it bellum³ Alaunicum quod vulgò Camlan. It so happens that cat-alawn will signify either *Catalaunum* or the *battle of the Alaunus*. There may be Bardic equivocation in this.

¹ I read this in an extract from some publication, inserted three or four years ago in a daily paper, (I think, in the *Morning Post*) and am unable to say from what book it was extracted by the Editor.

² Mr. Edward Williams, in a letter written in 1800 subsequent to the cessation of his literary connexion with Mr. W. Owen Pughe, enquired if the latter still held to the faith of Johanna Southcote. *Cambr. Reg.* 3. p. 374.

³ *Assertio Arthuri* 21 b.

The parallel seems to present us with the same dates, and with the like superstitions, conquests and dominion, events, misfortunes, and catastrophe. Unless it be objected that the British Isles were not subject to the Scythian. Perhaps not; but they may have been under his influence, and waiting only for that spring tide of his fortune, called mystically the filling of the Seat Perilous, to become formally and entirely his. The last application of the Britons for Roman aid was made to the Patrician Aetius, who was unable to send any, and then it is not unlikely that they may have turned towards his terrible competitor. Of course I need not say, that all these barbarian monarchs were Paramount Lords, and no way interfered with the local rights of the immediate kings. The ministers of that conqueror boasted to those of Rome that he "had acquired power over the *Islands¹ of the Ocean* as well as over all Scythia and the Roman Empire." A Norse Saga mentions an embassy^m sent thither from the principal of the Hunn's vassal kings residing at his court, in Arthur's reign, under a certain Herbut, who eloped with Arthur's daughter, pulled off his chaplain's beard, and killed twelve of his knights. That fable agrees with the Romance date of Arthur's reign. Francis Irenicus (who refers to books of history, now little, if at all, known) mentions that Genseric "after the capture of Carthage sent expeditions over to Sicily, Ireland, and Britannia," where he maintained himself, *until the deferescence of the tyranny of Attila.*" The fabling Tysilio lends a sort of confirmation to this statement, though he brings down the date to the reign of a certain Caredig, about twenty-three years after the fall of Arthur; for he says, that Gormund, *a cruel king of Africa, had occupied Ireland^o with his navy*, and sent over 300 sail of ships from thence to Great

¹ Excerpt Legat. p. 64. ed. Paris.

² Germ. Exeg. 1. c. 25. fol. 150. a.

^m Wilkina Saga p. 301 etc.

^o Roberts's Tysilio. p. 174.

Britain, to aid the Saxons who tendered him homage and tribute. The ferocious Arian, Genseric, was the well-known confederate and ally of the heathen Hunn; and, therefore, we must construe the "usque deferbucri" of Irenicus, that he held Ireland and over-awed the British coast in concert with him, in furtherance of his plans, and just so long as those plans continued to exist. Arius Froda relates that, when the Norwegians first^p occupied Iceland, they found it inhabited by Christians, who soon after took their departure, leaving behind them books in the Irish tongue and other proofs that they were Irish people. Since the Irish were never celebrated as a nautical people, it is likely this settlement may have been made by the Vandal admirals while they held Ireland, and may serve in some degree to excuse the assertion of the British Chronicles that Arthur occupied Iceland.

Having noticed with approbation Dr. Owen's opinion that the sword-bearing Arthur (the Llyminawg and Henpen of the Bards) was a type of Nimrod, and having just afterwards maintained that he was a type of Attila, it is incumbent on me to remark that the latter denominated himself in his official style, among other titles, some of obvious meaning, and others profoundly mysterious, "the lineal descendant of Nimrod the Great." The use of that proper name bespeaks him to be something more than the savage Scythian, and a dabbler in *Scriptural* heresies. If I were in the right concerning Arthur, it would farther follow, that Attila sought to identify himself, in the Eastern fashion, by avatar or reincarnation, with the same Scythian Hercules from whom he claimed a lineal descent.

The resulting probability is, that the Gwrtheyyr party, the Neo-Druids or "Apollinares Mystici," sought the alliance of the great barbarian, during the life and nominal reign of Gwrtheyrn, secretly

^p De Islandia c.2. p.11.

acknowledged the mysteries of his dæmon sword, and beheld in him a reincarnation of Hên-Velen or Belenus the Ancient, of Mithras the robber and huntsman, the spirit of the sun, and (as old Llywarch sang) "the bull of conflict, the guider of war, the support of battle, the bright elevated lamp." The apostates of these isles, by obtaining a real and cotemporary head to their system, were enabled to give it more energy and popularity at the time, and make it stronger against Christ. And, afterwards, by addressing their worship to a Martial Apollo, whose manifest presence and brandished sword had but lately astonished all nations, they could more easily keep alive in their people the hopes of the future, and did so in effect, until long time wearing out their patience, and a gradual return to other thoughts and hopes, led them to exclaim "where is the promise of his coming?"

The history of that man has been examined by a friend of mine with much diligence and acumen, and with such a careful comparison of all that has been said or sung concerning his awful and obscure reign, that when it sees the light, it cannot fail materially to enrich our records of the decline of Rome and rise of Modern Europe, and of the critical struggles of the Church for her existence at that epoch. Meanwhile, I do not believe that two Beings so similar and coincident as the Hunn and the pretended Briton were thus brought into juxtaposition, without the intention of identifying them; and we are the less called upon to force such a belief on our minds, when we consider that the Ambrosian and Arthurian fable emanates from persons rejoicing⁴ in mystery and methodical concealment, and professing to preserve a private lore, imparted only under sanction of a self-imprecated anathema, *rhydyngiad*.

⁴ Martin was alluded to in p. 15. In observing his connexion with British hagiography we shall, in some slight degree, further illustrate the Hunno-Celtic mystery.

§ 15. The battle of *Camlan* in Cornwall was never fought. *Cam-lan* is a compound word, expressing "Field of Injustice" or "Wickedness." In cryptographic language, a battle is put for a great contention, and, as a day stands for a longer period of time, e.g. the great and awful *day* of the Lord, so a single act of hostility signifies a whole system of hostility, including, perhaps, many such literal acts of it. The protestant reformation or French revolution might thus be designated as battles. The battle of Armageddon is open to that interpretation. *Camlan*¹ is one in a Triad of "frivolous battles." The first of those three, is the Cad of Goddeu i. e. of the shrubs or trees, concerning which there is a poem of Taliesin's; and it is beyond all doubt a mere allegory, the trees being those, whose leaves and branches the Bards used as hieroglyphics, and by way of a secret language. Cad Goddeu, Battle of Shrubs, really meant the battle of the occult doctrines. It² was fought on account of a bitch, a hind, and a lapwing, or, as others said, of a white roe-buck and a puppy, and 71000 men were slain in it. The animals in dispute belonged to Arawn king of Hades or the Abyss, from whence they had been taken by Amathaon son of Don. So much for the Cad Goddeu or

" The battle in miniature,
 Battle in the conflict of the sprigs of trees,³
 Against the Gwledig of Britain
 The centre of the impetuous steeds
 The possessor of navies."

The second frivolous battle is *Arderydd*; and will bear examination no better. In it, *Maelgwn* and his vassal king *Rhydderch* of Cumbria

¹ Tr. 50. p. 65.

² See Arch. Myv. 1. p. 167. Davies Celt. Res. p. 250. Cambro-Briton 2. p. 11.

³ Cad Goddeu v. 25.

were opposed to Gwenddoleu the Piet, Aidan the Scot, Ethelfleda a Saxon, the bard Merddin, and divers other chieftains. Merddin incurred such odium by reason of his concern in that contest, that he became mad or shammed it, and fled into the woods of Celyddon. This was also in some sort a battle of trees, for its issue deprived Merddin of his hundred and forty-seven apple trees. The madness of Merddin is variously accounted for. In his *Avallennau* he seems to ascribe it to the loss of his apples (st. 5 and 6) and, though he mentions having¹ completely ruined the son and daughter of Rhydderch, does not refer it to that cause. Geoffrey in his *Merlin* assigns for its cause the death of three² of the six brothers of Peredur ap Eliffer, who were slain at Arderydd. Ralph Higden says that it was,

* Quòd consistens in prælio
Monstrum videns in aere
Mente cœpit excedere.

Eighty thousand men fell at Arderydd, and a lark's nest was the point in dispute. That could never be true, in any literal sense, even in times when princes were most jealous of the rights of the chase; and if it could, is in effect contradicted by all the extant poems on the subject. No such place as Arderydd is known; and the phrase by which it is express in the opening of a nearly coeval (though in parts interpolated) work, *gwaith Arderydd ag Eryddon*, i. e. the battle of the³ Ard-eagle and *of the eagles*, teaches us that Arderydd was

¹ *Avall* st. 13. r. 7.

² *Merlin* r. 34—56. Mr. Ellis misconstrued this passage and supposed them to be Merlin's brothers. *Ellis Engl. Rom.* 1. p. 73, 4.

³ Higden p. 180. Gale.

⁴ Mr. Davies rendered this phrase *high eagle*, from *ard* in Gaelic; but *erydd* is not a Gaelic word. *Aryvderydd*, the reading in *Arch. Myvyr.* 1. 48, is perhaps the right one and signifies wonderful eagle.

not the name of a real place. Mr. Davies has well argued from the *Avallenau*, *Hoianau*, and other sources, that the battle of *Arderydd* denotes a struggle between two sets of religious tenets. *Camlan* is the third frivolous battle. It is strange, that a nephew debauching his uncle's wife, usurping his crown, and calling in the foreign enemy, should be a frivolous cause of war. But the Triadist makes out his case, by tracing the frivolity a step farther back than the defection of *Medrawd*. The latter was occasioned by a slap with the hand² given by *Gwenhwyvach* wife of *Medrawd* to *Gwenhwyvar*, or else, by a slap given by *Arthur* to *Medrawd* and another by *Gwenhwyvar*³ to *Gwenhwyvach*; for it is in doubt which party slapped first. There escaped from that battle⁴ *Morvran ap Tegid* whom nobody could look at because he was so ugly, and *Sandde* of the angel-aspect whom nobody could hurt because he was so beautiful, and *Glewlwyd* of the huge grasp who was so strong that none would encounter him, and save these three none escaped from *Camlan*. It cannot be doubted but all these bardic *Armageddons* describe either the internal dissensions among the Neo-Druids, or their struggles against the church of God, or some other of their mysterious affairs. The Triadists but imperfectly understood the sort of language which the bards used. In that language an *overcad*, i. e. frivolous, vain, waste, or superfluous battle, meant an allegorical and ideal battle superinduced upon history for symbolical uses; so that, when we say *Godden*, *Arderydd*, and *Camlan* were frivolous, we mean that no such battles ever took place. Even so, when it is written that *Menw* (Intellect) son of *Teirgwaedd* (the Three Shouts) and *Trystan* (the Noisy) son of *Tallwch* (Expansion)

² Triad 40. ser. 3.

³ Tr. 51. ser. 1.

⁴ Tr. 83. ser. 3.

and Cai Hir (the Long Concatenation) son of Cynyr (the First Shock) were three *illusory* knights, Iledrithiawg, in the court of Arthur, appearing in every form they chose to assume, we must understand that no such men ^a existed in Britannia, and that their names, attributes, and actions were but cryptographical characters. It is needless to add, that, if the battle in which Arthur fell is a vain overcad and a mere ideality, we are somewhat confirmed in our belief that Arthur himself is of the like nature.

§ 16. We must not suppose that the division of this long and fabulous æra into the reigns of Ambrosius, Uthyr, and Arthur, was made without a meaning; though we can no longer trace the signification of those signs. A progressive deterioration, a diminishing dissimulation, and a bolder defiance of all that Christendom worshipped or professed may be perceived in these several steps. The system of Ambrosius was in fact, as in name, less repugnant to the manners and opinions of the corrupted Romans than the succeeding ones. It was that of the Apollinares Mystici of Gaul, and somewhat similar to that of modern mystics, illuminates, masons, etc., who affect to reverence in the *Visible Sun* a reflexion of the glories of the *Intelligible Sun*; and does not merely date from the reign of the pretended king Ambrosius, when it became theocratic, and superseded monarchy, but from a considerably earlier time. In the sister system of his brother Uthyr we learn, that a mysterious intercourse took place between the Ambrosians of Mount Caer-Caradoc ^b and the Cymmry of Cornwall, whose city Artavia is thought to be the same as Tintagel. That the apostasy thus modelled, assumed a more black and horrible

^a See above p. xii. l. 4.

^b Ullin of Ricaradoch, G. Monm. malè, of Caer Caradawg, Br. G. ap Arthur rectè.

aspect, may be inferred from the foul acts imputed to its then leader styled "the Dragon-headed portent," and from such terrific names as those being bestowed upon him. Yet little appears to have been openly done in this second and shortest period. The secret hatching of Arthur's birth was its main business,

ΤΙΣΤΕ ΔΕ ΚΥΑΝΕΟΝ ὕπηννεμιον νυξ ἢ μελανοπτερος ὦον.

Under the Ambrosians, with their festivals of nature at the seasons, kalends, etc., their love of music and poetry, their superb Cyclopean structures, and all their appliances to seduce the mind and influence the imagination, "Satan himself had been transformed into an angel of light." But in time it becomes wearisome to wear a mask, even to the prince of lies. If we say that, during the Arthurian regimen, all such forms and precepts of Christianity as the children of light had from cautious motives retained were boldly renounced, we shall fall short of the truth. The Arthurians borrowed from the Hunns of Scythia, and mixed up with all the perfidy and impurity of the corrupted Roman empire, a scheme of savage and cruel barbarism, from which a Symmachus would have shrunk only less than a Chrysostom. In the days of Gwrthevyr Vendigaid, and in those of Ambrosius, the Hunno-Celtic mystery, the sun manifest in the bloody sword of Mars, was kept as a thing occult and a matter of initiation to the worthy; and while the bitter fruit was tasted of, the apple tree that bore it was sheltered from view in the mystic Avallon. There is a triad* of the first moment, illustrating this point. Three disclosures of concealed things brought subjugation upon Britannia. Two of them were the disclosures made by Vortigern of the Untoward Mouth to the Saxons at

* Tr. 53. ser. 3. 45. ser. 1. 10. ser. 2.

the Stonehenge. The other was as follows. "Eugenius son of Maximus concealed the head of Bran ap Llyr under the white hill at London; and while it remained hidden no foreign conquest need be feared. But Arthur disclosed the head of Bran the Blessed, because he esteemed it a small thing to keep this island by those means or otherwise than by his own mightiness." Probably we might be able to illustrate this part of our subject better, were we furnished with access to the mabinogi of Culhwch. Eugenius son of Maximus first organized the apostasy, cunningly and secretly. But Arthur in fool-hardy fanaticism proclaimed and exposed to the public gaze and adoration its most ineffable mysteries;

A bold bad man, that dared to call by name
Great Gorgon, prince of darkness and dead night.

The magician's Demogorgon was the Neo-Druid's "head of the *Sea Raven*," of Bran ap Llyr Llediaith, the Raven son of the^d Sea the Half-spoken, or Mor-vran ail Tacit, the Sea-Raven son of the Taciturn. The disclosure of Bran's head by the over-weening Arthurists is well esteemed (in this Triad) to have precipitated the downfall of the nation, whom Gildas (who himself beheld the hideous revelation) styles apostatas insipientes. But another British mythology alludes to the discovering of Bran's head, and regards it as a mighty triumph achieved; I mean that of the Cad Godden or Battle of Trees. In it, we perceive that the black bird of hell had been protected from public recognition by assuming a bright angelic form. Gwydion ap Don (the British Hermes) was unable to gain that battle against Arawn

^d The meaning of Llyr in this instance (for it has other modifications of meaning) is fixt by the tautology of the Bonedd y Saint, styling him Bran ap Llyr *Marini*.

king of the Abyss, till he could discover the name of a fair-haired youth in Arawn's army. At length he exclaimed,

Bran i'th elwyr briger loyw !

Raven is thy name, thou with the bright locks !

and thus he gained the victory, and remained loaded with the spoils of Hades. So the head of Bran was made known, for all it was transformed into a spirit of light ; but whether the revelation was for good or for evil, people differed according as caution prevailed or fanaticism raged in their minds.

The retirement of Arthur into the island of the heifer or of the apple-trees, where he was deposited by Taliesin and Merddin and concealed by Morgana, signifies the covering up again, and the consigning afresh to masonic secrecy, of those things which the Arthurists had too boldly promulged ; not without the intention, signified in Arthur's expected return, of finding some opportunity at which to reproduce them.

§ 17. The story goes, that a pagan king Arthur, son of Algothus, son of *Attilus*, reigned in Sweden about the year 630. He subjugated all Europe from the river Tanais or Don to the Elbe. The Goths in memory of him call every excellent and distinguished man "an Arthur," or they say, "he is worthy of the family of Arthur of Sweden." That family were invincible and consisted of his familiar friends and ministers, joined to one another by a strict union, but as fierce as lions to their enemies. Even to this day (says * Olaus Magnus) there are in the Vandalic towns *Houses of Arth* which are styled *Illustrious*, and in which the more eminent citizens assemble for recreation and as it were in a school of honour. By means of his family (as it was

* De Gent. Sept. p. 842.

called) Arthur conquered the Muscovites, Livonians, and Courlanders. It may be remembered that the wild hunters of the British isle used to call themselves the *Family of Arthur*. This Swedish history, coupled with the fact that such masonic lodges were held on the shores of the Baltic in the name of an Arthur and upon a principle exactly similar to that of the Round-Table, but yet without any allusion to Britannia, may raise an idea that the British name in question was *very early* known and accepted on the continent as a title of that Hunnish conqueror, whose empire was over the North and from the Tanais to the Elbe. But it would be desirable to ascertain, whether the Swedish history and German free-masonry mentioned by Olaus can be traced, as a thing in existence at any time anterior to the dissolution of the Templars.

Alain Bouchard[†] pretends that one Daniel Dremrudd i.e. the Red-visaged reigned in Little Britain from 689 to 730, carried his arms into Germany, was elected king of the Germans, and proceeded into Italy as far as Pavia, where he obtained in marriage the daughter of the Roman emperor *Leo*, who ceded to him Anjou, Poictou, Maine, and Lombardy. He returned into Armorica, where he reigned the most powerful monarch of all the West. His title of Red-visaged is an epithet of Arthur, whose "empurpling redness" is mentioned in the *Cadair Teyrnon*. It signifies the Sun, the head of Mithras, which was woven conspicuously upon the enchanted banner of the Arch-druidist or Mael-derw;

‡ Terrific the front, radiating rays,
Let the Sovereign stand firm in the midst,

† Gr. Cron. de Bret. c. 63. Argentrè Hist. Bret. 3. c. b.

‡ Gorchan Maelderw c. 48. p. 93.

The visage of the red-visaged and open-visaged,
Drem Dremrudd Dremrydd!

and that same visage pourtrayed on the British ensign was the object of the benediction bestowed by the god of the giant-rampart, when he said,

Be Arthur blessed,
 And *his face* in the battle
 When it tumultuates around him!

Daniel is said to have been descended from the ancient Earls of Cornwall, Arthur's native country. Of his existence, as of Arthur's, no authentic record is found. But the strongest coincidence is, that he ended his career of conquest by an Italian expedition, which he never carried into complete effect, and beyond the north of which country he did not penetrate, during the reign of an *Emperor Leo* who did not exist at the time in question. The circumstances not only identify him with Arthur, but both with Attila. Attila invaded Italy to claim the Roman princess Honoria in marriage, which claim was the main point upon which Leo had to satisfy him in their treaty, and which (no doubt) Leo was obliged to concede. Here Daniel comes one step nearer to Attila than Arthur did.

§ 18. Between Gwrtheyrn of Gwynedd and Constantine of Cornwall, historical characters, these three sovereigns appear in the chronicles of Britain, Ambrosius called Aurelius or Gwledig, Uthyr Pendragon, and Arthur. I have extracted from the history and flung aside these three, whom I will make bold to call the Hobgoblin Dynasty; there remains therefore a blank of more than half a century unaccounted for by any succession of monarchs; not to mention the prior and similar blank, interrupting Gwrtheyrn's reign, and adorned with the fabulous name of Gwrtheyr Vendigaid. We must remember that Britain consisted of many principalities of which the Princes,

when emergency rendered it necessary and disposed them to a good understanding with each other, elected some one to be the *brenin Prydain oll*. But it was not always feasible for a college of fiery Celtic tyrants to come to any such agreement. In fact, no monarch of the island was established and recognized between Vortigern and Constantine.

Gwrtheyrn became odious to his people and was twice dethroned. Those who pretend that he had certain sons named Gwrtheyyr and Cyndeyrn represent them as dying before their father. And his son Pasgen was never able to make good his pretensions. The mode of Gwrtheyrn's death is variously related. He was burnt by Aurelius Ambrosius, or burnt by fire from heaven, or swallowed up by the earth, etc. But the fire of Ambrose Gwledig and the fire from heaven are equivalent terms, inasmuch as the former is that deity whom the mystici of the lower western empire entitled *sol invictus Mithras*. The power by whose violence Gwrtheyrn perished was one that he had grievously offended, viz. the whole body of *Apollinares mystici* or Neo-Druids. That power was also arrayed against Pasgen and all the friends of Alis Ronwen's ill-fated and calumniated husband. Britannia was governed by it during the long interregnum, "with such fornication (as saith Gildas out of Corinthians) as is not so much as named among the Gentiles." Its *dæmon* god was the only head to which in this extreme point of her apostasy the island looked up. "The bull of battle, the bright elevated lamp, too long was he listened to." His priests were all-powerful among the Britons, and the whole period of superstitious anarchy is expressed and dissembled in the Bruts under the names of three ideal kings. Thus it came to pass, that sovereigns of more than mortal prowess were chronicled and the victories of even the latest of them made to rival the twelve labours of

Hercules, and yet the upshot of their joint reigns was the conquest of the fairest portion of the island by foreigners and the removal of its seat of government to Caerleon upon Usk.

During this period the word *gwledig*, meaning *he of the country*, and thence, a national sovereign, became an equivalent in Celtic for the Latin Mithriac name Aurelius, the golden-sun. As a designation of the tutelar deity it frequently occurs, and agrees with some^b words anciently known in the religiones of Rome, *Indiges*,

Indigetem Æneam scis ipsa et scire fateris
Deberi cœlo fatisque ad sidera tolli,

Indigena,

Perfidiane Deum Indigenum cecidere tot urbes,

and *Incola*, Orion qui et Incola dicitur. When Gildas wrote (A. D. 544) it was become so complete an equivalent, that he translates the name of the obscure tyrant Cynan Wledig into Aurelius Conanus.

The history of this polity is of course veiled in deep obscurity, since the historians of the Cymry have not chosen to make any acknowledgment of its very existence. Our statesmen of the fifth monarchy did not own themselves to be republicans, but said, this is more than ever a kingdom, for Christ is our king. And the conduct of the Ambrosio-Arthurians was something analogous in paganism to that of our deluded Christian enthusiasts; save that the former openly professed and practised the supernatural.

Prophecy was a great and avowed engine. The famous prophecies of Merddin Ambrose were oracular vaticinations of the arch-prophet himself, the "*Delius vates*." Others were professedly

^b Æn. xii. 794 etc. etc. Prud. adv. Symm. 500. Germanicus Cæsar in Arat. 526.

delivered by bards, such as Taliesin and Merddin Wyllt, and by fanatic hags. Stonehenge was the Ebyr Hên-Velen, old Belenus's place of effata. The Gorchan¹ Maelderw opens with one of those effata.

Doleu den ebyr am gaer,
In windings cometh the effatum round the Caer,
"Let slumber mine armour and my radiance!
"Let chilling coldness dart through the ranks of slaughter!
"Let the glorious, the enterprising, rest in sleep!"

Besides the continual prophesyings of bards, there exist other intimations of an agency directly oracular. In Kadair Teyrnnon, Arthur's initiation is

The award of the glorious song
Of immeasurable inspiration,

and his benediction is the voice of Gorlassar or Heilyn emitted from the Ebyr Hên-Velen and mundane rampart. The same poem says

Eminent is the truth when it shines,
More eminent when it speaks,
When wisdom arises out of the cauldron
Of the goddess of the threefold inspiration.

And so in the Preiddeu Annwn,

When first it was utter'd from the cauldron
Somewhat heated by the breath of the nine virgins.

The greatest difficulty must have been to regulate the distribution of power and dignity among a people so factious and contentious as were both the subjects of the God and the ruling conclave of his ministers. That problem could best be solved by resorting to a direct oracle of their deity. One such is fortunately preserved to us. It is called a poetical triplet of king Arthur's composition. But it is an oracular

¹ Arch. 1. p. 84.

response to an inquiry, what princes (teyrn) should be the chief commanders of the British armies.

^m My three knights-of-battle are verily
Mael the tall and Llyr the bellipotent
And Caradoc the pillar of Cymru.

The awful result was that these three persons received "principality and power to do whatever they pleased; but it was their inclination to act with discretion and equity." Besides the solution of disputed points, it was the grand business of the oracular agency to keep alive the hopes of the Britons in their contest of extermination with the Saxons, and this was "the public chief-song of Cadwallader and Conan." Dom Martin in his *Religion desⁿ Gaulois* gives a spirited drawing of the head of Apollo Belenus delivering oracles, and so constructed that oracles might be delivered through its open mouth. It was found in the ancient castle of Polignac, which family is supposed to derive its name from the Apollinares of Gaul. That head is the "Drem Dremrudd Dremrydd," and a production of art both sublime and terrific.

§ 19. The zeal and credulity of the miserable nation diminished with misfortune, and religion fell into that state in which the poems of the extant *Cynveirdd* exhibit it. They flourished in the latter part of the fanatical anarchy, and chiefly under the revived monarchy; and they speak of their creed and magic with a raving fanaticism, but yet with plaintive and reproachful appeals in their behalf, as though they felt that their own power and influence were departing from them. Most of the people were beginning to prefer monarchy to hierarchy, and some of them began to rate Christianity above masonry and

^m Triad 29. ser. 3. see Tr. 21. ser. 1.

ⁿ Dom Martin 1. p. 399.

witchcraft. Llywarch the Aged seems to have been of the former class; and so much is signified in a Triad which cites him (with two others) as having been a *free and dissatisfied* guest at the court of Arthur. His earlier poems are often mysterious, and sometimes quite raving, as are the nine^o triplets of "the rhedaint" in his Dirge of Geraint ap Erbin, and the fourteen triplets of the head of Urien. But he differs from the bards regular by retaining the use of human reason and affections in a greater degree, and seeming more to belong to the world in which we live; qualities more visible in his latest works, though visible in all. And in his last cymean song, deploring his childless old age, he declares himself to be sick and weary of the mystery of iniquity, though he plainly shews that he relied on nothing else. He lived from about A. D. 500 to about A. D. 650, drunk to its very dregs the nauseous cup that others had mixed, and died in solitude and in the extremes of age and poverty, surviving his twenty-four children. His history excites the compassion of men and it may be hoped that the errors of his uninstructed and bewildered mind find mercy with God. The dialogue with Eliwlod belongs to the decline of Arthurism; and its author maintains that Arthur actually is the daemon of the Sun, but pretends nevertheless to esteem the worship of him, as such, a sin against God. The Camlan change, which upset the sword of the Sun and Scythian Mars and ultimately drove that bloody idol with its orgies back into the secret groves of its Avallan, was effected by treachery of Arthur's wife and kinsmen, which, being interpreted from bardism into history, implies the defection of some who had erewhile been zealous Arthurists. Of

^o Those triplets may be illustrated by referring to the *Gorchan Cynvelyn* v. 35—7. p. 60.

these some went off one way, and some another. Gildas to the Catholicity of Rome. Maelgwn Gwynedd, Arthur's chief organ of government, first to Catholicity, and then to Culdeism. Rhydderch and many others to Culdeism. Llywarch to nothing but disgust and scepticism. Iddawg surnamed Corn Prydain^p to I know not what.

^p Called a saint, and said to have been a grandson of Caradoc Vreichbras.

CHAP. V.

CONSTANTINE SON OF CADOR.—ELECTION OF MAELGWN.—HIS STYLE.—
CHARACTER OF MAELGWN.—HIS CHRONOLOGY.—HE WAS THE
NEPHEW AND MURDERER OF VORTIGERN.—CONCERNING CAREDIG
AND GWRTHEVYR VENDIGAID.—REIGNS OF CADVAN AND CADWALLON.
—CADWALADYR.—HIS CONQUESTS IN ENGLAND.—HE IS THE CER-
WALLA OF ENGLISH HISTORY.—HIS ABDICATION.—THE BARD GOLYD-
DAN.—CADWALADYR'S BAPTISM AND DEATH.—RECAPITULATION.

*Culmen, opes, sobolem, pollentia regna, triumphos,
Exurias, procures, mania, castra, lares,
Quæque patrum virtus et quæ congesserat ipse,
Ceducalla armipotens liquit amore Dei.*

SERGIVS PONTIFEX.

§ 1. THE monarchy, on its revival, did not at once return into the hands of the Gwynethian dynasty and posterity of Cynedda Wledig; but it remained for a short time in the hands of the Cornubians, who seem to have been prevalent during the Arthurian regimen, The Cornish prince Constantine ap Cadwr was crowned king of all Britain, and under him one Vortipore or Gwrthevyr reigned in Dyved, Maelgwn in Gwynedd, Aurelius Conan son of Llewelyn, and Cynglas, in states of which the names do not appear. At this epoch Arthurism continued to be in some sort a public institution, although it no longer

tyrannized over men's minds or assumed to supply the place of British royalty; and king Cynglas still made it his boast to officiate as "charioteer of the chariot which is the receptacle of the Bear." Two of the above princes, Conan and Vortipore, have, by a gross perversion of the words of Gildas, been represented as insular monarchs, successors to Constantine. But Gildas most expressly states that Constantine was then reigning when he wrote; and Sir John Pryce clearly saw that all the persons whom he reviles in succession were then simultaneously reigning in various parts. Mr. Warrington in his history does not even mention the intrusive kings, but goes straight from Constantine to Maelgwn; and Dr. Owen, in fixing the accession of Maelgwn, in like manner passes them over. In fact, he was succeeded by Maelgwn; either presently, or after some brief interval of confusion and anarchy, the duration of which may be conjectured from that which is assigned to the two false and intrusive reigns.

§ 2. Maelgwn prince of Môn or Anglesea (therefore called the *Insular Dragon* by Gildas) was son to Caswallawn the Longhanded, king of Gwynedd, and he was in lineal descent from Cynedda Wledig, who was founder of the Gwynethian dynasty and is reported to have migrated from Manau or Man. Maelgwn was conspicuous for beauty, valiant, and intelligent, and endowed with every qualification but constancy and virtue. He was cruel, and addicted to foul and unspeakable vices. It seems that Maelgwn was raised to the throne of Britain with circumstances of religious imposture, such as his new sect of Magi employed to seat the family of Hystaspes on that of Persia. They^a assembled a convention at the Aber-Tivy, upon a spot since called the Strand of Maelgwn, and placed their chairs within

^a H. Llwyd Brit. Descript. p. 170.

reach of the tide, and whichever could keep his seat in spite of the flow was to be the Chief-King. One Melda of Arvon made a chair for Maelgwn stuffed with feathers, and, when the tide came in, none could abide its flow, except him, whose chair floated under him. Therefore he was made king over the others, and his word was their word, and his law their law, but he was not bound by theirs. The well-known transaction between Canute and his courtiers is otherwise almost inexplicable, because it involves a proposition which we cannot imagine their propounding or his being at any pains to refute. But it receives explanation from this passage of Britannie history, which shews that the error of his courtiers lay not in blaspheming flattery but in cherishing an ancient insular superstition. Maelgwn arrived very late in life at the summit of his ambition, and enjoyed his stolen crown not long. Under the Arthurian regimen, he had attained to the highest civil authority that the times admitted of. When Arthur was chief king at Caerleon upon Usk, and St. David chief prelate, Maelgwn Gwynedd¹ was the *chief-elder*. But Cornwall, and the

¹ Triad 7. p. 3. It might be supposed that Mael Hir or the Tall, to whom Arthur's response assigned the first place, was the same as his chief elder Mael-Gwen or the Summit, the Supreme; for the latter also was termed Maelgwn Hir, and was "in proportion of body greater than any of the kings or dukes of Britain," (Cyvoesi st. 14. Philip Pryd. in Arch. 1. 377. Enderbie's Cumbria p. 201. Howes cit. ibid.) and the gwn in Mael-gwn seems to be an epithetic, and not a firmly integral, part of the name, since Gildas hath it in the modified form of Mael-gogwn, Malgocunus (malé Maglocunus), a modification idiomatically expressing the sort of supremacy held by Mael the first cadvarchawg and Maelgwn the chief elder. But the Triadist calls the former Mael ap Menwaed of Arllechwedd. However the Triadist is himself contradicted by David secretary to Llewelyn ap Iorwerth, who asserts that Mael an Menwyd (meaning, I suppose, the same man as ap Menwaed) did not flourish till the reign of Iago ap Beli ap Rhun ap Maelgwn, king of Gwynedd. Codex Wallieus cit. Wotton Notitia in Hywel Dda. See Triad 30. ser. 1. Preferring the testimony of this genealogist to the anonymous and unsatisfactory Triads, I do not renounce my conjecture that Mael Hir and Maelgwn Hir are but one person.

North (i. e. Cumbria, Pictland, etc.) had also their own prelates and chief elders under Arthur. The congress of Aber-Tivy gave a finish to that influence which had gone forth over Britain from Tintagel and the Cornubian Cimbri, and transferred the paramount power from Cerniw to Gwynedd.

Here let us mark the order and course of events. Vortigern and his people were tainted with the apostasy, but supported the Britannic constitution of many kings under one monarch. He was destroyed by the arts of the Paterns, Druids of the apostasy, Bards of Beli. And that constitution, being subverted by them, was succeeded by that long and turbulent interval of priestcraft, which is exprest by the three allegorical names of the Hobgoblin Dynasty. In or about the year 542 occurred that cessation of the fanatical anarchy, which is figuratively termed *the abdication of Arthur* in favour of the Cornubian Constantine, and the coronation of the latter. In Constantine's person the Britannic constitution was set up again, but not with success. It was discredited by the wickedness and insignificance of the man, and the custom of the people to rely upon false gods and superstitious appliances. Next came, in Maelgwn of Mona, the third term, combining the principles of the other two; that of an elect monarch with suffragan kings, established not on a civil but a spiritual basis, and by suffrages not free but controlled by a pagan oracle or ordeal. Upon the whole, then, if asked, whether there was no *brenin ar yr ynys* during the Ambrosian, Uthyrian, and Arthurian æras of the Bruts, I should not scruple to answer, there was none.

The results of Maelgwn's election did not equal his pretensions. The obscure traditions of Arderydd and Elfin shew that he was ill obeyed by his subjects. His authority was limited to the Cornish, Welsh, and Strathelyde kingdoms, with so much of western Lloegria

as yet adhered to them ; and was precariously established even within those limits.

Yet there is room for saying, that he was the only *British* king Arthur, the only shadow of an Arthur that ever reigned both *personally in*, and titularly over, this island. That is to say, he was the only *brenin ar yr ynys* in whose person the popular superstition was embodied. We have seen him riding on the waves, as it were in the *llun y llong* or un-submerged "chariot of the receptacle of the Bear," and so obtaining his crown. We farther read in the *Bruts*, that he reigned over this whole island, Ireland, the Orkneys, Iceland, Gothland, Norway, and Denmark. This statement as applied to Maelgwn of Mona, could not even pretend to be a truth and did not. Its falsehood is very notorious. Though simply affirmed by Tysilio, it does not so much misstate a fact, as state a style ; like the style, king of Sardinia, *Cyprus*, and *Jerusalem*. And it is a part of the imperial style of Arthur, which, as applied to Arthur, contributes in no light degree to disclose who he was, and, as transferred to Maelgwn, means to indicate that he was a second Arthur, and wished to be esteemed more than a mere king, and a sort of theocrator. Maelgwn of Mona arrived at such celebrity in his own time and country, that his island was sometimes called after him by poets *Môn Maelgynig*, the Maelgwnian Mona, like Gibeah of Saul or the Pittheian Træzen. The most eminent of the extant Bards and the founders of Culdeism flourished during the life-time of this king, and an accurate knowledge of his life and affairs is as desirable as it is unattainable.

The furious declamation of Saint Gildas throws a light upon his character and actions as hereditary prince of Gwynedd and then as king of it, but anterior to his becoming the *Brenin ar yr Ynys*.

“Why, O Maelgwn,^r dragon from the isle, of many tyrants both the dethroner and the slayer, posterior to the above mentioned (viz. Constantine, Conan, Vortipore, and Cynglas) in the order of seniority but prior in the order of depravity, greater than many both in power and malice, more liberal in giving, more profuse in sinning, strenuous in arms, but more so in compassing *the perdition of souls*, why dost thou roll thyself in such an inveterate blackness of crimes, like a man drunk with wine pressed from the vine of Sodom? Why dost thou voluntarily heap upon thy royal neck such masses of sin? Why dost thou not rather exhibit thyself to the King of all kings (who hath made thee superior to most of the kings in Britannia both in dominion and in nobility of descent) better behaved than the others? Didst thou not, in the very first years of thine adolescence, violently destroy with the sword, with the spear, and with fire, the king your uncle, with his very brave soldiers, whose faces in battle were like the faces of young lions? After thou hadst obtained thy desire of a tyrannical kingdom, wert thou not allured by the wish of returning to the right way or perhaps by the remorse of thy conscience, and didst thou not transform thyself from a raven to a dove, and salutarily remove thyself into the caves and peaceful retreats of the Saints in which thou hadst then a great faith, having previously ruminated much in private concerning the way of godliness and the laws of the monastic life? But now we deplore thy horrible relapse, as of the sick dog to his vomit.” Maelgwn had parted from his wife when he turned monk, and when he resumed his crown he omitted to take her back, but took his nephew’s wife instead, and lived in incest and adultery with her. From the language used by the inflated Gildas during the short reign

^r See Gildas p. 13. Gale.

of Constantine ap Cador, we may infer that Maelgwn of Mona, king of Gwynedd, was then rapidly advancing towards the sovereignty of Britannia, but with a character too profligate and inconstant for his brilliant qualities and grey-headed experience to offer any hopes of peace or liberation to the desolated and half-conquered island. What is said of his contriving "perdition of souls" indicates to us that he took part in the religious impostures of his day.

§ 3. The chronology of his reign¹ has given much trouble. Tysilio, who introduces the fictitious reigns of Conan and Vortipore, brings down the commencement of it to 551; and the interval between that year and 542 or Camlan must belong to the turbulent disputes between Gwynedd and Cornwall and their respective partizans, which were terminated by the fraudulent proceedings at the congress of Aber-Tivy. His and the other chronicles intimate that Maelgwn died of the *Mâd Velen* or Plague of the Yellow Serpent, in a Convent-Church, situated in the *Morva Rhianedd*, to which he had withdrawn in order to avoid the ravages of the contagion; but they abstain from stating the years of his reign and the epoch of his death. His son Rhun, his grandson Beli, and his great grandson Iago succeeded him in Gwynedd, but not over Britannia, and have therefore no place in the Kingly Chronicles of the island.

They place, in immediate succession to him as Insular King, one Caredig, whose reign is a tissue of fables without the possibility of truth, to whom no parents, children, or relations are assigned; no number of years is assigned to his reign, nor any mention made of his death, abdication, or other exit from the throne. Knowing with

¹ See the laborious endeavours of Mr. Wynn, published in *Cambr. Reg.* 2. 515—26. But the Chronology in the Red Book of Hergest is a worthless document.

whom we are dealing, we may suspect some national relapse, and a renewal of such machinations, as it was the especial business of Tysilio's pen to suppress and to replace by a fictitious or cryptographic history. The more so; as it is known that Maelgwn died loaded with the execrations of the Mithriacs, and with sinister⁴ prophecies, really composed (or at least rendered more specific) after the fact, but ascribed to Taliesin the chief bard of his court and directed against him and his son. Matthew of Westminster (on what authority I cannot tell) states that Caredig became generally hated by his subjects, that the more eastern Britons united themselves to the Saxons to wage war against him, and ultimately drove him beyond the Severn into Wales; and adds, that at the same time nearly all the British clergy retired into Wales, Cornwall, and Armorica. He mentions no termination of Caredig's life or reign, and, entirely passing over Cadvan, says the British lost the diadem of their kingdom, till the times of Cadwallon. He describes a complete interreign of anarchy; but has made it too long, for he should only have said "till the times of Cadvan." That æra, to which history allots no king, includes the preaching of Saint Austin in Kent, the refusal of Dunawd Abbot of Bangor to cooperate in the conversion of the Saxons, and the destruction of the monastery of Bangor and its 1200 monks by Ethelfrid the pagan king of Northumberland, at the alleged instigation of the Christian king Ethelbert and Saint Austin. All this, I say, occurs under the name of no crowned king at all, unless the indefinite and undying Caredig

* A surprising worm shall come
From the Morva Rhianedd,
To avenge iniquity
Upon Maelgwn Gwynedd, etc. Arch. 1. 27.

is supposed to spread his name over it. But there is no circumstance to render it probable that any such monarch reigned. Caredig son of Cynedda Wledig founded Cardigan; and Dr. Owen identifies him with the Caredig whose romance is inserted in the Brut. That clearly shews him to have been unable to discover any authentic traces of the latter; for it was a stretch of human longevity to say, that Cynedda began to reign in 328 and died in 389, leaving a son Caredig who died in 613! That was an alarming^a morsel of Cambrian Biography. A momentary effort to take the lead in Britain, made by the men of Caredigion, has probably been cyphered as the reign of king Caredig.

At all events, the throne of Britain was unoccupied, for some reason or other, immediately after the combats of Bangor is y coed and Chester; and then Cadvan ap Iago was elected at Caerleon upon Dee otherwise Chester. The date is in dispute inasmuch as the date of that combat is, being variously fixed from 607 to 612. But the monument in honour of "Cadvan the wisest and most highly esteemed king of all the kings" ought to set that question at rest. Its date is 607. And, as it cannot be a monument in celebration of his memory when dead, it can be nothing else than one erected upon the occasion of his election to that dignity. If we trace back, in conjecture, the generations of Cadvan ap Iago ap Beli ap Rhun ap Maelgwn Gwynedd, and allow him thirty years to be elected the brenin Prydain oll, and twenty-five years to each of his progenitors for their epoch of paternity, we shall perceive that $607+30+25+25+25+25=477$. That would make Maelgwn be 65 at the Camlan revolution, or elevation of

^a See Camb. Biogr. in *Cynedda* and *Cadvan*.

^v See Edw. Llwyd in *Cambro-Briton* l. 15.

Constantine, in 542. Nine years from the overcad of Camlan to his own election at the Aber-Tivy would make him 74 in 551. And a calculation, making him about 65 at the Camlan, would stand in harmony with the Triad which says that he was the *Chief Elder* in the court of Arthur. Matthew of Westminster^w limits to five years the duration of his insular reign, in which case we should have him dead in 556, rather than in 560 when Dr. Owen^x supposes he died. But his life might extend thus much beyond his reign, if he had been for some time an inmate of the convent in whose chapel he vainly sought refuge from the *mâd velen*. He had in the course of his vicious and inconsistent life been a monk, and may have ended it thus. British history does not, directly, number the years of Cadvan. But it states that Cadwallader retired to Rome and died in 688 having previously reigned twelve years, and that his father Cadwallon ap Cadvan reigned over all Britain forty-two years. So that Cadvan must have died about 634.

§ 4. But before we close our conjectures on the obscure chronology of Maelgwn, there is an observation of some moment to be made upon him. In the earliest years of his adolescence, and in order to obtain a tyrannical kingdom, he slew the king his uncle, whose soldiers for the obstinacy of their resistance were likened unto lions, and the means he employed to kill him were the sword *and fire*. Maelgwn was a prince of Gwynedd, and the royal uncle whom he destroyed in early youth in order to inherit his crown must have been the king of his own country. But these circumstances strongly point to the death of Gwrtheyrn Gwynedd. That king was burnt with fire in his own beleaguered castle, situate in a deep glen of Snowdon in Gwynedd.

^w Flores Hist. p. 104.

^x Cambr. Biography.

Shall we suppose that two kings of Gwynedd perished by rebellion and treason, both of them by fire, and both within the space that could intervene between the last days of Gwrtheyrn Gwynedd and the first appearance of Maelgwn Gwynedd? Add to this, that Vortigern is the only British king to whose character Gildas shews⁷ any indulgence or for whose fate he seems to express any sympathy.

It is apparent that Tysilio and Nennius describe the same occurrence to which St. Gildas adverts in his invective against Maelgwn. That treacherous youth was directly instrumental in the hands of the Ambrosians to destroy his uncle Gwrtheyrn king of all Britain, by which means Gwynedd fell into the hands of his father Caswallawn Llawhir and his own; and into whose higher and insular throne he long afterwards, and in the decay of the Ambrosio-Arthurian fanaticism, substituted himself. We cannot tell how long a time was occupied, first, by the residue of Vortigern's reign subsequent to the massacre at the Stonehenge, and secondly, by that foremost division of the *Hobgoblin Dynasty* which is called the reign of Aurelius Ambrosius. But the dark historians of Britain give us to understand, that much time was consumed in acting those scenes, which they spend so few words in narrating. Subsequent to that massacre the Saxons waged a successful war and took London, York, Lincoln, and Winchester. Subsequently to those events again, Vortigern made a series of unsuccessful attempts to build the Dinas Emmrys in Snowdon, and only desisted after reiterated failures and the sinister prophecies of Merddin Emmrys. However false, or mystical and allegorical, some of these statements may be, they clearly indicate some considerable duration of time. Only then, and after them, *begins* the

⁷ See above p. 68.

Aurelian Ambrosian reign, and that war² of undefined length in which Ambrosius destroyed Vortigern. The support of the Gwynethians and Gwyddelians, of the Saxons under Hengist, Æsc, Octa, and Ebissa, and of the more respectable Romanizing provincials, was probably that which delayed his fate; the treason of his nephew Maelgwn, that which precipitated it. The historians (writing under the Gwynethian dynasty, *which descended from Maelgwn*) remove the scene of it out of Gwynedd, one into Gwent or Siluria, and another into Dyfed or South Wales, while tradition proclaims and subsisting monuments avouch that he perished and was interred in the fastnesses of Gwynedd. Their motive is obvious enough.

The time of Maelgwn's birth is unknown, and in the preceding remarks it is brought down somewhat low, to avoid making his age (though Arthur's chief elder) too great at the epoch of his election at the Aber-Tivy. Taking the year 477 as that of his birth, and taking 17 for his "*primi adolescentiæ anni*," the death of the king his uncle would fall upon the year 494. The first invitation of Hengist in 449 is described as the very³ first act of Gwrtheyrn's reign. Therefore we should not place his elevation to wear the insular crown more early than 448, from which year there are 46 years to 494; and if he was

² British wars ran into length, for obvious reasons. Some few hours disposed of the civilized kingdoms of Prussia and France on the fields of Jena and Waterloo; but six years did not suffice to the French empire to conquer either Catalonia or Biscay.

³ His "*quartus annus*" in App. 11 Cotton ad Nenn. might require some consideration, were not A. 11 C. so raving wild a document as to preclude all criticism. The *quartus annus* in which Hengist arrived was A. D. 401! Vortigern's accession was 28 years after Stilicho's consulship, and therefore in 428, or 433, and the fourth year of his reign 27 years anterior to the first! This instructive document adds that *ab anno quo Saxones venerunt et a Guorthigerno suscepti sunt usque ad Declum et Valerianum anni 69*. Who, in the name of wonder, were Decius and Valerian?

30 years old when he began to reign, he would thus have died aged 76. But it is certainly allowable, and is perhaps altogether more judicious, to reject not merely the fictitious and intrusive reigns of Aurelius Conan and Vortipore but also the six years of time allotted to them in the Brut; or, in other words, to fix the congress of Aber-Tivy at the third instead of the ninth year after the Camlan revolution. In which case Vortigern, by the process I have employed, dies *an. æt. sume* 70, and A. D. 488, being the same year in which the Britons butchered Hengist. That they both perished in the same fatal conjuncture of affairs, is likely enough; and that Vortigern died first (and therefore not later than in the same year) is an assertion of the Brut which, although^b relating to Vortigern, may not be untrue.

I should more clearly explain myself on this head. Of course the ages assumed for times of accession and of paternity rest on mere abstract probability, and are arbitrary as to fact; and therefore the result of them cannot even be offered as a positive conjecture. The object, though important, is purely negative, viz. to shew that, as Vortigern seems otherwise to have been Maelgwn's uncle and victim, such fact is *not* discredited by any thing in their chronology.

The two adult sons whom he is supposed to have had when he came to the crown form the only impediment to our reckoning. The Chronicles, written under the auspices of the Gwynethian princes of Wales (who were the lineal heirs of Maelgwn and Caswallawn Llawhir) and with all possible dissimulation and disguise both political and religious, have woven together so much falsehood, that it is difficult to apply the valuable hints furnished by Gildas. I will repeat

^b In thus expressing myself I do not feel conscious of exaggeration. It really comes to that pass.

my conviction that Saints Vortipore and Cathtighearn, Gwrthevyr and Cyndeyrn, never lived, and were dæmons of the mysteries, whose very names^c have been disfigured and disguised. Gwrthevyr was almost an Arthur for victories, such as we can scarce believe were really gained. His deeds of prowess were direful and demoniacal, of which the description is borrowed from the berserkers of Odin. Like the phantom kings Emmrys and Uthyr, he makes his exit by poison; and the mode is not very credible, viz. by smelling at a medicated flower. After death his remains^d were burnt, and the bones and ashes lodged in a brazen colossal effigy of a man, to remain for a palladium to Britannia; and while they were concealed from the enemy, this country could never be subdued. But Vortigern of the Untoward Mouth revealed them to the Saxons for love of Rhonwen, his pagan wife. The bones of St. Gwrthevyr rank with the head of Bran ap Llyr (the sea-raven king) as an occult palladium; but Bran is the god Cynvelyn father of the god Melyn, and, since the man Cynvelyn king of Trinobantes was father to Caractacus, Bran was in the jargon of the mystics father to Caractacus. The land of the Cymmry, and especially their big-stone circles and such other erections, were under the patronage of Bran,

Cymmry carneddawg
Y tat Caradawg,
The stone-piled Cymmry
Of the father of Caractacus,

and had been so from the time that Owain ap Mascen, the first king after the Romans, introduced his mysteries. And the bones of St.

^c See above p. 44, 5.

^d Triad 45. ser. 15, Tr. 10. ser. 2. Triad. 53. ser. 3. Tysilio et Lib. Basingw. p. 252, 3.

Gwrtheyvr rank with the hidden dragons of Lludd ap Beli ap Manogan, as being the subject of Gwrtheyrn Gwrthenau's disclosure to the Saxons for love of Rhonwen. But he surely never marred the counsels of Britain by any fatal disclosure, save that of the Neo-Druidic plots. Therefore Gwrtheyvr's tomb and the cave of the hidden dragons seem to be all as one. They denote the masonic mysteries and deadly plots of the sanctuary.

In truth, the Hobgoblin Dynasty does not so properly commence with the pretended Eumrys as with the pretended Gwrtheyvr. It commenced with the first overthrow of Vortigern's authority, and was interrupted by his restoration. That his restoration was preceded by the actual government or supreme administration of *an aged man*, I infer from a passage* of the Maelderw; this person seems to have been, like Maelgwn, "chief elder" under a Gwrtheyvr as ideal as Maelgwn's Arthur, and cannot have been a real Gwrtheyvr, because the latter could not be advanced in years.

Benlli the Giant (or the Hero) was a redoubted warrior in Gwynedd, whose fable is preserved in Nennius. He refused to lend his ear to the preaching of St. Germanus, or to admit him within his walls. Benlli's slave Ketel took compassion on the Saint and gave him a bullock, ready killed and cooked, for his dinner. But Germanus after he and his people had eaten of it, brought it to life again. The Saint called down fire from heaven which consumed Benlli Gawr, his house, and all his family, and gave his kingdom or principality to the slave. This is just the fable of Vortigern repeated. For he was persecuted by Germanus, and burnt with his house and household by fire which Germanus called down; and the Legend of

* Cited in the Appx.

St. German related as of Vortigern king of Britannia exactly all the above circumstances, which (as Ralph of Chester observes) Gildas[†] has transferred from him to a certain Benlli. Vortigern becomes identified with Benlli. And Ben-lli is a name invented to fit Vortigern. It signifies "the source of the deluge." So "ben-gwaed gwin" signifies that[‡] banquet, which was the source and river-head of all the bloodshed which ensued. Deluges were the standing types of invasions or overwhelming oppressions, and especially of the Saxon conquest, in Bardic language. But Vortigern was the flood-head of the Saxon inundation. Benlli had once had a son Beli from whom the Bards of Beli have been said to take their title; and that name means havoc or devastation. Beli ap Benlli was entombed upon Salisbury Plain, he occupied the "bedd yu y Maes Mawr," where he remained grasping in his hand the dreadful and gigantic weapon called the bladespear,

Balch ei llaw ar y llavnawr.

Is not Beli ap Benlli the same grim phantom as Gwrtheyyr ap Gwrtheyrn, and his armed figure in the vault of the Stonehenge the same brazen colossus which was made for Gwrtheyyr? I look upon Gwrtheyyr, a name travestied from the Erse dialect, to be the first title under which the Apollinares of Wiltshire honoured their deity, at the time of bringing over the head of Bran from Ireland and transferring the chief seat of their superstition from Killair in Meath to the Maes Mawr, while Irish ministers were still employed or at least Irish names remembered. Of the Erse name of Saint Cath-tighearn,

[†] Nennius Pseudo-Gildas, frequently cited as Gildas. See Ranulph. p. 229. Gale.

[‡] The Gododin feast. See Dyhuddiant Elphin v. 107.

the Battle King, artfully softened down into Saint Cyn-deyrn, the Chief King, (whence the hybrid name St. Centigern) the same may be said. When we treat more particularly of the Saints, and apply the torch to that pretended hagiography which is really both paganism and polytheism, we shall see him also vanishing like a spectre of darkness, and some others with him. Besides their main wish, to ravel inextricably the thread of Vortigern's history, the bards had this meaning, formed according to their habits of allegory; viz. that Vortigern, having previously been a protector and father to the system, did now by the novercal counsels of Rhonwen oppose and persecute it, and so forth.

The main obstacle to the foregoing chronological experiments is disposed of. What family Gwrtheyrn had was by the daughter of Hengist, to whose womb I would refer the persecuted Pascentius or Pasgen who with Irish aid struggled for the crown against the Ambrosians. If Gotta, said in the Triads to have been the son of Gwrtheyrn and Alis Rhonwen, be as I suppose a mere nickname (like the names given to his mother) and signifying *the Goth*, he may either be the same or another. British history also keeps in total obscurity the parentage and connexion of this memorable king. A pedigree printed in Camb. Qu. Mag. l. 486. describes him as Gwrtheyrn ap Rhydeyrn ap Deheuvraint etc. but displays its absurdity by placing him four generations earlier than Coel grandfather of Constantine the Great, and nine generations earlier than Maelgwn, collaterally Another, inserted into Gale's Nennius c. 53, makes him the son of *Gwrthenau*, which is nothing but his own agnomen or nickname. If his country excelled in any one thing, it was pedigree. Not the ability but the good will to declare his birth and origin was wanting. These

silly falsehoods were not invented for their own sake, but in order to suppress and stifle truth. My inference from Gildas is, what in the abstract has probability, that he was lineal representative of Cynedda^a Wledig, and elder brother to Caswallawn Llawhir, who succeeded to the kingdom of Gwynedd by his death. To disguise the treason by which his brother and nephew supplanted him, Tysilio terms him^b lord of Erging and Ewas, otherwise Gewissea, or Wessex, and avoids stating in express terms the^c fact of his being a Gwynethian. For the same purpose was contrived king Caswallawn's incredibly long reign from 443 to 517, and two links of the same king's descent from Cynedda were (as I have shewn) expunged from his pedigree. His war against the Gwyddel of Mona, over whom Einion Vrenir had reigned, may be regarded as a blow struck against the interests of Vortigern or Pasgen.

The obscure Ymarwar Lludd Mawr relates to the attack upon Gwrtheyrn of Gwynedd by Maelgwn of Mona, and, generally, to the war waged in the name of the solar deity against him, Hengist, and Pasgen with his Gwyddelian allies, subsequent to the day when (as that poem says) "the battle was caused over the wine-feast."

^a Who is himself termed *Guthiern the Great* by Albert Le-Grand, which must intend to express the same appellation compounded of gwr and teyrn. *Saints de Bretagne*. p. 245.

^b These territories included the modern Wiltshire in which the great national sanctuary and place of assembly was situated, and were, for that reason, the principal and highest, if not most habitual, residence of the insular monarch. *Brut G. ap Arthur* writes *l' Ergyng and Ewas*. *Brut llyvyr A.* has *Ergig and Ewas*. See the *Bruts* p. 200. p. 230. p. 240. Geoffrey in his *History* and in his *Merlin* uniformly renders it "the Gewisseans," and his Welsh translator translates it back accordingly. *Ergengl* in Hereford has nothing to do with it.

^c See Neunius c. 40. *Golyddan* c. 27.

Bear^a and lion, diffused from the pools of light,
 The steep hill is the boundary of his free effusions.
 Too much seeking is irksome. Far best are oppositions.
 Before his array of the^o great graves
 The faithful bestir themselves, the circles break forth, the van-
 guards of hosts
 To Cadwaladyr's conflict coruscantly glorious.

The Aurelian Ambrosian war against Gwrtheyrn was that which displayed

The reflexion of shields in the onset and the sword-bearing,
 In the conflict of Cadwaladyr against the lord of Gwynedd.

Maelgwn Môn is alluded to in those lines which prophesy of the Prince of Mona,

Indeed it shall be the rightful heir of Mona,
 Head of battle-array, respector of the mailed ones,
 Radiant dragon protecting the people of Britain,
 Depth of the prophecy of the augur of the wrens.

The very ancient bard who composed this ode thought or affected to think that he beheld in young Maelgwn the promised cad-gwaladyr of the Ambrosian prophecies.

If we conclude that Gwrtheyrn was the king of Gwynedd whom his youthful nephew Maelgwn of Mona destroyed with sword and fire, we obtain the strongest sanction to our former conclusion, that Emmrys Wledig was no real chieftain, but the tutelar spirit of a turbulent theocracy.

^a The Mithriac lion, being likewise the Arth gwrys of the Septem-trional mystery, is that power whose visible course is bounded by the mountains which intercept the natural horizon.

^o Before the bryn y beddau, mount of graves, at Stonehenge, the Mithriacs are mustering their strength, and the inmates of the cors, caeruau, or stone circles, are coming forth in their wrath.

§ 5. The pretended Caredig and the hiatus in history between the reigns of Maelgwn and Cadvan have been discussed by anticipation. There is reason to presume that the transactions of this interval were equally disgraceful and disastrous, and little more than that can be said concerning them.

The reign of Cadvan is remarkable for no events known to us; and, as its auspices were glorious, its tenor does not appear to have been disastrous. That of his son Cadwallon (Cardwella and Cedwalla, rex infandus, of Beda) was incessantly active and often greatly victorious, and therefore he was almost idolized by his people, notwithstanding the hideous atrocity and perfidy of his character. He was himself an "irregular bard" and a "soldier of Arthur;" and he was the immediate patron of Avan Verddig of the Red Spear and Avaon the Bull of Battle, two of the bloodiest of the Bards of Beli. Llywarch the Aged lived to mourn his fall, and begins the dirge of Cadwallon thus,

^p He who, before Cadwallon came,
 Formed him, achieved for us fourteen pitch'd battles
 And sixty combats for loveliest Britannia.

It is not easy to understand how his death in the battle of Denisbury arose

"From the counsel of strangers and the unrighteousness of the monks," but the insinuation shows how Cadwallon stood related to the church. His remains were embalmed and enclosed within a brazen equestrian statue at Caerleon upon Dee, underneath which was a consecrated crypt wherein mass was said for his soul. The transactions, which this language serves to describe, fell but little short of apotheosis.

^p The world's productive energy, by forming Cadwallon in his mother's womb, procured for us these advantages in war.

When Caerleon was taken by Egbert and became Chester in England, the image of that martial monster was destroyed by him. Mr. Turner well says, "the swords of Cadwallon and his army seemed the agents "destined to fulfill their cherished prophecy. The fate of the Anglo-Saxons was now about to arrive. Three of their kings had been "already offered up to the shades of the injured Cymry. An Arthur "had revived in Cadwallon." Cadwallon was "vir, ut ipse⁴ dictabat, in exterminium Anglorum natus." A half sister of Penda king of Mercia by the father's side, and by the mother's a princess of Wessex, bore to Cadwallon a son, who was thus allied in blood to the two most puissant Heptarch houses. He bestowed upon the child that name which the Great, or Ambrosian, Prophecy had announced as fatal to the Saxon invaders, Cadwaladyr.

§ 6. Cadwallader (Ceadwalla and Cedwalla of Beda and the Saxon Chronicle) for a moment gave promise of fulfilment to the songs of Emmrys. He availed himself of a complete anarchy which for ten years had prevailed in those countries (in which there was no king acknowledged, but every thane did what was good in his own sight) to subjugate Wessex (otherwise called the Land of the Gewisseans, from Gewis great-grandfather of Cerdic) and the isle of Wight; with which countries he was connected through his Gewissean mother. He held undisputed possession of those countries for two years, united Sussex to Wessex, and carried his arms into the kingdom of Kent. There his brother Mul⁵ was burnt by the Cantians in a house, in which he had

⁴ W. Malms. 1. p. 19.

⁵ This warrior is called Wolf, not Mul, by John Brompton, pp. 741. 757. He was probably surnamed the Wolf, because of the warlike energies which are said to have distinguished him.

taken refuge. Ceadwalla avenged his fate with a cruelty not conformable, as it is said, to the general goodness of his character.

That the Ceadwalla¹ of Beda is the Cadwallader of British authors appears to me indubitable; although the Saxon historians give no intimation of their Ceadwalla being the king of the Britons, and the Saxon Chronicle styles him son of Cenbyrht, son of Cada, son of Cutha etc. and sixth from Cerdic inclusive. That his wife Kendritha was Cenbyrht's daughter is not unlikely. Giraldus Cambrensis (cited by Ralph of Chester) condemns Beda, the Romans, and the Lombards, for corrupting the British name Cadwallader into Ceadwalla; and observes that, being king of the Britons, he was styled king of the West Saxons, because he reigned over them likewise. Stephen Eddius, who wrote but about thirty years after his death, terms him "an exile of noble race, coming from the deserts of Ciltina² and Ondred," and gives no farther explanation concerning him, but extols his virtues. The name Cedwalla is not treated by the Anglo-Norman writers as though it were a Saxon name, for they usually employ that same word to³ express both Cadwallon, a most undoubted and detested Briton, and this king of Wessex; and, although the printed Beda also calls the former Cardwella, some MSS. have only Cedwalla. That remark has great weight; both nations would scarce use the same proper name.

¹ Beda iv. c. 12. c. 16. v. c. 7. Beda Epit. p. 279. Chron. Sax. A. D. 685. 688. Ranulph. Higd. p. 242, 3. Gul. Malms. Pont. p. 346.

² The tracts of Ciltina and Ondred (now changed into Chiltern Hundreds) were upland forests, in the parts of Mercia which bordered upon Wessex. From these fastnesses Ceadwalla made his descent upon the last mentioned kingdom. Ciltina and Ondred seem to be taken from British names meaning the Woodlands and the Solitude.

³ Fl. Alcuinus c. 202. J. Wallingford p. 527. H. Huntingd. 3. p. 329. W. Malms. 1. p. 19.

Cadwallader, of the blood of Cynedda and Gewis, began his conquest of Wessex in* 685. The Bruts assert that, during an illness which he suffered, his subjects broke out into civil war, to which calamity a pestilence was superadded ; and he fled into Little Britain. " Cadwallader (as the prophecies ran) called upon Conan." But upon consulting with Alan prince of that country, and finding that the oracles of Emmrys were not to be relied upon in his favour, he retired to Rome, and soon after died in sentiments of devotion.

The British Bruts, Beda's Epitome, and the Saxon Chronicle all agree in fixing this event to the year 688 ; which I take to be the true year, although Beda's fuller and earlier work has it 689. Cenwalch died in 672, and the Gewisseans remained in anarchy " for about ten years," when Ceadwalla took in hand the conquest of their country, and held it during two years. But as he began to reduce it into his possession in 685, Beda's " about ten years" seem to have been near thirteen years. That he died upon the 18th of April in the same year 688, is also the concurring statement of the Britons, the Saxons, and the Pope.

In the long epitaph which Pope Sergius placed upon his tomb it is said,

Culmen, opes, *sobolem*, pollentia regna, triumphos,
Cedwalla armipotens liquit amore Dei.

It is therefore certain that this sovereign had issue ; and in that we shall find new proofs of his being Cadwallader. Cedwalla being in the undisputed possession of Wessex, Wight, and Sussex, voluntarily

* The grant to St. Wilfrid in Twysden's Decem Script. p. 2207, dated A. D. 680 is a false document, or else Twysden has miscopied the date.

resigned his crown into the hands of Ina his^{*} cousin, and his friend, who immediately on receiving it from him proceeded to levy the weregild of his brother Mul. In this transaction there is no allusion to any children of Cadwalla. It is neither credible that he would abdicate in such manner as to sacrifice his own family, nor has the good Ina been ever accused of reigning to the prejudice of others. He laboured to civilize his people by law-giving, and at last laid down the burthen of his crown and followed in his pious cousin's footsteps. Yet Cadwalla beyond all dispute had a family, which he left. These were the children of Cadwallader, who took up their lot in Britain, and were his heirs in respect of that country, but in whose behalf he made no claim upon England. Ivor prince of Britanny took possession of Wales for Idwal Iwrch son of Cadwallader, (who must have been a boy, since his father died little if at all more than thirty years old) but kept the advantages to himself, and was regarded as an usurper. Rodri Molwynawg, son of Idwal Iwrch and grandson of Cadwallader, reigned over the Welsh and a few other tribes. To the strong argument arising from the *soboles* of Cadwalla I may add, that not only Cornwall, and Devon, but Somerset itself was held by Ivor and Idwal, and afterwards by Rodri Molwynawg, who lost them, and was forced to retire into Wales. These facts seem to indicate the union which had existed between the British and West-Saxon states, and the somewhat imperfect possession of the latter by Ina.

The plague which drove Cadwallader from the island could not have been that which distressed South Britain and[†] Northumberland

^{*} Florence of Worcester styles Cadwalla the *frater*, and Ina the *germanus*, of Mul. p. 567, 8.

[†] Beda 3. c. 27.

in 604. Neither do the Saxons or Anglo-Normans intimate, that any plague at all was connected with his pious retirement. It also appears, that, if civil disturbances induced him to retire, they were not the result of Saxon disaffection. By Eddius, by Beda, by W. Malmsbury, and indeed by all, he is described as a man excelling both in abilities and in virtues, in war and in peace, "*regis indolis nobile germen*," and highly esteemed and venerated by his English subjects.

Perhaps the moral pestilence of his native land was that which made this island hateful to him. In his reign the bard Golyddan flourished, and loudly proclaimed the heathenish doctrines and ambitious hopes, in the anticipated triumph of which the king had received his name. His⁷ printed song is "of Cadwaladyr and Conan." But we learn from the Triads that Cadwallader experienced the extremes of insult from this fanatical ruffian. One of three fatal slaps with the palm of the hand was that given to Cadwallader by Golyddan. And the king took effectual vengeance. For another triad of "infamous strokes with the battle-axe" includes that upon the head of Golyddan, when he had struck Cadwallader. A country in which such men as Golyddan could lift their hands against their sovereign, and in which the blow which vindicated him was accounted infamous, might well be despaired of and renounced in disgust. And prophecies, of which such fellows were the priests and expounders, might naturally fall into disrepute with him. We may fairly suppose, that the civil dissensions which preceded his abdication were not unconnected with the revolt and death of Golyddan Vardd; and we are tempted to conjecture, that the "illness of long suffering" (*clevycawd o hir nychdawd*), during

⁷ Others remain in MS. See Owen Dict. in *Mabon*.

which his British dominions fell into disorder, was the result of Golyddan's outrage. Where the same faction are both actors and narrators, we may rather misdoubt the innocuous nature of *slaps*. A question naturally rises in our minds. Why not resign the government of the Britons, whom he could not manage, and retain that of the West Saxons, Jutes, and South Saxons, by whom he was esteemed and honoured? The answer must be, that he could not remain in Wessex without marshalling his Saxon forces against the land of his father and forefathers, or being himself assailed from thence. The Cadwaladyr of the songs of Emmrys, upon which Golyddan harped, was not intended to obtain the sovereignty of the Saxons and then to rule them faithfully as this good man did, but to extirpate them root and branch. The "great sanctuary of the dominion" and that of Abury were in the West-Saxon territory. They belonged by all human right to the nation of Cadwallader's mother, but Bardism never ceased to claim them as the demesne of its god Belenus. The causes of dissension could not be scarce, and evil dispositions abounded. Cadwallader could neither instill a love of peace and moderation into his Celts, nor, situated as he was, do justice to his Saxons. Under these circumstances, Cadwallader, who had previously shewn marks of religious feeling, withdrew in disgust to the capital of the Christian world, and shaking the British dust from his shoes and the damnable errors of the apostasy from his heart he also abandoned all British titles of honour, and presented himself before Sergius merely as *Rex Saxonum*; and was cordially entertained on his way by Cunibert² king of Lombardy. In

² Whose historian Paul Warnefrid vi. c. 16, has unaccountably thought fit to change the name of Cedwalla into that of Theodosius, and even to hitch that name into Pope Sergius's epitaph on him. Perhaps he perceived that Cedwalla was no Saxon name, and endeavoured to Teutonize that Welsh appellation.

689 Ina^a held the congress of Saxon princes at Campden for the settlement of affairs with the Britons.

Tysilio says that Cadwallader repaired to Rome and underwent penance, *y benyd*; but he might with more sincerity have said *y vedydd*, that he received baptism. So completely did the undeceived Cadwallader renounce and put away all the pollutions of the system in which his father had reared him, that he submitted himself again to the baptismal font; and the church of Rome regarded that of Britain as so merely pagan (for baptism^b by heretics stands good) as to administer to him that sacrament which no man can receive twice. He gave up the un-christian name, almost like Mars or Bellona, which a savage superstition had bequeathed to him, and received from the Pope as godfather the name of Peter, as Sergius himself declares,

nomen et inde suum

Conversus convertit ovans, Petrumque vocari

Sergius antistes jussit, ut ipse pater

Fonte renascentis.

This epitaph, which the ancient chronicles cite, was discovered at Rome in the pontificate of Gregory the 13th; and under the verses was some Latin prose, saying, *hic depositus est Ceadwalla qui et Petrus rex Saxonum sub die duodecimo Kalendarum Maiarum indicatione secundâ qui vixit annos plus minus triginta etc.* He was christened by pope Sergius on Easter day 688, and departed this world of troubles before he had laid aside the white garments of a neophyte, *adhuc in albis constitutus*, that is to say, before the octave^c of Easter. His "illness of long suffering" and perhaps his

^a Powel's and Lloyd's Hist. p. 11. John Castoreus cit. *ibid.*

^b See Hooker Eccl. Pol. 5. c. 62. Jer. Taylor 7. 478.

^c See Ducange in *Alba*.

"fatal slap" had left him but enough of life to drag his bones to Rome and lay them there.

I am justified in having^d said, that the Brut was composed more in national shame than pride. We see the Saxons merely indulging their pride, by concealing that their esteemed Ceadwalla was the Briton, and mistating the nature of his alliance to the house of Cerdic and Gewis, while they faithfully describe his conquests and so much of his reign as concerns them. But we see that the Powysian chronicler, who himself had known Cadwallader and Golyddan and most of the actors in these scenes, was afraid even to allude to the fact that Cadwallader had reigned honourably over two Saxon kingdoms and overrun a third; honorific as the fact was, and within an ace both of anticipating the days of Egbert and of restoring this island to the children of Cynedda Wledig. Nay, we find not in his pages that Cadwallader during his twelve years of reign ever bore arms at all, or did any act as a king but abdicate his crown. That Cadwallader's prowess and Golyddan's conduct were still to a certain degree appreciated in Wales at the beginning of the thirteenth century, appears from these verses of Philip Brydydd,

• O gwnaeth Golyddan gyvlavan diriaid
 Bid ar ei enaid yr enwiredd,
 Taraw Cadwaladyr colovyn elyflu.
 If Golyddan committed a pernicious crime
 Upon his soul be the iniquity,
 The smiting of Cadwallader pillar of overwhelming hosts.

Since then, the influence of Geoffrey of Monmouth upon British history has obliterated what little fame he retained; and the accounts

^d Above, p. xxxii.

^e Arch. Myvyr. 1. 378.

of his reign in Mr. Warrington and other modern authors are nothing but the story of his abdication as it was dressed up by Tysilio. That person could not have related the various acts of Cadwallon's son, without also alluding to the apostasy and its crimes, and shewing how the ministers of confusion marred the reviving fortunes of their country.

The abdication of that noble youth put an end for ever to the kingdom of Britannia, and nothing was left but princes of Wales or Cymro. When Cadwaladyr put on the crown of Brutus the oracles of Aurelius Ambrosius were arrived, "*venit jam carminis ætas*," by his great successes the prophecy seemed advancing to its completion, but by his retirement and death the magic scroll was rent and given to the winds. The nation no longer looked for Cadwaladyr and Cynan, nor could aspire to the unbennaeth Prydain. The God, whom they had abandoned, took unto himself his own to enjoy a better crown, and finally gave away their kingdom to a strange people.

§ 7. The kingdom of Britain ended when Cadwallader departed from the island, having struggled for its existence during about 260 years from Owain Finddu to Cadwallader. With it, seems to have ended the national prevalence of Neodruidism, and the authority of the Ambrosian oracles, at least as a thing publicly avowed and governing the counsels of the state. The Bards, though they continued to be a public mischief, no longer pretended to the exercise of power. The remnant of the Britons were left to reflect upon the strange scenes which were brought to a close, and to take their retrospect of the last two centuries and more. Their learned men had to choose, whether they should deliver to posterity the awful and instructive tale, as it really was, or cover up the shame and absurdities of the past under a complete system of false history, borrowed from the habitual *eironeia*

of the bards. They were too much tainted with false doctrine in their own hearts, and the honour of their fathers and grandfathers was too deeply implicated, for them to adopt the better course. The task was undertaken and executed by Tysilio, son to Brochvael the prince of Powys who (early¹ in life) commanded the Powysians at the combat of Bangor in Maelor. From the election of Cadvan to the retirement of Cadwallader, there elapsed seventy years of such confusion and slaughter, as gave opportunity for grossly falsifying the events of their duration. The fifty years next above those, and which intervened betwixt Maelgwn and Cadvan, the same during which Britannia seems to have owned no monarch, were of course much more at the mercy of the historiographer. Being years, in the transactions of which the parents of some living persons, including his own father Brochvael, were implicated, he has treated them with a cautious vagueness and obscurity, and has stated the smallest possible number of facts. Absolute fable, or else mere irony, begins to shew itself in the legend of Caredig, about 120 years before the close of the monarchy. The utter confusion of affairs, the want of leisure or materials for criticism, and the declining intellect and civilization of the country, would not have sufficed to give complete success to such a daring attempt so moderately well² executed, if it had not been, that nearly all those who were capable of furnishing the refutation had their feelings interested in maintaining the fiction.

¹ He must not only have been young in 607, but an elderly man when Tysilio was born, if that author was in reality Brochvael's own son.

² The Welsh name Iago is a translation of Jacob or James, and in a MS. of the tenth century *Iago* father of Cadvan is written Jacob. Yet Tysilio had so little judgment as to place a king Iago in his series of fabulous heathen kings and 700 years B. C. Owain is one of the corruptions of Eugenius, yet the same historian introduces that name into his Trojan series.

After the Romans, and when Fl. Constantinus Augustus rebel emperor of the West had been rejected by the islanders and (with him) the last rag and remnant of the Cæsarean purple, the following succession of powers prevailed in Britannia.

Owain ap Maxim Wledig.
 Gwrtheyrn Gwynedd.
 Fanatical interreign.
 Gwrtheyrn Gwynedd.
 Long fanatical interreign.
 Cystennin ap Cadwr of Cornwall.
 Qu. Brief interreign ?
 Maelgwn Gwynedd.
 Long anarchical interreign.
 Cadvan ap Iago, ap Beli, ap Rhun, ap Maelgwn.
 Cadwallon ap Cadvan.
 Cadwallader ap Cadwallon.

Perhaps it would not be possible to point out another instance in which the annals of mankind have been obscured and perverted in a similar manner. The profane nations used to invent or borrow splendid fictions to fill up the blank of their earliest ages, and as Livy says, consecrare origines suas ; but it seldom, if ever, happened for the last decline and fall of a nation to be recorded with such an unlimited freedom of inventing and suppressing, as leaves to posterity an ænigma to decipher.

D I G R E S S I O N S

IN

ILLUSTRATION OF PARTICULAR TOPICS.

DIGRESSIONS.

ON THE NATION OF GILDAS.

[FROM P. XIV.]

THERE is perhaps nothing more remarkable in the ordinary style of Celtic researches or speculations, than the neglect with which the members of the several nations treat the antiquities and literary remains of each other. That neglect which they complain sometimes of experiencing from those who are strangers to their local curiosities, they are themselves the first to display reciprocally one to another; and, by so doing, have contributed to justify the low estimation in which their systems have been held. Whilst eager to claim and arrogate to their own little nation, at the expence of the others, every name or circumstance that enjoys a particle of celebrity, they will satisfy themselves with the slightest and most conjectural arguments which they can draw from home, coolly pretermittting, as if nonentities, all the arguments possessed by those others whose antiquarian cabinet they would despoil.

It is impossible to speak of the *Rerum Hibernicarum Scriptores* of the Rev. C. O'Connor without respect. But the unilateral temper of almost all Celtic research by Celts is very perceptible in his otherwise diligent and learned labours. In his desire to shew that Ireland can produce older testimonials than any other European nation (except the classical ones) he supposes, or speaks as if he did, that Britannia had no literature in prose or verse, saintly legend, pedigree, or written tradition whatsoever, anterior to Caradocus Lancarbanensis, i. e. to the twelfth century.

In a spirit conformable to this assumption, he claims the well-known Gildas for a Scot or Hibernian author, not indeed born on Irish soil, but in those settlements which the Scoti had before that time established on the Caledonian coast. And the claim is urged in as total neglect and disregard of all British learning to the contrary, as if the unanimous voice of the Cymmic people were but a grain of dust when weighed against the conjectures of a Gael. Let us see, of what value those are.

1. Mr. O'C. cites the Life of Gildas ascribed to Caradoc, a monk who wrote three centuries after the Scots had been possessors of his birth-place, to shew that he was a Scot; and farther relies upon the fact, that he went over to Erin and made some sojourn there, in order to acquire a knowledge of the philosophical and other doctrines taught in that island. It is true, that he went over to acquire whatever Erin could teach him; and his doing so is no better evidence of his being a Scot, than the studious sojourn very likely made by this author at Louvain or St. Omer can be, to prove him a Fleming.

2. He alleges that the father of Gildas was named Nau, and that the said name is an Erse one. If the latter assertion be a correct one, the former unfortunately is quite untrue. One of the monastic writers of his legend so styled his father; but others of them called him Caw, which is^a likewise well and generally known to have been his name. It is so spelt by John Capgrave and Albert Le-Grand. And the *Britannia Sancta*, observing the discrepancy, gives the name in the alternative. But there exists no doubt upon this head; and Caw is a word of British etymology.

3. Gildas (observes Mr. O'C.) is an Erse name. It is the word *gilla* (otherwise *giolla*), a servant or minister, which, as he says, may by a known idiom be^b exprest *Gilda*, and which was borne as a name

^a See Englyn. y Clyweit st. 57. Bonedd y Saint p. 29, 31, 39, 42, 44, 47, 49, 55. Cambrian Biography in *Cato*, *Gildas*, and *Aneurin*. Angar Cyvynd. r. 36.

^b As in the case of *Gilda Mac Cormac*, a Scot author in the Erse tongue; who has been sometimes confounded with the British historian. See *Hist. Gild.* ed. Gale ad calcem.

by more than 1000 Scoti whom he could mention, but by no Briton whatever if Gildas were not one.

Since Gildas is an appellation significant in British, (see above p. xiv.) we are not bound to acquiesce in the suggestion that it is the Erse word Gilla. But I would not dismiss it too hastily. That Erse title, humble as it may sound, really denoted those ministers of religious mysteries among whom Gildas went to seek for new lights. The Irish potentate who held possession of the Stonehenge, and from whom Pendragon conquered it for his brother Ambrose, was Gilla-muri, i.e. Servus-muri, (for that enclosure of stones was the sacred mur, cawr-mur, and go-vur) and he was perhaps about as meek in his servitude as the servus servorum Dei. The title is synonymous to ceile, a servant, by which the ceile dia or servants of God, vulgò Culdees, an association of religious mystics formed some few years after the date of Gildas, are understood to have called themselves. The same person had been instrumental in organizing the system of bardism, and in that capacity had assumed and borne the appropriate title of Alawn. And it does not exceed probability, that, when he had completed his course of Irish studies, and become an adept in them also, he was, as such, styled a Gilla or Gilda.

4. Mr. O'C. asserts that Alclyde, his birthplace, was a Scotie or Dailriadh city, and not a British one. That assertion is, for importance, instar omnium; for if he were born in Scotia we should presume him a Scot, and a Briton if born in Britain. But it is one utterly false and untenable. Alclwyd, Arclwyd, or Caer ar Clwyd, is a British name; and the town was situated in that northern division of the island called in general Prydyn, and in the territory of those Cymmry who are (accurately, as to pronunciation) styled Cumbri, and a part of whose dominions is yet called Cumberland. Its inhabitants were also called the Strathclyde Britons and the Strathclyde Welsh, and more anciently, the Attacotti. Jocelyn in his life of Kentigern styles it regnum Cambrense and regnum Cambrium. Llywarch Hen of Argoed was a native of those parts, from whence he was driven into Wales by the misfortunes of civil war. Rhydderch^c Hael, who

^c The Rodarchus Largus who figures in Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Merlinus*.

reigned at Alclyde in or very soon after the lifetime of Gildas, and whom Mr. O'C. was by his theory compelled to pronounce a Scot, was an undoubted and famous Briton. Rhydderch, Morgant, Urien, and Gwallawg, (says the App. Cotton. to Nennius) were the four principal rulers between whom Cumbria was divided. Rhydderch son of Tudwal son of Cedig was brother in law to the Welsh bard Merddin ap Morvran, and a vassal prince under Maelgwn Gwynedd. When Beda wrote his history, Alclyde was not in the Scotie territory, but lay "above it, to the south." l. c. 12. Sinus. . . . ubi est civitas Britonum munitissima usque hodie, quæ vocatur Alcluith, ad cuius videlicet sinus partem septentrionalem Scoti. l. c. 1. And it continued to be a British city until A. D. 756, when it surrendered to the Northumbrians and Picts. Nor was it merely a British city, it was *the* British city, Dunbritton or Britannodunum, so called as being the barrier fortress of the Strathclyde Britons against their Scotie neighbours. That British people were not finally eradicated till A. D. 878, when the remnant of them emigrated into Flint and Denbigh, where they transferred to their new settlement the name of Strathclyde, and to its principal river that of Clyde, "*parvam Trojam et Xanthi cognomine rivum.*"

5. A fifth objection is, that if Gildas had been a Briton he could never have held such abusive and reproachful language concerning that nation. The abuse directed by one foreign and hostile nation against another is of one sort, and that which a discontented or offended native pours forth is very different. That which the *Moniteur* of Buonaparte lavished upon this country, is easily distinguishable from the railings of English demagogues and agitators against the transactions of their own native land. And if Mr. O'C. had perused Gildas with an eye of criticism seeking truth only, he would have clearly seen that such a compound of invectives and lamentations could only flow from the heart of a Briton, indignant and alienated, but struggling with all the passions that can afflict the breast of an exile from his ruined country. But if that superficial and ill-founded remark can have any show of force, it must consist in Gildas speaking *worse* of the Britons than of the Scots; for his problem is not merely to take him away from Britain, but to add him to Scotia. Let us see, then, what are the courtesies which this supposed Scot bestows upon

his own people. Will the reader credit, that the following are the only phrases by which the Scots are described in his works, robbers, rabid wolves, filthy herds of Scots covering their hang-dog faces with hair while they neglect to cover the shame of their bodies with raiment, and bloody pirates?

I am not aware that any sixth reason is offered by the Irish historiographer.

The father of Gildas was Caw lord or chieftain of the Cwm Cawllwyd, and sometimes styled Caw o Brydyn i. e. Caw of Northern Britannia. He was son to Geraint (son of Erbin) who was slain at Llongborth, supposed to be Plymouth, where he had the command of naval and other forces. Caw was father of a very^d numerous and renowned family. Several of his children made themselves conspicuous as saints, or what was so called; and thus the family of Caw came to be styled one of the *holy families* of Britain. Gildas, under his name of Alawn, had conjointly with those who styled themselves Gwron and Plennydd superintended^e the Bardism of all Britain in its most awful times. Scarcely less famous than Gildas is his natural brother and brother bard, styled Aneurin ap Caw, of the Golden Grove in the Cwm Cawllwyd. Three of the children of Gildas ap Caw, Dolgar, Gwynnawg, and Noethon, were honoured by the Britons as Saints. All that Gildas either wrote or translated, and all that others wrote for him or affixed his name to, was relative to the concerns of Britain. The *Clyweit* is a work replete with quotations from very ancient poems, and from the high date of the most recent of the names contained in it, must be ascribed to the twelfth century. It quotes a verse out of the British poems of "Gildas ap Caw," and that verse is composed in pure Cymraeg.

If any thing remains to be done, towards demolishing this fabric of rash conjecture, it is to enquire what Gildas himself, who ought to

^d Called by a poet,

The flood of Caw, and his multitude
Upon the lands of the earth.

Arch. 1. p. 35.

^e This point admits of curious illustration at some future time.

know, says upon the subject. And he seems to me to speak with sufficient plainness. In his introduction he says, that he will carry down his historical sketch to "the last victory of his country," *postrema patriæ victoria, quæ temporibus nostris Dei nutu donata est*. That victory was the battle of[†] Mount Badon in Somersetshire. He says, that he can apply a prophecy of Isaiah "to his country," *merito patriæ illud propheticum potuerit aptari*. Further on, he speaks in the character of a native, or citizen, as opposed to foreigners. "Why, "forsooth, should natives affect to conceal that which the surrounding "nations have not only known, but are casting in their teeth?" *Quippe quid celabunt cives, quod non solum nôrunt, sed exprobrant jam in circuitu nationes?* It seems a hard thing for any one to tell Gildas to his face that he is a Scot, when he has at least three times signified that he is not.

The writer of these remarks has no motives for partiality, as between the Cymmry and the Gael, and is only desirous to see fair play between them.

[†] From his particular mention of that battle, and of his own age at the time it was fought, he has been sometimes absurdly styled Gildas Badonicus. Ages after Britannodunum and the Strathclyde had passed into the hands of the Albannaich, he was also styled Gildas Albanus; and from his proficiency in various learning, Bardic, Erse, and Catholic, Gildas Sapiens.

DIGRESSION UPON OWEN'S DICTIONARY.

[FROM P. XLVI.]

THE Dictionary of the Welsh language published in 1803 by Mr. William Owen was the first work of the kind that had so much as the boast and outward appearance of either complete or critical lexicography. And it has continued to be the only such. Consequently the frequent use of it, however little satisfactory, has been and is a matter of necessity to all those who have occasion for such a book of reference. That which is unique in itself and indispensable to us we are apt to imagine must be tolerably good. The excessive reputation of this work, on the author of which some have ridiculously conferred the title of the Welsh Johnson, may be ascribed to that cause. Nor should I have any wish to disturb that reputation, were it not manifest that the continued popularity of that which exists must effectually deter any person or association of persons from attempting, at much labour and risk, to replace it by something better. With this in view, I have thought it better to add some to the remarks which have been previously offered.

In page xlvi, after exposing some glaring contradictions, I referred to two others equally gross. Upon reflexion, it seems better to present them to view, together with some similar ones not before alluded to.

Gweini fawd hyd brawd ys dir.

Fortune must be followed till doomsday. *Fawd.*

The service of prosperity will be sure till doomsday. *Gwein.*

Dyviau bu gwartheg a amygant.

On Thursday it befell that they guarded the kine. } *Ardant.*

Dyviau bu gwarthau a amygant.

Thursday there was the disparaging of what they } *Cynorant.*
defended.

Cred i Dduw nad derwyddon darogant	}	<i>Cuniad.</i>
Ban dôren' Din Breon braint.		
Believe in God that the Druids have not prophesied,		
When they shall break the privilege of Din Breon.		
Cred i Dduw nad derwyddon darogant	}	<i>Darogan.</i>
Ban torer din breon braint.		
Trust to God that the Druids will prophesy not,		
When the privilege of the hill of legislature shall be		
broken.		

Caeawg cynnhorawg bleidde maran.
 Caeawg the foremost in giving aid, with
 A spreading course like the wave on the shore. *Bleidde.*
 Caeawg the supporter of the depredating rank. *Dyscrain.*
 Diliw dyn yn vyw ni's gadawawn.
 By the flood ! not a man would I have left alive. *Brynach.*
 Not the shadow of a man would I have left alive. *Diflais.*
 Er amgelwch bywyd.
 For the solicitude of life. *Amgelwch.*
 For life's security. *Rhysnydd.*
 Aervaid y arvel.
 Daring slaughter in the hottest war. *Aervaid.*
 Accustomed to dare the battle. *Gowel.*
 Ystadyl cad cynnygydd.
 The prepared proponent of battle. *Cynnygydd.*
 The threatener of the indecision of battle. *Ystadyl.*
 Cenedyl ysgi.
 The dagger generation. *Cadeithi.*
 A tribe of depredation. *Ysgi.*
 Duw differ newwy
 Rhag llanw lled ovrwy.
 God of heaven defend,
 Against the spreading influence of tyranny. *Attaran.*
 God preserve the heavens
 From a flood of wide spreading. *Gowrwy.*

Hwyr dy ogledd.

Late is thy protection. *Caman.*

May it be long before thy period of rest. *Gogledd.*

In the above instances, the author sometimes makes free to change the words themselves, and makes no scruple of assigning to the same words in the same sentence of the same author divers meanings. What confidence can any one place in a writer, who cannot make up his own mind as to the meaning of what he cites, nor even remember what he has himself written a few pages before? Some of these interpretations are as utterly absurd in themselves, as they are discrepant from the others.

Strange as it must seem, that any work should exhibit such passages, it is stranger yet, that the same gentleman in 1832 sent forth a second edition of the work, which boasts of containing great additions, but in which not one of the monstrous discrepancies noted here and previously is reconciled or corrected! They all reappear verbatim. Even the three translations from *Cynddelw*^f all different (and, I believe, all wrong) are to be found in their respective places. Those instances in which the lexicographer stands self-convicted have been selected of preference, in order to make sure that the error is out of his own mouth and not out of mine; but they serve as an index or criterion, whereby to estimate the care and accuracy brought to the execution of the rest of the work.

Of the numerous words, unsuppressed, and occurring in this dictionary, whose Latin origin is so palpable, that the denial of it would be a mere puerility, I am not aware that any one has credit for such origin, except *Crist*, the name of Christ, (which is left without etymology) and the words formed upon it; all of which are printed in Italic letters. Even here, we cannot get beyond tacit admission; for the root, *Christus* or *Χριστος*, is omitted. At the same time, those words which relate to the discipline or constitution of the Christian church, and which came into use together with the name of the Lord or subsequently, are furnished with the most unaccountable Celtic and

^f See above p. xlv.

Pseudo-Celtic roots. As an instance of peculiar and unparalleled hardihood, I will cite the following;

“ Evengyl. *s. f. pl. t. au.* (ev—eng—yl) What is spread abroad, manifested, or declared. The gospel.”

Evangelium, το εὐαγγέλιον, from ev, eng, and yl! Ev is said to be “a pronomial agent governing the action of a verb, without the discrimination of person.” Eng is said to be, as a substantive, “space, amplitude,” and as an adjective, “large, spacious, loose, at large, free;” but no instance of it is, or perhaps can be, quoted. Yl is said to mean, “that is pervasive, that is apt to move, a moving agent. It is a termination of a class of words.” So it is; and that is all that it is! No instance is quoted or likely to be quoted in support of the other interpretations. So much for evengyl or the gospel, and for the unworthy trickery from the operation of which the Founder of the gospel has alone been permitted to escape.

In the edition of 1832 not one of the words, mentioned in p. xlii. as being suppressed, is restored. Nor is one of the fictitious and laughable etymologies of the original work displaced.

Not only has the Gaelic language been neglected in that work; but there are scarcely any allusions to that modification of the language of Ancient Britain which exists in its Armorican colony. By keeping these out of sight, etymological delusions are fostered. For instance the Armorican British words avyel, evangelium, avyelist, evangelista, sufficiently bespeak their origin, while they add external evidence to the intrinsic absurdity of ev, eng, and yl.

ON THE VECTURIONS OR GWYDDEL FICHTI.

[FROM P. LXII.]

THAT very ancient effusion the Dirge of Pendragon ends with the line "teithiawg oedd iddi." And a short poem, called a prediction or foreboding, is tacked on to it by the copyists, although it has not the remotest connexion with it. It is one of those bardic prophecies, which they were in the habit of subsequently adapting to foregone facts and antedating; and it relates to the affairs of the nation of Vecturion Picts. It must have been composed in the decline of the ninth century; that is to say, after Kenneth II. had overturned the kingdom of Pictland, and not long after the Pictish chiefs who took refuge in Denmark and Scandinavia, returning from those countries, had made (with the aid of the Northmen) their last unavailing efforts to regain their country. Events, which happened in the reigns of Donald V., Constantine II., Eth the swift-footed, and Gregory, kings of Scots. Thus much may be inferred from the sixth verse of it. Our inability to explain its allusions makes us the more sensible how as nothing is our knowledge of Pictish history. "Their memorial is perished with them." That one of those unfortunate princes was connected by some affinity with the Britons of Merioneth, and was assisted by them, may also be collected from it. It is possible, rather than probable, that Welsh genealogy may furnish some other traces of the fact. The repetition of the number five seems to point to some particularity in the Pictish constitution.

A PREDICTION.

Five chieftains there shall be
Of the Gwyddelian Picts,
Evil-doers by disposition,
‡ Of a murderous generation ;

‡ Perhaps alluding to the cruel murderers of king Alpine, whose crime entailed the ruin of the Pictish kingdom.

Five others there shall be,
 From the dwelling-place of the Northmen ;
 A sixth, a wondrous prince
^a Until the reaping of the seed sown ;
 A seventh, sent by old age
 To the ⁱ green-sward beyond the water ;
 An eighth, of the line of Dyvy,
 Who shall not be estranged from prosperity
 Till Snowdon shall be invoked
 In the outcry of Menni,
 Disastrous unto Dyvy.
 I have worshipped Eloi.
 At the time of my being with the Celi
 Heaven shall be my dwelling.

These lines were evidently written in consequence of, and presently after, the unfortunate events last alluded to ; and, in spite of their prophetic form, were little else than a morsel of plain narrative. Now they are, and I suppose will ever remain, an enigma in history.

^a Probably meaning until a mature age of life.

ⁱ Meaning to his grave, situated either beyond some British river or firth, or else over seas in Northmannia.

DIGRESSION ON THE BATTLE OF CATTRAETH OR GODODIN.

[FROM P. 51.]

THE Gododin of Aneurin ap Caw, a noble Briton of Cumbria, was translated by Mr. E. Davies, and explained as a collection of elegies on the slaughter of the Britons at the convention of Stonehenge. Mr. Davies's explanation was rejected by Mr. Sharon Turner, as being founded upon a translation bearing little resemblance to the original. Though he boasted of "setting down the literal construction as nearly as it could be obtained," it certainly is the most licentious version of any author that I ever saw. Mr. Probert confirms Mr. Turner's views, in a translation less vague and licentious, but exceedingly bad, and in many parts producing unintelligibility so pure and absolute that it cannot be called translation; at least, if we assume the original to have had a meaning. These critics understand Aneurin to celebrate a disastrous battle fought at some place in the north of this island, then called in British Cattraeth, between the Saxons and Mynyddawg of Eiddin chief of Gododin. The territory of Gododin (in syntax Ododin) is supposed by them to be the same as that of the Otadeni of Ptolemy, whose capital town Curia Otadenorum is placed by Camden at Corbridge on the Tyne.

Besides the one which bears Aneurin's name, three other poems relate to the disaster of Gododin, the Gorchan Maelderw, the Gorchan Cynvelyn, and an anonymous one. And another, the Canu y Cwrwf, alludes to the places, though not to the disaster which occurred there. I am persuaded that the four first allude to the bloody banquet of Vortigern and Hengist, and the last to the Stonehenge. Of the four poems, there are reasons to suppose that the Gorchan Maelderw, is of an earlier date than any other; and it seems to remount more nearly to the time of the action, and to be cotemporary with the dreadful wars

which arose out of it; and its 300 verses are in such a language and spelling as I cannot, in many parts, at all interpret. It is not to be assumed, that the names here in question were first applied by Aneurin to the objects which they are employed to signify.

The first point of connexion between the Gododin and the massacre of Stonehenge is the admitted fact, that Aneurin describes his slaughtered Britons as being intoxicated by the mead of a great banquet. The disputed point is whether they fell on the day following a banquet of which they partook too freely among themselves, thereby losing their discretion and discipline, or *at a banquet* of which they partook with their Saxon destroyers. That point of difference is justly stated by Mr. Turner as the hinge of the whole controversy. But it should be added by me (to do my case justice) that although the existence of fighting and killing at the banquet goes far to decide the point for me, the existence of other fighting not at the banquet proves nothing against me; for it is indisputable, that the coup de main struck by Hengist at the feast was followed up by a most sanguinary collision between the two factions.

Mr. Turner has faithfully rendered the verses of G. Cynvelyn, but he will find them hostile to his theory.

Three warriors and threescore and three hundred
Went to the tumult at Cattraeth;
Of those that hasten'd
To the bearers of the mead
Except three none *returned*.
O'r sawl yd gryssiasant
Uch vedd venestri
Namyn tri nyd *atcorasant*.

Mr. Probert has translated the second line

From over the mead vessels,

though *uch* no more expresses *from* than *menestyr* does a vessel. In the corresponding passage of Aneurin

O'r sawl yd gryssiasant *uch* gormant wirawd

he has yet more boldly rendered it "*after* too much beverage." But

Mr. Turner is right that *uch*, *over*, *upon*, has here the force of *to*, and it stands in relation to the verb *atcorasant*. If 363 went *to* the feast, and 3 returned *from* it, 360 perished *at* it.

The circumstance of Britons carousing together, wasting the night in jovial excess, and so losing the next day's battle, will not account for the remarkable words of the same poem.

Bearing woe shall come
The threatener of Melyn,
With blood round about him
Covering the froth
Of the yellow mead.
Like blood shall surround him
In the battles of Cynvelyn !

These lines tell us of a massacre committed at a feast and during its actual continuance, so as to mix the blood of the slaughtered banqueters with their yet undrained and brimming goblets ; and they threaten its author with vengeance to be wreaked on him in the field of battle.

They likewise intimate to us that it was an outrage to the god Melyn, whose oracle and temple was the Ebyr Hen-Velen. Other passages shew that the place of feasting was the actual scene, and not merely the foregone cause, of these disasters ; and most of them extol the magnitude and splendour of that place.

Never was there constructed a hall so extensive,
Nor so great a sea of the hue of slaughter.
.....
The hall would not have been made so tumultuous
Had not Morien been a second Caractacus.
.....
Never was a hall constructed so imperishable,
Nor did Cenon, king of the treasures, gentle-minded,
Remain seated on his lofty throne.

And again, long after,

Never was a hall constructed so free from imperfection.

The following rhapsody points to the same conclusion,

He was a savage bull
 In the court of Eidin;
 Arrogantly he called
 For the most excellent mead.
 He drank the liquid wine.
 There was a conflict of cutting down.
 He drank the transparent wine
Seemingly in defiance unto battle.

The nature of the Cattraeth meeting is illustrated by a minor Gododin poem ascribed to Aneurin. Arch. Myv. 1. p. 21. and printed from a more complete MS. in Davies Myth. p. 574. It confirms most of the preceding remarks, and furnishes new ones of great moment.

Pedwar lliwed
 Pedwar miled
 Miledawr^k byd,
 Aesau yn nellt,
 A llavyn yn gwallt
 Un o bedror,
 Gwr gwylias
 O gyn glas
 Medd meityn.

[GWR-THEYRN VAWR]
 Gwr^l teyrn vawr
 O blith porphor
 Porthloedd^m vyddin.

In the four troops
 Are four beasts of chase
 For the huntsman of *the world*,
 The shields into splinters,
 And the blade in the scalp
 Of one of the four,
 A man who was dividing the fluid
 Out of the blue horns,
 The mead, but a while ago.

[VORTIGERN THE GREAT.]
 A man who is a great prince,
 Of the number of the purple-robed,
 Is the purveyor of the host.

^j Aeruidd yn arvel.

^k The great circle of "the dominion" was a pantheistic type of the world. It is termed by Taliesin *gwrthgloddiad byd* and *govur byd*, and by Golyddan v. 39. simply *byd*, the world.

^l This is an instance of the *cyvrinach y beirdd*. Gwrtheyrn's name is actually inserted, by dividing the parts which compound it, *totidem literis*, though without the aspirate which one letter receives when in composition.

^m Thus in the Gododin v. 740; which enables us to correct the word *bedin*.

Br, eich Tutwylch baranres tost bengwaed gwin.
Yr medd a vawr yv, yd aethant aeryv dros eu hawfin.

From the mount, the shout of Tutwylch to the em-
bitter'd assembly at the blood-causing carousal.
Having greatly drunk of the mead, they went
to the slaughter over their satiety.

Gwyar van waith,
Er cadw cynrheith
Bu cyviewin.

Cynan Cenon,
"Teithygir o Von
Ar vreint goelin."

Tutwylch cyvwylch
A oreu vwylch
Ar van caerau.

Gan Vynyddawg
Bu adveiliawg
Eu gwirodau,

Blwyddyn hiraeth
Er gwyr Cattraeth,
Ammaeth yd meu,
etc.

Gory was the place of action,
As for the depository of the great laws
It was likewise.

The speech of Cenon,
"I shall have been conveyed from Mona
To an ominous privilege."

Tutwylch was an apt man
To effect a breaking through
On the place of the Caers.

With Mynyddawg
Disastrous were
Their computations.

The twelvemonth's longing
Of the men of Cattraeth,
The possession of good cheer,
etc.

I will not fatigue the reader by raising for him all the inferences with
which this poem teems. It begins and ends with these lines,

Arvanghynnull
Anghymman dull.

Not assembling in arms

Was an incomplete arrangement. See Aneur. v. 244.

How they apply to the wars of the Otadeni, I cannot imagine; nor
need I say, how they apply otherwise. But the main point here is, that
the Stonehenge feast was the annually recurring solemnity of May-
Day, and consequently "a twelvemonth's longing" to those who were
entitled to take their seats at it. Such also was the banquet of

Mynyddawg Eiddin. This point, which, in my view of it, is nearly decisive, may be established more fully. The Gododin says

Gwyr a aeth Gattræth buant enwawg,
Gwin a medd o eur vu en gwirawd,
Blwyddyn yn erbyn urddyn devawd. p. 4. v. 231.

The men who went to Cattraeth were illustrious,
Wine and mead out of gold was their beverage,
The dignified usage at the yearly entertainment.

The song of the Maeldersw not only informs us that many bards attended at Cattraeth on this occasion, but that on former occasions they had done the like, under better auspices and a better leader than Mynyddawg.

Bu gwell prid, pan aeth *cannyr* i Cattraeth,
Oed aillt gwr gwinvaeth calon ehelaeth,
Oed gwr llwyd einym, oed lurig cein ym,
Oed gerth, oed cnall ar gevyn e gavall.

Better used to be their reward, when the songsters came to
Cattraeth,

There was another wine-giving man, of liberal heart,
Grey-haired^a was our man, he was our bright coat of mail,
He was awful, he was dangerous to take on your back.

Aneurin fixes more closely the nature of the transaction, by saying,

Cenau son of Llywarch magnanimously bold
Could not endure the scandal to the bardic-congress (*gorsedd*),
To the ' seneschal with his vessels full of mead. p. 8.

The company who perished at Vortigern's carousal are expressly termed by Golyddan *cannyr* which means *bards*.

I will now turn to certain moral considerations. Owain Cyveiliawg prince of Powys, after describing the turbulent and riotous character of his drinking companions Madoc and Meilyr, subjoins this in apology for their brawling;

^a This important line has been alluded to p. 155.

¹ Or "The seneschal" viz. he, Cenau, being the seneschal.

We have heard the ruler came to Cattræth to distribute mead.
 Upright their purpose, their armour painted,
 The retinue of Mynyddawg by their quiescence
 Got the hateful reputation of leaders of the tumult.
 They did less than did the lechers in the jeopardy of Maelor;
 But his well-formed song set free the^j prisoner.

This passage compares the slain at Cattræth to the slaughtered monks of Bangor in Maelor, to whom also the slain at Stonehenge are compared in the *Meib Llyr*. It asserts the innocence of their intentions, but mentions the suspicions incurred by them. So in the *Gododin* we read,

O unrighteous action! thou art called righteous
 Before our^k giver-of-much-liquor, wall-shelter'd from battle,

(which signifies, that those who had slain the guests of Mynyddawg came forward to justify the action they had committed) and again,

To kill him in the narrow cleft was to level privilege,
 'Twas a primary law for Owain to ascend to the plain of the race-course.

A remarkable passage of the *G. Cynvelyn*^l should find its place here.

Tyllai ylvach
 Gwryd govurthiach.
 Rhwyd gwyn, rhag Eingl iawn ladd.
 Iawn vriw yn vrynial.
 Rhag canwynawl can
 Lluch yr dwg dyvel
 Disgynnyal allel
 I bawb dewr dysel,
 Trwy hoel, trwy hem,
 Trwy gibglawr agen,
 Ac eur ar drein.

^j Viz. Ansurin. The translation (as it is called) in Evans's *Ballads* iv. p. 313. suppresses the whole of this passage.

^k Rhwy-wyad-wr, a treble compound. c. 602.

^l For the text and readings of this poem, see *Myvyr*. l. p. 60. p. 64. n. and *Davies Myth.* p. 618.

The bickering potency
 Could pierce through the small furnace.
Blessed net, against Angles a just slaughter!
Justice was broken at the mound.
 Before the habituated unto song
 Is gleaming light to guide the combatant
 That he may be able to descend
 Into every daring quest,
 Through spikes, along brinks,
 Through the crevice of trap-doors,
 And there is gold on^m his path.

Independently of their extraordinary nature in other respects, these verses raise the question of justice or injustice, with an implied confession that the proceedings of the Gododinians were not just upon any general principles, but only on special grounds and as directed against the Saxons.

Now, in an ordinary battle, what question could there be of good or evil intentions, what blame could attach to the commencers of it, what evil suspicions could arise from placid and demure behaviour, what privileges or ceremonial laws could claim respect from the enemy, or how could the slaying of the Saxon warriors require an apology for its justice?

The Gododin slaughter connects itself with Hengist's by the number of the slain. Mr. Turner makes this admission. "That 300 nobles intoxicated at a previous banquet should have perished in this battle, and that 300 should be the number said to have been massacred by Hengist at his feast, are coincidences that lead the mind to believe that there may be some connexion between the two incidents." *Hist. Anglos* i. p. 300. The number of Britons at the feast of May-Day according to Tysilio was 462; 300 perished, according to the author cited asⁿ *Britannicus* by Alfred of Beverley; 300, according to

^m Or, "and the gold upon thorns," meaning the furze-bush, to which the fire of Cynvelyn is compared afterwards v. 52.

ⁿ There were three MSS. now lost from which the monk of Beverley may have obtained this number, the original of Geoffrey, the original Tysilio, and Walter's Latin Tysilio.

Golyddan, who (by one of the Bardic equivocations) puts the half, 180, for the whole; and according to Aneurin 363 was the entire number, of whom 360 perished. There is reason to think, that 360 was the number of the principal college of Neo-Druid Bards. It is said that Llochlomond contained 360 islets, and in each islet a rock, and on each rock an eagle. When those eagles assembled on one rock and screamed, it was known that some calamity impended. Roberts's *Tysilio* p. 144. Yet Gervas says, that they assembled once a year and, screaming aloud, proclaimed the fates of the ensuing year. Gerv. *Tilb. de Regn. Brit.* p. 44. This is one of various instances in which the bards are designated as birds, and especially eagles.

Another argument is from the names and characters in the Gododin. Of the characters in the Gododin, Mynyddawg is supreme. The whole band who perished at Cattraeth were his retainers and banqueters in his luxurious hall. Next in eminence is a certain Caeawg. But mynyddawg is an adjective signifying *mountainous* or, as applied to a man, *mountaineer*, and caeawg is another meaning *crowned* or *wearing a garland*. Mr. Davies conjectured that they were descriptive epithets for Gwrtheyrn Gwynedd and Hengist. At that rate (exclaims Mr. Turner, with no felicity) we might translate Cicero, a bean, or Naso, a nose! p. 209. We might not, and simply because Cicero does not mean a bean nor Naso a nose; though cicer does mean a vetch, and nasus a nose. Those have the distinguishing form of proper names, but the adjectives caeawg and mynyddawg have it not. That form may be seen in Cian, Bleiddan, Manogan, Manawydan etc. and if Aneurin had spoken of Caeogan and Mynyddogan the case would have been different. He in a marked manner varies the terminations, into mynyddawg and mynyddawr, (as it were, *mountainous*, and *mountaineer*,) in speaking of that person. The former occurs seven times, and the latter twice. That variation is a point of cyvrinach, indicating it to be no real name. Mr. Turner should not have been averse to such interpretation, having himself but just before maintained that the word Flamdwyn means Ida king of Northumberland, who never is mentioned by his name. I believe Mr. Davies was very right, as to the character of these words. Though he ought to have seen that Caeawg is the title of a Briton, and moreover

that the identical Briton so styled is pointed out to us by name, viz. Hyvaidd the Tall, son to St. Lupus of Troyes.

Mynyddawg was the sovereign and chief commander of the illustrious retinue who died at Cattraeth, the mynawg maon or "ruler of the people." Amidst the exaggerated praises dealt out by Aneurin, he receives none, except the word *mwynvawr*, which signifies a man of dignified courtesy. Aneurin terms him the greatly wretched or miserable, *Mynyddawr cawr dru*. Presently after he implies a censure, by saying

Of the retinue of Mynyddawg *destructive in regard of the Deity*,
(O osgordd Vynyddawg *am Dnyr adceiliawg*)

A chieftain have I lost and a man of my kindred.

We have seen him reproached with lending an ear to those who justified the unrighteous act, while he sheltered himself from the perils of the contest. We have seen his grey-headed predecessor extolled, evidently at his expense, by the Maelderw. And I believe the line which winds up Morien's eulogy,

Dyrlyddai veddgryn aillt Mynyddawg,

is intended to signify, "he deserved the mead-horns (i. e. the presidency at the festival) *instead of Mynyddawg.*" When all his ill-fated *cosgordd* were fighting for their lives, Mynyddawg did not draw a sword nor perform a single exploit. In the general slaughter Mynyddawg was not slain. Yet Mynyddawg was not one of those whose escape is recorded with joy; they were three, and his name is not among them. It seems therefore that Mynyddawg presided as a mighty prince "of the number of the purple-robed" over a gorgeous feast, of which the guests perished in a dreadful tumult, in the exploits and perils of which he had no share, and obtained no praise, but rather reproaches, from the bards who sang the dirge of the combatants. All this strangely savours of Vortigern. It goes far to bring conviction to the mind.

It is possible, that a battle of the Otadeni may have been a series of struggles prolonged through a whole week. But it is highly improbable. That the "yearly entertainments" at the sanctuary of the dominion were jubilees, not limited to the kalends of May, but

extending through a week, and that the fatal day of Vortigern was the Thursday in that week, appears from the bardic remains. See above p. 57.

The Praise of Lludd (which does not mention Lludd, but extols the rites and mysteries of Neo-Druidism) describes the proceedings of a May jubilee during its seven days, in language worthy of the worst days of Druidism.

The Moon's day, they assemble,
They go over the wide plain.
The day of Mars, they dispense
Wrath to their enemies.
The day of Mercury, they enjoy
Pomp to the utmost.
The day of Jove, they set apart
The objects of their worship and of our desires.
The day of Venus, a day of fullness,
They almost swim in the blood of men.
The day of Saturn
The Sun's day, verily and
Indeed they are collected
In five ships and five hundred, etc.

The poem entitled the Malice of the Concealed Sin also enumerates the sacred days, and shews the fatal day to have been a Thursday. Aneurin's Gododin does the like, but in a different spirit. Mic Dinbych (as a mode of complaint against Maelgwn, who was persecuting bardism) querulously deplores the cruelties inflicted on the British synod by Hengist. Aneurin's lines on the days of the week are not a part of his querela, but of his triumphant eulogy. The Saxons, stained with the blood of unarmed men, and preserved from their plots, of which (as O. Cyveiliawg says) their very demureness furnished some inkling, stood exposed to the utmost phrenzy of rage in a majority of the numerous assembly gathered together for the cyntevin. Their own valour, aided by such Lloegrians, Gwynethians, Gwyddelians, and North Britons as stood by them and Vortigern, could barely save the remains of Hengist's retinue after suffering much loss. This is what Aneurin describes. Of the Thursday he speaks not querulously, but

the reverse, saying, "On Thursday their destruction became certain," and what follows on Friday, Saturday, Sunday, and Monday is the havoc made among the Saxons and royalists by Madoc, Hyvaidd the Tall, and other Britons. It is necessary to observe that distinction. But, in the triumphal as in the querulous song, Thursday is the cardinal day, decisive of the fate of the 360 Britons to those who are deploring it, and decisive of that of the Saxons to those who are exulting over it. Nothing will explain this part of the Gododin (v. v. 643—52) but the history of that awful feast.

Day of Mars, they put on their strong covering.

Day of Mercury, they prepared their enamelled armour.

Day of Jove, their destruction became certain.

Day of Venus, there were corpses all around.

Day of Saturn, harmless proved their joint exertions.

Day of Sol, crimson were their spears all around.

Day of Luna, blood was seen as high as to the hips.

Gododin records not that, after the toil

Before the tents of Madoc, when he was returned from it,

There was more than one man out of a hundred returning.

That the Saxons are the party thus disposed of at the rate of 90 per cent, appears from the second canticle or stanza of the Gododin, which is purely encomiastic and triumphal, and contains the three^o last lines. One of the most offensive defects in these authors is their contempt of the antecedent; *they, their, them*, etc. will follow in successive lines, and be found to mean different parties; see this strongly marked in Golyddan above p. 50.

It must be observed that a certain Eidol is three times celebrated in the Gododin. They are as follow.

From the wine-feast and the mead-feast plenteously furnish'd

I know the woes of Hwrraith mother of Eidol the strenuous. p. 9.

The joyful receptacle of the^p world was profuse,

Eidol of harmony boldly order'd in the circle of the^p world

The gold, and great horses, and intoxicating mead. p. 10.

^o Almost verbatim; the variations are of no moment.

^{pp} See above p. 190, note k.

Eidol addoer crai, granwawr gwyn,

Eidol's heat is become cold and his cheek pallid. p. 11.

A person called Eidiol and Eidol in the Brut of Tysilio, and Eidol in that of Geoffrey ap Arthur and in Taliesin's unprinted Plot of Knives, who was surnamed Cadarn, was the Briton most distinguished for his resistance to Hengist during the massacre at the banquet. The same person is termed by Cuhelyn, in his poem on that massacre, "Eideol ruler of the circumference" (i. e. the circle) and marchawg midlan or knight of the enclosure. There is every reason to conclude that the same Eidol is commemorated in the Gododin.

We shall find it as good as declared to us by Aneurin himself, that his work is of mysterious import; not of a plain sense and purpose, as our opponents think. Taliesin was intimate with him and says in his Gift to Urien,

One is their name, Aneurin renowned for verse,

And I, Taliesin, from the banks of the lake of Ceirionydd.

By "un en enw" I understand him to mean "they shall be called one," their perfect unison shall be celebrated. Aneurin says nearly the same in his Gododin,

In my earthy house,

With an iron chain

Round the tops of my knees,

I Aneurin will compose

What is known to Taliesin,

A participation of mind.

Is it not the song of Gododin

Before the dawn¹ of the fine day?

The mental participation, cyvrenhin, of Bards is the mutual understanding between them, which made plain to them a jargon which others could not interpret. The same idea had previously occurred in the equivalent phrase cynrhan.

Caredig caradwy gynrhan,

Caredig the amiable participator. p. 5.

¹ Composed, or sung, on May eve, before the dawn of May day.

He tells us, that the subject of his poem was known to Taliesin; and he farther intimates, that such his knowledge was a mark of the close participation between their minds and thoughts. Now if these were verses describing in plain terms, and under their true names, the circumstances of a battle fought at Corbridge or elsewhere, every one that read it could have understood its meaning, without having any peculiar *cyvrenhin* with its author. He declares to us himself that his work is Bardic and not popular, not easy to be apprehended by the uninitiated.

The same passage gives rise to another serious remark. Aneurin (we are told) was present at a battle fought between Bernician Britons and the Saxons of Northumberland, at a place then called Cattræth. Most of the Britons, being tipsy, were slain; and Aneurin was taken, and wrote in his prison this account of the disaster at Cattræth. Few had escaped to tell the tale. It was peculiarly his province to tell it. And if there was one thing more than another, which Aneurin must have known, and which the bard of Arvon could not have known, but must have had to learn from his recital, it was the detail of this combat and of Aneurin's misfortune. But if he treated obscurely of that which long before had befallen the heathenish bards and sorcerers of Britain in the temple of their superstition, then indeed it was true, that he sang of matters as well known to Taliesin as to him.

The following short poem appears to me to be, in effect and purpose, a Gododin poem, and is therefore entitled to insertion, as illustrative of the matter in hand. It has no title.

ANCH. MYVN. 1. p. 180.

- Rhan Rhen rhad gordden gwaith heinyw
 Dilaith i bawb gwyniaith
 A chadwyd cyvraith.
 Cysgawd gwyn iaith cein yw.
 5. Dyddwyn ac addwyn cedeirn ynghadwyn.
 A gwedi ewyn cynniv
 Cochwedd calanedd cyvyng vreon;
 Cochwedd celanedd ev sengif a rhedaint
 Amnoethaint yngwarthav nant.

10. Saith angerdd au.
 Sengif dwyn, dwyn.
 Gwaddyn, gwaddyn awallu.
 Tri gair am tri phair tri theulu,
 Tri M tri nis deupi meddygon.
15. Tair aer, aer am gaer o ganon,
 Cad, cad cyvlud ar Saeson.
Gwall, gwall tu arroll ar gynhon.
 Graid greic gofelaig ddragon
 O Eryri vraith vreon,
20. Eryri a orf i ban welych,
 Dragon o nywant a llewych,
 Graid yn bro, graid agro, gro yngwrych,
 A'r ysgi asgen i asgellwrych
 Llestri llu ar heli tuth eleirch.
25. Gwae wrth vor, nad gwrthdir a wrth rych.

By God's grace, the rapid work of fate
 Is undestructive to every fair-spoken man
 Who hath held to what is lawful.
 Fair speech is a good protection.

5. Meek and honest are the brave in their chains.
 When after the complaints comes the combat,
 Red the kalends on the hills of small compass;
 Red the corpses which they trampled with their coursers,
 Exposed naked, hard by the ravine.
10. There are seven ways of artifice.
 They trampled deep, deep.
 The foundation, the foundation fails.
 Three words round the three cauldrons of the three tribes,
 And 3003 shall not come* to the doctors.

* Or *kill*, for *breon* seems to have the force of a singular when applied to the great sanctuary, as for instance in its title of *din breon braint*. So, the same is termed *caerau* as well as *caer*.

* The hurt they have received being immedicable.

15. Three fights, fights round the Caer of authority,
 A battle, a battle of combustion to the Saxons.
'Twas error, error, to entertain them on an agreement.
 A fire¹ of the crags was the imperious ruler
 From Snowdon's variegated hills,
20. Snowdon whose bulk behold ye aloft,
 A ruler strong of thrust and conspicuous,
 A fire in the land, sad fire, the sea-beach bristling up,
 And the dagger doing injury to the froth of
 The liquor-pots of the host of swans speeding o'er the brine.
25. Woe to the sea, not to say, to the lands both wild and till'd !

That these verses are in allusion to the feast of Gwrtheyrn Gwynedd, and partly an attack upon him, will scarcely be controverted, so strongly apposite are the verses 7, 17, 23, and 24. But, when that is admitted, we may be challenged to shew that it is a Gododin poem. Though it does not contain the characteristic words, *Mynyddawg*, *Gododin* etc. it may I think be identified as such. What are the five first lines about ? They relate, I conceive, to the same topic which is handled in Aneurin and G. Cynvelyn, and in Owen Cyveilioc's pleasing line

Dillwng garcharawr dullest volaid,

viz. the preservation of the captive bard by reason of his acceptable song and eloquence. The words *llestri llu* call to mind those of Aneurin and the *Maelderw*, *tymestyl tramerin llestyr tramerin llu*. But the strongest resemblance of language consists in calling the members of the Bardic synod *swans* ;

And, before the swans were buried underneath,
 (A chyn y olo o dan eleirch)

The mount was resolute in its demands. Aneurin, 265, 6.

In fact, there never was any such event as the supposed battle of Cattraeth. History has no mention of it, and geography will not furnish

¹ Perhaps a volcanic flame ; or perhaps rather a beacon fire, such as were lighted on high places to rouse the people to war.

us with its site. It is in the nature of an *overcad*; that is to say, it describes under a fictitious name, like those of Cam-lan, or the field of iniquity, and Godden, or the trees, a transaction which (however violent) differs from our vulgar use of the word *battle*. Cat-traeth is a made-up word, of no doubtful sense. It is "the strand of battle;" and Taliesin, in his *Battle of Gwenystrad*, used the word cattraeth, "the battle strand," without any reference to the matter of the Gododin, with which Urien Reged was totally unconnected.

Arwyre gwyr cattraeth, gan dydd
A'm wledig gwaithvuddig gwartheygydd.

Warriors, arise to the battle-strand, at dawn of the day
Of my lord, the giver of success, the merchant,

that is to say, on the morning of the day of Mercury. This combat was gained by Urien on Wednesday morning; that of Argoed took place "at the dawn of the day of Saturn." Arch. Myv. p. 52. Repeated expressions in this and other poems lay the scene of the Gododin on the strand or margin of the sea. Therefore it could not happen at any place then named Cattraeth, for the Cat-traeth owes its name to it. Lest any should think that some prior battle (two happening to be fought on one field) had given it that name, Aneurin resorted to a double expression, as he did with Mynyddawg and Mynyddawr. By using both forms, he intimates to the discerning reader that both are factitious. He used both Cattraeth and Galltraeth as synonyms, the former 18 times, and the latter four times. We call a place in Sussex *Battle* from a well-known event, but we cannot also call it *Combat* or *Fight*. And will any one believe, that a real place was named in the alternative, either cat-traeth, strand of battle, or gall-traeth, strand of prowess? How many besides Taliesin attained to the enjoyment of cyvrenhin with Aneurin's mind, I know not. But a bard of king Cadwallon (perhaps Avan Red-spear) follows Aneurin's example in using a double name, both Cat-traeth, and^u Cat-treu; and moreover, I am much deceived if he does not, by his description of Cattraeth, identify it with the Stonehenge when visited

^u Battle of passing over, or of passing through.

by the Saxons, which sanctuary he likewise immediately afterwards mentions by name. He says of Cadwallon, that

By his valour he hath made of none effect
 * *The reproach of Cattraeth, greatly renowned*
For its foreigners, its stones, and its lordly feast.
 Fickle his lot in life, but ample his endowments in war.
 In fair Cattreu the knight[†] of hospitality
 Unloaded a ship's load, in the sword-bearing enclosure.
 Cadwallon vindicated the Mount of *Caer-Carador*
 When he kindled the flames in Eboracum.

I consider the case thus laid before the reader to be clear and conclusive, if it were not for the objections that may be raised on other grounds. They must therefore be examined and disposed of.

Edw. Llwyd supposes the Gododin to have been composed about A. D. 510, more or less, and the plot of long knives did not occur later than 472; so that some 38 years would have intervened between the event and the composition. But, says Mr. Turner, Aneurin describes himself as a captive "*from the host at Cattraeth*," i. e. as a prisoner taken in that battle. Now in those lines Aneurin really says, that he will sing "*of or concerning the host at Cattraeth*" as it is well rendered both by Mr. Davies and the critic in the *Cambro-Briton*, l. p. 93.

Gildas ap Caw wrote his Epistle in 543 or 544, being 72 years after the feast of Vortigern. Therefore the chances are much against his brother having been a vigorous adult (of whose early youth the poem hints nothing) when that event happened. But at the same time, I entirely disbelieve that Aneurin was present at, and escaped from, the bloody fray which he commemorates. If any one concludes that he was so, or meant to say that he was, because he said that he was, he knows little of the Bards. It was the fashion of those equivocators to identify themselves in their discourse with the deities and

* *Eiliwed Cattraeth vawr vygedawg*

Allnyr, a maen, a gwin ionawg.

† The *gwestl varchawg* here is the same with the *marchawg midlan*, as *Cuhelyn* has it.

heroes of other times, according to certain analogies that were mutually understood by them in their *cyvrenhin*. Taliesin, the *participator* of the Gododin, luxuriates in that figure of speech. He is wont to identify himself with his Druidical predecessors, and to speak of his own existence in anterior times. He was present (he says) in a battle with Llew and Gwydion ap Don. He was in the battle between Matholwch and Bran father of Caractacus. He was in Britain when the Trojans came. Nay, he had been Aedd the father of Prydain. Mr. Davies truly says, he “blended his own personal character with that of the priests of the sun who had gone before him.”

By a like fiction, Aneurin sets himself in the place of some great bard who had gone before him, had witnessed these horrors, and escaped from them, and survived to bewail them in song. In the Gododin he says,

Nor escaped there from burial by the valour of their sword-strokes
Any but three, the two war-dogs from Aeron, and Cenon,
And myself from my blood-spilling, as the reward of my fair eulogy.

So also in Gorchan Cynvelyn,

Except three none returned.
Cynon, and Chatraeth, and Chathleu, by the battle-thrust,
And me from shedding my blood they compassionated
Son of the omen-fire; my ransom they appointed
Of pure gold, and steel, and silver.

Three escaped, and one. The Gododin, which expressly states that of 363 only 3 returned, twice states as distinctly that only 1 out of 300 returned. The Bruts shew that, independently of the synod who were convened from various parts to meet Vortigern and Hengist, and of whom according to Alfred of Beverley 360 were slain, there was a permanent body of 300 Monks of Ambri (Aurelian-Ambrosian ministers) in the immediate neighbourhood of the Cor Emmrys. Roberts's Tysilio, p. 126. We may thence infer, that the 363 were one set of people, and the 300 another set, and not part of it. If so, three out of the national synod and one out of the resident Ambrosian college escaped from the disaster of Gododin. The bard Golyddan chimes in with Aneurin, by saying that four persons were saved at the Stonehenge,

Mawr watwar namyn pedwar nid atcorant,
From the great outrage there came not away save four.

The three out of the 303 made their escape forcibly by fighting their way out, by their fossawd (sword-stroke) and their catwant (battle-thrust), whereas the one out of the 300 was spared in consideration of his excellence as a musician and poet, and by an agreement for his ransom. The latter was "the son of the omen-fire," meaning (as I believe,) the person who presided over and tended the sacred fire of the Magi at the oracle of the British Mithras. That was the person with whom Aneurin (as Taliesin by participation well knew) thought fit to identify himself in verse. And if once we arrive at this point, that Aneurin was not present at the affair of Gododin and never meant those to whom his ænigmatical strains were intelligible to suppose that he had been, we have done with the topic of his chronology. I am quite equally doubtful of the fact of his having been a prisoner when he composed it. It was an anniversary poem prepared for the occasion of the yearly festivities, now embittered by dismal recollections; for

Is it not the song of Gododin
Before the dawn of the fine day?

But the person whom Aneurin represents was, no doubt, cast into prison when his life was spared and until his ransom was paid.

There is a corollary to this topic. We are given to suppose, that the life of Aneurin was spared in open battle by the founders of the kingdom of Northumberland, because he was a mellifluous bard and excelled in British song; by those sons of Odin ferocious even to madness, who fought to destroy, and did not understand the British tongue, but probably hated the sound of it. Illiterate and atrocious, theirs was not the humour which "bad spare

The house of Pindarus when temple and tower
Went to the ground."

It were a strange supposition, that the bloody pagan Angles, in the heat of a most obdurate conflict, should have saved the life of a noisy Celt because his poetry was good, they having slender means of knowing or motives for caring whether it was good or bad. But if the transaction occurred in the sanctuary of the Bards, under the eyes

of Vortigern, and not without suspicion of his connivance, it becomes credible and even fully probable that one of the three hundred ministers of the Cor should have been shielded from the knives of the Saxons, and for the very reason alleged, viz. that he was a master of his art and as such enjoyed high favour.

It may be adduced against us, that we make Cenau son of Llywarch Hên an agent in scenes, which occurred about 28 years before the time when Llywarch Hên himself is supposed to have been born. But there is no reason to suppose that Cenau ap Llywarch was the son of Llywarch Hên. That poet states that he had had 24 sons and furnishes us with the names of 22 of them, but those of the other two are unknown. It is true that the name of Cenau is inserted, from *Aneurin*, into some copies of the pretended pedigree of Llywarch Hên's family. But that pedigree is an ignorant and clumsy fiction. Besides introducing fabulous personages, the chimeras of mythology, it enumerates 20 of the 22 sons whom Llywarch deplores by name, in the same order in which he names them, supposing that it was the order of their birth and seniority; whereas it is the order in which the train of his ideas called them up to his memory, and far more nearly the order of their deaths than of their births. Some copies of this illiterate imposture insert Rhun, because he is named in the elegy, though named as an enemy. Others insert Gorwynion, being merely the title of one of Llywarch's poems, and Deigyr, because the noun *deigyr* occurs in st. 75. Talan, one of the two whom the pedigree omits, is named in the same line of st. 75; and the other, Heilyn, was not supposed to be a proper name, being in that respect ambiguous. Thus it appears, that if the enumeration in the *Henaint* has not been copied quite verbatim, it is only because they had not sense to understand it and heaped blunder upon blunder. By these barbarous absurdities it is made manifest, that no record remains of the family of Llywarch Hên except in his own mournful verses. And as no reason exists for supposing that he was the father of this Cenau, so there are strong reasons to the contrary. The two of his 24 sons whom he omits to name, and who are not honoured with his regrets, had probably not sustained the honour of their house. But this

Cenau would have richly merited his notice, crowned as he was with Aneurin's wreaths.

An objection has been raised, that the poem contains no such complaints and invectives against Saxon treachery as might be expected. According to the vulgar notion, the objection is plausible. But this work has anticipated it. The Ambrosians had little complaint to make of Saxon treachery upon that occasion. That the Gododinians were themselves complained of as the criminal, though demure and secret, aggressors, we have seen from the express assertion of Owen of Cyveilioc, and from the words of Aneurin himself. Whatever the Ambrosians may have published at the time and afterwards, in order to rouse the Britons to vengeance, Aneurin could never intend to address his friend and brother bard in the language of vulgar artifice and deception, at the very moment when their minds were in participation. If they were to hoax one another, as they did the public, where was the use of *cyvrenhin*? They had but one topic of real complaint, viz. indiscretion and mismanagement. The fraternity, being unable to curb their intemperance, became intoxicated, and so fell easier victims to those whom they had marked out for their own victims. I believe that the Gododin plot was after this fashion. The British synod were to be hospitable and jovial, but carefully to confine themselves within the bounds of sobriety, while they plied the intemperate warriors of Saxony with a profusion of liquor; and, when they were sunk in the last stages of debauch, to surround and destroy them with flames, of which the materials were suitably disposed among the recesses of their sanctuary and the buildings connected with it. Hengist, to whom "the hidden dragons of Lludd ap Beli" were revealed, gave secret arms and a caution of sobriety to his people, whose minds had constancy of purpose and could observe the caution, while the brawling Celts got drunk over their unfinished plot, and kindled the murderous flames in the despair of detected villany while the Saxons were doing execution on them. That want of prudence and temperance, being in reality a cause of their destruction, was accordingly the topic of Aneurin's reproaches. *Ce fut pire qu'un crime, (as said a modern man of blood to another) ce fut une faute.*

The notion of the Otadeni fighting against the Angles at Cattraeth

has scarcely any foundation, besides the trivial resemblance of their name to Gododin. But it derives some colour from the mention of Deirans and Bernicians as opponents of Caeawg, and from some bitter words directed against the Bernicians. But these passages will not prove that the scene of the Gododin lay in Northumberland. The former of them applauds Caeawg for his conduct on a previous occasion, when he had been sent by "the son of the adversary" i. e. by the son in law of Hengist, upon an expedition to Gwynedd and North Britain, in which he defeated certain Deirans and Bernicians and slew 2000 of them. And as regards the other, we must consider that the vernal jubilee was not a local one, made up of the inhabitants of Severia or Wiltshire, but of all the principal persons in the island, and many from Ireland, with their respective followings. Besides Gwynethians or North-Welsh, some of Vortigern's strongest partisans were in the north of the island, and Taliesin describes his party as composed

Of the violent bloody men

Cymmry, Angles, Irish, and North-British.

It is evident, that we can no more infer that Gododin was north of Humber, because Bernicians are spoken of as enemies, than we can infer that it was south of Humber because certain of the Lloegrians are spoken of in the like manner. There are most cogent reasons for believing our case, subject to certain objections which it is my endeavour to remove, but the affirmative reasons in support of the opposite case are next to none. Its whole strength consists in taking exceptions to ours.

The most obvious difficulty is, that the Gododin several times reminds its reader that the scene of its actions is upon the strand or margin of the sea. As much is implied in the compound word Cat-traeth. The answer is, that this is not said in earnest or in a literal acceptation. In saying this, "Aneurin composed what was known to Taliesin, a participation of mind." The Cat-traeth or strand of battle was also termed the strand of Ufin or rather Uffin. Aneurin has these lines,

Rather would I have forsworn myself on my sword

Than that the outcry and the slaughter of Ufin should have been.

Godod. p. 12.

There are verses in the "Song of Strong Beer" which will help us to decide whether this was a literal sea-shore or not.

Not unlaughable are Ynyr's
 Enemies, being his hostages.
 The central place of the bards
 Is the superb star of stars.
 Have I not unveil'd the mystery
 Of the sea-strand of Uffin
 In the seas of Gododin?
 Motley-worded is the *participation* (cyvrenhin)
 Of the raven, the diviner of the morning.

Arch. I. p. 40.

Certainly he has unveiled the mystery of Gododin not a little. A battle strand, on which a certain Mynyddawg might happen to encounter the Angles, could not be of star-like magnificence. Neither, methinks, could it be the central meeting-place to which the Bards of Britain resorted periodically, "pan aeth canwyr i Cattræth." But we know in what place, and in one how vastly magnificent, they yearly held their feast of the cyntevin. The strand of Uffin and the seas of Gododin were neither strand nor sea. For if they really were so, it could be no motley-worded cyvrenhin to call them so.

The caerau, entrenched megalithic circles of the Apollinares Mystici, were esteemed of as islands floating on the deluge, and containing the sanctuary, which was esteemed of as the ark, while the open plains in which they were erected offered an image of the sea without shores. In bardic hypothesis, the caerau were so close upon the sea-strand, as to lie

"Betwixt ebb and flow."

See part 2. pp. where^{*} this part of the subject is illustrated. The strand of Uffin in the seas of Gododin was the slope of the hill (called Mount of Caer-Curadoc) on which the Cor Gawr stood in the vast expanse of the Maes Mawr.

^{*} However unusual it may be, it appeared less inconvenient thus to refer to pages as yet unpublished, than to postpone this essay upon Gododin.

Gododin* is a bardic word of uncertain import. The only phrase that seems to resemble it is the epithet anciently superadded to the name of the isle of Man. Cynedda Wledig (saith the Cottonian appx. to Nennius) came into N. Wales from Manau *Guotudin* which lay to the north of it. p. 116. Gale. Tepipawn (says an older MS.) eldest son of Cynedda visited Wales in company with his father and brothers, but he died in the land of Manau *Guodotin*. MS. Harl. 3859 in Camb. Qu. Mag. 4. p. 23. Godo is a partial or incomplete covering, while *din* and *dinas* mean a camp, fort, station, town, consecrated temple, or other enclosure. Godo also occurs in the Triads as the proper name of the father of one Fleidwr Flam, a fabulous person, said to have been a sovereign prince at the court of Arthur. Tr. 15. ser. 1. Tr. 26. p. 13. *Din*, like *caer*, has, besides its general meaning, a particular application to Neo-Druidic sanctuaries; as in the case of the *Dinas Faraon* or *Dinas Emmrys*, the enclosure of the Spirits or of Ambrosius. And, if to the *Dinas Emmrys*, why not to the *Cor Emmrys*? The term *godo*, incomplete covering, is certainly very appropriate to an area, not only hypæthric, but surrounded by uncontiguous masses of stone, and to one actually termed by Taliesin *govur byd*, the incomplete wall of the world. We must take along with us, that the idiom of the prefix *go* is a purely descriptive one, and by no means imputing a blameable defectiveness; for, if a ruined house that lets in the rain be *godo*, so is a delightful arbour whose lattice-work is formed to admit the zephyr.

If *Guodotin* be really the same title as *Gododin* (which seems likely) we shall find the latter by no means inapplicable to the isle of Manan. It was an asylum to British princes and priests during the Roman coercion, upon the relaxation of which Cynedda's family returned from thence. Finnan 10th king of Scots (says Hector Boece) organized a college of priests, called in old Scottish the *Ducergliis*, to do sacrifice, interpret religion, educate youth, compose laws, pronounce judgments, and excommunicate the refractory. They had a chief-priest

* The Mabinogi cited Owen Dict. *Gwallaw* might, if published, perhaps illustrate the subject.

before whom the fire of dignity and the ensign of honour were carried. He gave them Man for their chief residence, and in that island they had an annual meeting of their whole number. Hist. Scot. fol. 22. This tradition of Guotadin or Guodotin nicely agrees with Taliesin's Gododin, and we may apply to it his own words of cyvrenhin,

Ev cyrch cerddorion	The central place of the bards
.
Ymmoroedd Gododin.	In the seas of Gododin.

Mananan *Mac-Llyr* (Son^b of the Sea) was king of Man, and he regulated the weather by aid of the Moon and of Bad god of the winds. He surrounded Man with such a wall of mist and darkness that navigators could not find it, until St. Patrick sailed through the fogs and dissipated them. Vallancey Coll. 4. p. 509. Thus the meaning of the word Godo, viz. a considerable degree of covering, was applicable to Man.

The Gododin thrice mentions Eidin or Eiddyn, and two Triads term Mynyddawg, M. of Eiddin or Eiddyn. Tr. 36. s. 1. 79. s. 3. A resemblance of sound has led some people to think that Edinburgh or Dun-Edin is the same place. Among these may perhaps be included the compiler of the Bonedd y Saint, who speaks of Dinas Eiddin in *the North*, (p. 28. 34. 42. 55.) and seems to^c mean Edinburgh. But it is not believed by the Scotch that Edinburgh was in existence thus early. Neither do I see any probability in the supposition. If Gododin were in the territory of the Otadeni, it must have been that place which bore the name of that nation, viz. the Curia Otadenorum. Curia is supposed by the best authority to have been Corbridge upon Tyne. Will any one believe, that the obscure and scarcely known tribe of Otadeni possessed a territory extending from the Tyne to the Firth of Forth if not farther? And that their ruler had his residence

^b And equivalent to Bran ap Llyr, the guardian deity of Britain; while his fraternity of Ducerglils were meib Llyr, sons of Llyr, as the fraternity of the Bards of Emmrys styled themselves.

^c But some of the copies have it Dinas Edwin.

at Edinburgh while their capital town was Corbridge? Eiddin is the same place as Gododin. The passages of Aneurin are as follows,

Never was there such a collision
From (or of or concerning) the rampart of Eidin. p. 3.
 He was a savage bull
 In the court of Eidynd. *ibid.*
 Three hundred knights of battle
 Ennobled with the gold of Eidynd. p. 4.

Gorchan Cynvelyn, one of the minor Gododins, has words to this effect,

Let the bewailing hero bewail,
 Let Caer Eidynd bright with blue^d marble
 Shudder with him.

Gorchan Maelderw, another of them, uses these expressions,

Upon the sea there is no contrivance,
 No assembling for business, no consultation,
 The circled-front is the outskirts of life.
 Not one day more shall the barrier,
 Eidin's barrier, present an ungory front,

of which the following is the sense and import. "Upon the great
 " plains which surround the circular brow of the Cor no secret and
 " mysterious business can be transacted, beyond the precincts of the
 " Cor we cannot carry on our plots with safety to our lives. But
 " even those sacred precincts are about to be violated and made a
 " scene of slaughter." The carnage at the barrier of Eidin upon
 the sea is that of the sea-strand of Uffin. Taliesin says in his Angar
 Cyvyndawd,

I have been a speckled cock
 Upon a hen in Eidin. Arch. p. 37.

In writers of this character a plain meaning is not always, as elsewhere,
 the probable meaning. The words of the Angar C. scarcely admit of

^d The great altar at the Stonehenge is a slab of blue marble.

one. It was in bardic sanctuaries, and not at Edinburgh, that Taliesin practised his extravagancies.

Upon the whole, I can entertain no doubt whatever as to the rectitude of Mr. E. Davies's general conclusions. Though, at the same time, so few of his translations or of his arguments appear to be admissible, that it cannot be wondered if he made few converts.

DIGRESSION UPON CAER CONAN.

[FROM P. 75.]

It is perfectly true that no objection can be made to Duke Hengist's meeting his end at Conisborow near Doncaster; inasmuch as he was one of his son in law's most active and able generals, and was concerned in a war which extended itself from Kent to Snowdon, and spread its fury throughout the island.

At the same time, if we consider the awful and mysterious nature, locality, and circumstances of the transaction, almost unparalleled in history, by which Hengist became the prime object of British vengeance; if we consider after what sort his death was, a Mithriac immolation, the highest in genere, and the highest and grandest possible in specie, and that it was solemnized by the guardian and superintendant of the Stonehenge sanctuary with his own hands; and if we consider, how paramount that place (where the Aurelius Ambrosius protected the graves of his slaughtered ministers) was in the estimation of the Apollinares Mystici, even long after they had lost the possession of it; it is difficult to repress the rising doubt, whether the *Caer Cynan*, fatal to Hengist, were not itself that *Caer* of almost innumerable names. To deal with the subjects that we have in hand requires much doubting, careful sifting, and groping in the dark. The reader may take disgust, and be inclined to see in the painful effort to penetrate a deceptive jargon and unravel a knot of chicanery, nothing but quodlibets of one's own imagining. In that fear, I have banished these remarks from both text and notes, into the digressions.

As *Caer Caradoc* means (by equivalency of terms) the *Caer* of *Melyn mab Cynvelyn*, so *Caer Cynan* may be the same *Caer*. *Cynan* has been a very usual name of men among the Britons of various ages. Besides *Caer Cynan* in Yorkshire, there was a *Caer Cynan* upon Mount Pencair in Cornwall. Leland Itin. 3. p. 5. But this latter *Cynan* was a purely fabulous and mythological character, father to

Trystan, and consequently the same personage as Tallwch or the Expansion. Cynan is a noun common as well as a proper name, meaning articulate voice, any thing uttered or spoken, of which an instance happens to have been cited above, p. 191; and it was applied to their own poetic and prophetic awen, and to the oracles of their deities, by the bards. In that sense they would sometimes play upon the double use of the word, as expressing both a man's name and a thing. For instance, Cynan lord of Meriadawg stood, in the Ambrosian prophecies, for a type of the Armorican kingdom which was to be reunited to Cymru and Albany. But when the chief-bard spoke of the whole congregation of bards seeking refuge with Cynan in the day of national judgment, (see above, p. 1.) he did not mean to say that, at the time of re-union of the British empire, the Armoricans should exercise a peculiar jurisdiction over bardism, in preference to Cymru and Albany, but that the power presiding over their cynan or gift of speech should do so. When they used a plain phrase in a purview not plain but mystical, they sometimes subjoined a sort of indication that it was so used. In this passage Cynan is termed "son of Bran" or "son of the raven," because the enchanter Bran, i. e. the raven, especially presided over their mystical discourse,

Gairvrith cyvrenhin

Bran bore dewin. (See above, p. 210, l. 11.)

But Caradoc was also (in mystical language) "son of Bran," which assimilates *Caer Cynan* to *Caer Caradoc*.

It follows that the *Caer* of Cynan, not that of Cynan Meriadawg or of Cynan Tindaethwy or of any other man, but the *Caer* of Cynan, i. e. the articulate voice, may be nothing else than Hen-Velen's Ebyr or *place of uttering effata*. Its Cynan will then be the Cynan ap Bran who sits in judgment on the discourse of bards, and, according to my notion of that name, (p. 44, 5.) the *Gwrtheyr* Vendigaid who kindled up the rebellion against Gwrtheyrn. And such, probably, was the allegorical Cynan Tallwch (voice of expansion), whose son Trystan married the white-maned mare Essyllt, daughter of the Horse, who was son of the Horses, and could transform all things into gold.

So much as to *Caer Cynan*. Hengist's death upon the mount or high-place of *Caer Cynan* was preceded by his defeat at the battle of the *Maes Beli*. The plain of *Beli*, being an unknown place, may be near *Doncaster* or any where else. But that same *Beli*, from whom the bards professed to derive their appellation of *Beirdd Beli*, (being perhaps a person to be identified with *Gwrtheyyr*, see above, p. 156.) is said to occupy the tomb upon *Salisbury Plain*,

Piau bedd yn y *Maes Mawr*?

Bedd *Beli* ap *Beulli Gawr*.

Hence arises a striking probability, that the plain of *Beli*, on which *Emmrys* prevailed over Hengist, means that plain upon which the *Cor Emmrys* stands. In such case, I should understand the battle of *Maes Beli* to be no less than an *overcad*, denoting that whole system or continuance of hostilities which, beginning with the tumultuary combats of the Britons against Hengist upon the *Maes Beli* after the convivial massacre, ended with his capture and death.

These suggestions show us, that it is not unlikely, that Hengist may have been taken prisoner, at some place unknown, but quite remote from *Conisborow Castle*, and sacrificed with great solemnity at the national sanctuary of the *Stonehenge*, by the hands of the ruler of its circumference and knight of its enclosure.

Camden informs us that the best and oldest authority is in favour of styling this place *Stan-Hengest*, *Stones of Hengist*, in *Saxon*, and not *Stan-henge*, hanging stones. The improbability of the Saxons naming the place in commemoration of a business, which had heaped obloquy on their nation, has caused conjecture in this instance to prevail over authority. But it appears likely, that it was called the *Stan-Hengest* for a very different reason.

DIGRESSION UPON BRITISH COINAGE.

[FROM THE CONCLUSION.]

THE light which coins and medals cast upon history is wanting to the history of Britain, as such; however it may illustrate the acts of a Carausius and a Maximus. The precious metals may not only be coveted and valued as articles of luxury, but employed for their value in exchange, without being minted into money. The Arimaspiæ of ancient Scythia and the Avars of Pannonia and Austria were famous for their treasures of gold, although it would puzzle a medallist to produce in gold the head of the Arimasp or the Chagan. The Celts delighted in gold as an ornament and preserved it as a treasure, and were covetous of every description of wealth. But they had no coinage. When Julius Cæsar* visited Britannia, the people used "brass in small quantities, or plates of iron of ascertained weight, instead of money," *utuntur ære minimo aut laminis ferreis pro nummo*. The Irish word *cearb*, a rag, tatter, or strip, used rarely for money, may perhaps indicate the appearance of the ancient lamina. The Gauls had no coin. If they had used it, their country would be sprinkled over with samples of their coinage, as all other countries are with remains of their ancient money. Wherever society and property are insecure, money is buried or concealed in various ways; and what is hidden with care is from time to time revealed by chance. Society was precarious among the Grecian republics and under the Roman emperors, and consequently their coinage is frequently dug up. The dangers of life and property attained their *ne plus ultra* among the Celtic clans and their chieftains, and consequently more of their coin in proportion, than of the Greek and Roman, would be found in deposit, if they had employed that medium of exchange. If their

* Cæsar B. G. 5. 12.

circulation was of smaller amount, still their motives for hoarding it were more urgent. The gold and silver in the sacred treasury¹ of Thoulouse consisted of unwrought ingots, without any stamp or device. Sir R. Meyrick² seems to cite Diodorus, *L. 5. c. 27*, as attesting the use of gold coin by the Gauls; but that chapter does not make any allusion to coin. It enumerates the various uses they made of gold, and is itself a strong evidence that money was not one of them. I can find no authority but Valerius Maximus,³ who says that the Gauls lent money (*pecunias*) to their dead, to be repaid by them in a subsequent state of existence; and adds, *dicerem stultos, nisi idem braccati sensissent, quod palliatus Pythagoras credidit*. But where does he say this custom prevailed? *Just outside the walls of Marseilles*. It was Greek money, and a piece of Pythagorean mummery. No doubt the coins of Marseilles and its colonies were freely taken in exchange, and used as money, by the neighbouring Narbonensian Gauls. But the Gauls had no more to do with the Massylian mint, than the Moxos or Chiquitos have with that of Potosi. The word *Ceiniawg*, pence, or more literally *shiners*, is a Cambro-British word, probably first applied to coinage and not to the brazen and iron laminæ of the natives; from which Sir R. Meyrick infers that, at the arrival of the Romans, the British were in the use of coined money, but carefully concealed the fact from Cæsar. Mandubratius and the Britons who were of his party, Commius of Artois, and the Gaulish merchants who traded with⁴ Britannia, were equally united (as we must presume) to deceive him on that subject; whilst all the *ceiniawg* in circulation throughout Britannia were, by an easy operation of finance, called in, and hidden in some sly place where neither he nor subsequent antiquaries could find them! It is a Celtic axiom, that Cæsar and the learned Romans who succeeded him were blind and deaf. Sir R. Meyrick's inference is drawn from the *assumption*, that coin was called *ceiniawg* at an earlier period than the reign of Claudius Cæsar or commencement of the empire of the Romans in Britain; whereas nobody can tell when the word was introduced. Would it not be simpler to

¹ Strabo, 4. p. 200.

² On Ancient Money in Camb. Qu. Mag. 5. 248.

³ Val. Max. 2. c. 6. s. 10.

⁴ Cæsar, iv. c. 20.

assume the whole matter at once, than to assume the premises for the sake of a questionable inference?

It is true, that medals of Cynobeline and others have been produced by antiquaries as ancient Celto-British coinage. But their real tendency is to prove that coinage was an art borrowed from the Romans and introduced by them. For they bear Latin legends, and the names of princes connected with or opposed to the Roman emperors. Unluckily, one of them is said to bear the legend in *Latin characters* of Cassivellaunus, the British chief who was made king on the sudden upon Cæsar's second landing, and in whose time we know that no alphabet but *the Greek* was used for any purposes of state. Others have the names of Cynobeline, Caractacus,¹ Arviragus, Boadicea, etc. Names, all of them extracted from Roman history, by men who (pretend what they would) had no other knowledge of their country's antiquities than what Roman authors afforded; and, most of them, names of those chiefs who had most fiercely resisted the Roman power. They are works of no earlier date than the apostasy and anarchy after the Romans. Moreover they were not money. They were Bardic works belonging to that numerous family of Gnostic, Mithriac, or Masonic medals, of which the illustration² has been learnedly handled in Chifflet's *Abraxas Proteus*, Von Hammer's *Baphometus*, the Rev. R. Walsh's *Essay on Ancient Coins*, and (as applicable to these very productions) the Rev. E. Davies's *Essay on British Coins*. The coins engraved by Dom B. de Montfaucon as remnants of ancient Gaulish money are productions of similar appearance and the same class. Paracelsus alludes to them, as money coined by the gnomes and distributed by them among men. Their uses have never been known. But I explain them thus. Money is a ticket entitling the bearer to goods of a given value. But Fraternists or United Illuminates have a claim upon the assistance and liberality of each other, their goods are in that sense common, and those, who refused to make them such, used to be pronounced accursed brethren like Ananias

¹ Davies on Coins, Myth. p. 590.

² Compare Bartholinus cit. Gibson's Camd. Brit. 2. 159.

³ Montf. Aut. 3. p. 88. fig. ibid.

and Sapphira. Masonic medals were tickets entitling one initiate to receive assistance from another. It may be objected, that there was no great difficulty of stealing or forging them. True. But, to be a beneficial holder of these baubles, it was necessary that you should be able to explain the meaning of all the devices upon them. According to the sort of explanation given by the party, it would appear whether he was an authorized holder; and, if such, what rank of initiation he had attained, and consequently to what degree of favour and confidence he was entitled. The names selected to adorn these British medals are unequivocally marked with hatred for the Romans, and love for the memory of those Britons who warred against them; and they imply an exhortation and a compact to expel and exclude the Roman nation from the island. But I make no doubt that the prevalence of king Cynvelyn's name is due to the Apollinar Mysticism. This name *Cynvelyn* was a title conferred upon a king of Britain, perhaps distinguished by his yellow hair, and opposed to Caligula, who obtained a nominal cession of the island from his revolted son Adminius. But Cynvelyn, emphatically, was Pendragon and Æthereal Jove, the father of Apollo Belenus;

“ Seven fires of the essential-fire^m
Are seven opposing battles,
The seventh is Cynvelyn
For every front station.”

At the same time, I can yield no credit to Mr. Davies's conjecture, that any thing so mean and common as an abrax-coin of Cynobeline, was the awful Gwarchan Cynvelyn of the bards. The sacred fire of Cynvelyn, the seventh and most excellent of the seven fires of the universe, and preserved in Britain like that of Oromazdes in Persia, was his Gwarchan or Talisman.

The language employed, the names selected, the superstition displayed, all tend to fix the mystic medals upon the Beirdd Beli. The farther inference results, that Britannia, after the Romans, did not set up an independent and national mint. We see that the art

^m Merddin in Arch. 1. p. 49.

existed ; but yet we find that it was not exercised by the rulers of the state. No coins of Owain Finddu, Gwrtheyrn, Constantine, Maelgwn, or any other Neo-British kings are to be found ; while it is proved, by the opening of sepulchral barrows, that Roman money circulated in the island after the times of Avitus and Anthemius, and even to those of Justinian, and bearing their images and legends. Ireland seems to have been equally barren of numismatic art and document ; for Sir James Ware can cite no earlier coin of that country, than one which appears to be inscribed with the date of A. D. 1115. *Antiquitates Hibern.* p. 130.

THE END.

SUPPLEMENTARY PAGES
OF
BRITANNIA AFTER THE ROMANS,
ETC.
CONTAINING SEVERAL
ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS.

ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS.

OWEN'S DICTIONARY. pp. xli. 181. Those who may be desirous to consider the merits of this work, with a view to the objects of sound lexicography, can further compare together the following glosses contained in its *second edition*, viz: Anghyfred and Gwardred, Andrasdyl and Gogan, Cyfarch and Rhylead, Dabre and Gorisgellu, Dihenydd and Dyhenydd, Fur and Rhyth, Gosod and Mynw, Gwofrwy and Rhewintor, Rhyniaw and Tyrfu, Trwydded and Twng.

PICT-LAND. p. 98. lines 4, 5. I do not know by what means these words "in Pictland" came to be inserted, but it was improperly and without reflection, and a pen should be drawn across them.

DANIEL DREMRUDD. p. 133. Daniel's reign from 689 to 730 occupies the 31 years following the death of Alanus Longus; of which, however, 690 is the true date. It is an important fact, illustrative and strongly confirmative of the nature of the mythical or goblin dynasty as herein-above explained, that those 31 years formed part of the long anarchy which prevailed in Brittany from the death of Alawn to the reign of Charlemagne, or rather till the accession of Nomenoe. There was an interregnum, says Albert Le-Grand of 161 years, from 690 to 851. The last 37 years of it are marked by the unsuccessful endeavours of three chieftains Jarnithin, Morvran, and Gwyomarch, to establish their authority; but of the former part nothing at all authentic is to be learnt. After Alanus, says Argentrè, reigned Daniel Dremrudd, but his origin and history are so enveloped in absurd fable that nothing apparent or true can be said of him. L. 2. c. 35. But this may be said truly, that no monarch at all then ruled. *Après la mort d'Alain qui arriva l'an 690 (says one of their best historians) la Bretagne fut partagée entre sept souverains, sous le nom de comtes. . . . La Bretagne fut alors le theatre de toutes les horreurs; les meurtres, les assassinats, la guerre, tous les crimes desolèrent dans ces temps malheureux ce petit coin de l'univers. Ogeè Abr. Hist. Bret. lxxix.* We have seen that the name Dremrudd is a title of Mithras or Belenus; nor is it an opinion but a palpable fact, that Daniel's fable and Arthur's fable are the same, and that both those fables are Attila's history told with no little accuracy

of circumstance. History knows not the name of Arthur, nor that of Daniel. But history does explicitly avouch that Daniel's great name and incredible achievements fill a vacant space, an interregnum; and the mythological passage in Armorican annals is cleared up by the authentic records of that country and of France. The mythology, so nearly identical, of Arthur is thereby accounted for likewise (as I have accounted for it in c. iv. p. 18.) by resolving it into a fanatical theocracy. In it, Caradoc Vreichbras and his son Cawrdav, Cornishmen, had the chief ascendancy; and the discontents of Iddawg son of Cawrdav contributed to put an end both to the fanatical system, and to the Cornish ascendancy which did not long survive it.

The darkest period of the Armorican interregnum has been peopled with some obscure names of kings who did not exist in that age. The Chartulary of Quimper gives this series.

1. Daniel Dremrudd; who was king of Germany.
2. Budig and Maxenti; the first of whom returned from Germany, and having slain Marcellus, recovered his paternal government.
3. Jahau Rheith.
4. Daniel Unna.
5. Grallon Flam.

All this is sheer fable; but Daniel Unna signifies *Daniel the Hunn*, and instead of being a different king from Daniel Dremrudd is merely the explanation, in one word, of his story. See Lobineau Hist. Bret. 2. p. 18. Dom Morice remarks that in the catalogue of the Counts of Cornouailles Daniel Red-Face is said to have reigned, not in the eighth century, but "about A. D. 445 and 450;" from which, and from his having a son Budig, he infers that he was Audran king of Brittany and father of Budig Cybsdan. This is well enough, and accounts for Budig; but he failed to observe that those five years are the years of Attila's greatness. Dom Morice l. 663. The legend of St Efflam is, at bottom, the same thing. Ef-flam (i. e. ipse-ignis or ipsa-flamma) was an Irish king who had a long war with a British king, which ended in an agreement that he should have in marriage *Honora* the hostile king's daughter. But, when Honora was brought to him, he resolved upon virginity, and went away from her into Brittany. There he met with Arthur "who had been crowned king of Britain in 450." (Observe, that the Armoricans seem almost always to take the Romance or Attilane date of Arthur, and not the Brudic date or that of the Arthurian regimen in this island.) The latter was busy chasing dragons and other monsters. When Efflam came up

with him, Arthur had been combating a dragon without success during a whole day, and was exhausted with thirst. Like another Moses, Efflam produced a fountain to refresh him, out of the place now called Toul Efflam (the perforation of E.) and he destroyed by his prayers the dragon which Arthur could not kill. Honora followed him and after many adventures overtook him, and became a saint like him. Here is the correct date of Attila's war, viz: about 450. Here is Honoria conquered by Attila from her family in that war, but never admitted to his royal couch: Honoria pursuing with all possible energy, and courting, the embraces of a king who desired not her person. Here is one, with a magian or mithriacal title, sharing Arthur's labours, refreshing his strength, and gaining for him his victories: the moral of which is that the Arthur of A. D. 450, whom Honoria courted and who fought for Honoria, was only a weak mortal, as touching his manhood, and but for the *ipsa flamma* incarnate in his person. See Albert Le-Grand. p. 569—71. In Arthur's court was a monarch who had renounced his territory and dominions to abide with him, and his name was Bleidwr Flam, Flame the Wolf-man. (Incorrectly printed Fleidwr, in page 211.) Triad 114. This is king Ef-flam uncanonized. Another like legend of the Attilane Arthur coupled with that of Honoria is worthy of brief mention. Arthur (says the Samson Saga) reigned in England and he married Sylvia daughter of *the king of Hungary*. (Attila united in marriage, as he in fact was, to one at least of his own daughters.) They had a son by name Samson the Beautiful, and a daughter *Grega*. (This is only the softened name of *Creca*, the favourite wife of Attila.) Soon after, Arthur waged a successful war against the king of Ireland, and at the treaty of peace between them he took from him his daughter Valentina as a hostage. She was betrothed to Samson, and set at liberty: and the subsequent quest of her gave rise to the wondrous adventures of the Samson Saga. *Valentina* is Honoria, so styled as the sister of Valentinian from whom she was claimed by the Hun.

The ascertained character of the Dremruddian regimen in Armorica is such a potent confirmation of my doctrine concerning the Arthurian, Uthyrian, and Ambrosian regimens, that I much regret having omitted to dwell upon it in its proper place.

The silence of Gildas is so fatal to the assertors of Arthur, as to render the story of his suppressing Arthur's name, in revenge for his brother Hoel's death, most important to them. I could only pass it over with the levity such a tale deserved. Above, p. 94. But I have since fathomed it. *Canusus*, Latin for Caw, became confounded with *Conanus*, Latin for Cynan, and the

lord of Cwm Cawlwyd and father of Gildas, with the founder of Brittany and father of Hoel. For evidence of these facts, see Dom Morice Hist. Bret. i. p. 13. So Gildas ap Caw became of course (and with no more anachronism then was involved in the confusion of Caw with Cynan) the brother of Hoel ap Cynan Meriadawg. Arthur himself is not a vainer phantom than this Hoel ap Caw, whose fable is called in to his assistance.

The reader has seen in p. 147, 8, my suspicion that the reign, palpably fabulous and void of termination, which is introduced after Maelgwn's, was introduced to cloak a relapse of the nation into such machinations as the names of king Ambrose and king Arthur had previously cloaked. What I then had suspicion of I now find was true. The prophet Merlin in Cyvoesi st. 17 and 19 (90 and 92 of the interpolated poem) gives the name of Maelgwn, and when asked who should next reign,* answers, Beli Hir and his warriors, and when farther asked who next, again replies, Beli Hir and his warriors. That is much, by itself. But I farther observe it stated in Triad 73 that "three bulls were monarchs of the isle of Britain," tri tharw unbenn Ynys Prydain, and these three were bards, and the most desperate of all warriors. Bulls! what manner of bulls? Why, "the roaring bulls of Beli," ministers of the Trin Tarw, Bull of Battle. And that is just what Merlin said; "Beli and his warriors," or Beli and his bulls. But they were also bards; warriors of Beli, bulls of Beli, and *beirdd Beli*. They were Elmur, Cynhaval, and Avaon ap Taliesin. The latter, being son to the Pen-beirdd who contended against Maelgwn and loaded him with maledictions, brings the date of these affairs into that era which we speak of. They are not called by the style of teyrn, brenin, or any other of limited sense, but by the unequivocal and supreme title of unben Prydain. Here, then, we have the insular monarchy, the unbennaeth Prydain, presented to us in the Chronicles as wielded by a real king with a romance invented for his reign; while we find from other sources that there was during that time no king insular, unless the bardic bulls of Beli, as they successively obtained the horrible high-priesthood, could be so considered. Here, we find acknowledgment of what has never been acknowledged as to St. Gwrtheyyr, Ambrose, Pendragon, and Arthur; and we learn that the romantic reigns, interpolating history, followed and preceded by historical princes, de-

* The Gogledd or parts between the Mersey and Clyde are more especially alluded to in these prophecies; but they shew generally which influence supplanted that of Maelgwn's family in the island.

scribe so many periods of civil anarchy and theocratic or hierarchic bardism. And in so learning, we are furnished with the name of a known man and extant poet.

CADVAN. CADWALLON. p. 150. etc. Cadwallon is stated to have reigned 48 years, and I am now unable to say why I have set it down 42 years. But if it was done so in my carelessness, good fortune directed it to the truth. For Cadvan did indeed die in 634, fractions excepted. Cadwallon his son became insular king in 635 according to Warrington (l. p. 136; Rowlands cit. *ibid.*) and in 633 according to Owen, (*Llywarch* p. 111 note *a*) which gives a medium of 634.

But, in looking back to this point, a curious discovery has occurred. It is no less than this, that the renowned and dreaded Cadwallon is none other than Cadvan ap Iago himself. The accession of Cadvan is one of our few fixt and certain dates. It was in 607. His son's accession in 635 and 633 for 634 points out the epoch of his death. Therefore Cadvan reigned insularly from 607 to 634. But 634 (or 633) is the known historical year in which Beda's infandus Britonum dux Cedwalla fell at Denisburn. The vulgar æra of Cadwallon and Cadvan's death is really that of his father's death and his own accession. His own death was in 676 or 677; unless the computations of all British historians are such glaring absurdities as we must hesitate to pronounce them. It is therefore certain that Cadvan ap Iago fell at Denisburn, as in 634; and that he, not his son, was the first Cedwalla of the Saxons and Anglo-Normans. That Cadwallon died of old age and sickness in 676, having reigned *forty-two* years, seems to be true; though all direct traces of his death fail us.

That nothing of moment or brilliancy occurred in British war, after the battle of Denisburn, is certain enough. And we consequently become aware, that the Cadwallawn whom *Llywarch* deploras as the hero of fourteen battles and sixty combats was Iago's son. Therefore if *Llywarch* was born in 500 his longevity would not be extended much beyond 134 years. The statement in the *Triads* that Cadwallon was intimate with Avaon ap Taliesin would be almost absurd, if taken of Cadvan's son.

The omission of any detailed mention of Cadvan's acts, and any account whatever of the duration and close of his reign, is evidently intended by the chronicles to cloak the fictions by which his acts are transferred to his son. Since he was an overvardd or irregular bard he was entitled to a bardic agnomen. But it may be doubted which was his real name.

Cadwallon son of Cadvan with his fabulous legend disappears from authentic records. That he lived, married a Saxon princess, and was the father of Cadwallader, must be admitted. More cannot safely be said of him.

As to the spirit which dictated these daring misrepresentations, it lies hidden. But their tendency is to darken all that relates to Cadwallader's acts and fortunes, and to the formal extinction of the British monarchy, at the first moment (since Vortigern's marriage) which promised to it a peaceful restoration. And such as is their tendency was probably their spirit.

ERGING AND EUAS. p. 158. I have to retract the erroneous expressions made use of in p. 158. For Euas, Erging, and Anerging were districts of Gwent Uch-Coed. Book of Teilaw cit. Arch. Myv. 2. p. 612. or of Gwent Is-Coed. Parthau ibid. A triad speaks of Euas, Erging, and Ystrad Yw, as the outskirts of Gwent Uch-Coed. Owen Dict. in *Llawes*. But the divisions and limits of Gwent are very variously stated. The editors of Glyn Cothi divide all Gwent into Erging, Euas, and Ystrad Yw; which is incredible, as it excludes Monmouthshire, p. 89. Mr. Edw. Williams confined Gwent to Monmouthshire, and identified Erging with Ystrad Yw in Brecon, which he called Ystrad Yer; which is equally incredible. E. W. in D. Williams Monmouth: App: p. 13. Erging and Euas seem to lie chiefly in Herefordshire. The former is Ariconium otherwise the kingdom of Erchenfield, celebrated in J. Philipps's Cider. All Monmouth with parts of Hereford, Brecon, and Gloucester, seem to have constituted ancient Gwent.

However this, which attaches blame to me, only serves to render the matter in question more strange and perplexing. It is odd that Gwrtheyrn Gwynedd of Eryri should be described as lord of Erging and Euas in Gwent. But he might be so distinguished as having only those two estates in the South, while he was master of the North. The marvel lies in the conduct of historians and translators. The Latin Chronicle of Geoffrey ap Arthur and his poem Merlinus agree in calling Vortigern consul Gewissus and Gewisseorum, i. e. ruler of Wessex; a proleptic phrase, since Wessex did not yet exist, but a true one, since the seat of his unbennaeth or insular government was in those parts where the West Saxons soon afterwards settled. But the re-translated British Tysilio of Walter the Archdeacon, and the Brut G. ap Arthur translated from G.'s Latin, agree in rendering these words tywyasawg Erging ac Euas and cyvoeth Erging ac Euas, and the Brut marked A. is to the same effect. p. 236. 240. This was not a part for a whole, since Erging and Euas were never a part of Wessex nor of any other heptarchal state. It is just as

incomprehensible and absurd, as if I were to translate "le Roi de France" by the words duke of Cleves and Juliers!

But this is a small part of the marvel. The second Cedwalla (for the first Cedwalla of the Saxons and Anglo-Normans, is Cadvan-Cadwallon son of Iago) is termed by Beda rex Gewisseorum, and is declared by Geoffrey to be Cadwallader. His mother, sister to Penda king of Mercia, is stated by the same Geoffrey to have been sprung on her mother's side ex nobili genere Gewisseorum. And here again the Walterian Tysilio, the Brut G. ap Arthur, and the Brut marked B. are agreed. They all declare that the Saxon princess, sister of the Mercian and mother of the West-Saxon king, was descended from the nobility of Erging and Euas! In Vortigern's case we may doubt, or we might otherwise have doubted, which texts we should hold by, the Latin or the Welsh, since either or both might have truth. But in this instance the correctness of the Latin texts and the absurdity of the Welsh stand out of all possibility of dispute. It appears that, whensoever a Latin writer mentioned Wessex in connexion with British affairs, the Welsh writers substituted for the name of that great country those of two little districts in South Wales, which at no period of history had any thing to do with Wessex. They did so alike, when matters purely British were in question, and when the affairs of the kingdom of Wessex were really concerned. And, moreover, the author from whose Latin this strange version is made was archdeacon of Monmouth in Gwent, a place almost contiguous to the districts of Erging and Euas, and could less than any one be ignorant of what concerned those districts; and Walter of Oxford, one of those by whom these unaccountable names are introduced, was the friend and patron of the Monmouth historian and poet.

The explanation of this affair is a tax on our ingenuity. But I lean to the idea, that it all originates in the prevalent wish to falsify Vortigern's history, to remove the scene of his death from Gwynedd to Castle Goronwy on the Wye, and so to fling a veil over the disgraceful origins of the Maelgwnian house of Gwynedd. It may be asked, how does this motive account for it in the case of Cadwallader, where its absurdity is so much grosser? Probably, it was extended to his case, in order to keep up credit by consistency, and in hopes that the Welsh of those days, little conversant with Latin names of English places, and seeing Gewissea *always* rendered Erging and Euas, might presume it was *rightly* so rendered. It would be curious if dissimulation on this topic was even then required by the Welsh princes, and to such an extent

of minute and far-fetched precaution. But the feelings which first dictated that dissimulation (see p. 152. 158) were still fresh in the minds of the ruling family at the very period in question. Cynddelw invokes the fierce and potent Owain Gwynedd thus,

Hil Maelgwn, Maelgynig ener,
Blood of Maelgwn, of Maelgwnian soul,

and so likewise the Southern prince, Rhys ap Grufudd,

Hil Maelgwn milcant addodau,
Blood of Maelgwn of the unnumber'd treasures!

It does not appear upon what grounds the editors of L. G. Cothi (p. 219) pronounce Cadwallader "faint-hearted." The Chronicles suppress all the acts and circumstances of his reign, but Geoffrey declares it was conducted *viriliter et pacificè*. Who (asks Gwendydd, in the great interpolation * of Cyvoesi) shall reign after Cadwallon? The answer is,

A man mighty to hold conventions
And to hold Britain under one sceptre,
Noblest of Cymmro's sons, Cadwaladyr.

The energy of his just resentments appears in the fate of Golyddan. And his ancient reputation for valour in the strong epithet of the bard Philip, colovyn elyflu. In rejecting the authority of the Brut, and the testimony of both Geoffrey its translator and Giraldus his enemy and its assailant, that Cadwallon's son was the second Cedwalla, those editors seem to me to have proceeded without sufficient reflection. The whole story of Cadwallader, or nearly so, is that of his abdication, and journey to Rome, and death there, the very same year when all those things happened to Cedwalla. Either, he was the Cedwalla with whom the facts themselves, and the express averment of some of the narrators, identify him; or, a passage of Anglo-Saxon history has been stolen to adorn a fictitious Cadwallader, who either never existed, or of whom nothing is known. But the editors adopt the story of Cadwallader as told, and yet say that he was not Cedwalla; whereas the adoption of it is that which identifies them, and the rejection of it that which would dis sever them. Here we rather desiderate sound criticism. But I perceive, in the preceding

* The genuine Cyvoesi does not allude to that prince in the stanzas where the same appellation, Cad-waladyr, is met with.

observations, a material argument towards deciding this point. For we must embrace one of two notions. Either, that the original author inserted this narrative, in which case it must be essentially true, for Tysilio was a cotemporary of Cadwallader. Or else, it was tacked on to the Brut afterwards, in the age of its republication by Archdeacon Walter and G. ap Arthur. Now we plainly see that, so far from Archdeacon Walter being disposed to annex that passage, he found it there much to his inconvenience in the Erging-Euas affair, and was compelled to extend to it most awkwardly the same alteration of name of which Vortigern's history was more easily susceptible.

This established, we are assisted to explain another small matter, viz. why the Brut of kings had made use of the proleptic and Saxon phrase *Gewissea* to express a country, which had some other title in the British topography (*Severia*, as we are told,) by which it was known at the time when Vortigern held his central government there. The reason was that Tysilio's own sovereign Cadwallader reigned over that country *eo nomine*, as *Wessex*, and as having *Gewissian* blood in his own veins; so that he was familiar with the appellation not merely as a name in geography, but as a royal seat of British princes.

The antiquity of the fable of Brutus and the Trojan dynasty may be illustrated by the following circumstance. In 844 Nomenoe the Breton pillaged the Abbey of St. Florent in France. There is extant a dirge which used to be sung in that religious house, in commemoration of that misfortune and reviling its authors. It contains these words,

Florentii basilica
Sensit fera incendia
A gente crudelissimâ
Verè brutâ Britannicâ.

The allusion is evident. But the probabilities are small, that this lament was poured forth in the middle of the 12th century, three hundred years after the commission of the outrage. We should rather refer it to a time shortly subsequent and to the Carlovingian æra. Lobineau Hist. Bret. 2. p. 49.

THE WORD *UCH*. p. 188, 9. *GODODIN. VORTIGERN.* etc. In my endeavours to confirm and demonstrate that the affray of Gododin was none other than that between Hengist and the Britons at the feast of the Cyntevin, the argument upon the meaning of the words *uch* *vedd* *venestri* was not an unimportant one. That preposition is used properly for *over*, *above*, *upon*, and here means *to*, quasi *down upon*, and does not mean *from over*, or *after*.

That point might have been set at rest, had it occurred to me to quote the parallel passage in the *Priv Gyvareb*,

Posveirdd bronrhain a dybi		The post-bards shall become saucy
A ddeuont uch meddlestri,		And shall flock to the mead-vessels,

i. e. bards of the second class, described as historical poets by John David Rhys of Mona, and distinguished by him from the prophetic and theological bards, (*Linguae Cymraecae Inst.* p. 146.) shall intrude themselves into the festive solemnities at which only the *priveirdd* should sit.

The poem given in p. 201. appears to be only the latter part of one given at greater length in *Arch.* 1. p. 160 and composed by the bard Meigant or Meugant in the 7th century. In its more complete form it presents some further marks of *Gododin*: and its allusions to the *gormes Calanmai* in the earlier part are interesting, and recommend themselves for citation.

To crave pardon of our Loving-Prosperer,
 To praise him, the lofty songs shall abound
 Like those of *Dunawd Dcheuaint*.
 * Tho' battle be his fame, and his arms from the Franks,
 Are there not plagues nearer than old age?
 His host shall themselves be carried the way they prepared.
 From before the Lord of Britannia's love
 He seeks refuge in the violence of Kentish *Loggria*.
 In my vein will I sing,
 "There shall not be to us three summers of sadness
 "Round the border of the high place of saints."
 An obstruction to the profundities ^b of truth
 Was the mount treacherous to the wine in my mouth.
 Touching *Emmrys* they took up their discourse,
 "It is natural the patron should protect his family:
 "Trust in God, that the Druids have not prophesied
 "That the horn of the privilege of *Din* ^c *Breon* shall be broken."
 There shall be confusion to the oaks, confusion to my one sanctuary;

* Though Hengist duke of Kent be renowned in the wars of the continent, and adorned with the rich gifts of Clodion, Alberon, or Meroveus, let him not hope for a prolonged career and a death in old age.

^b The *dyvnwedydd* or art bardic.

^c The enclosure of the hill. See note to p. 201.

I know three, who, before I can be ^d Meugant,
 Shall support with me in perfection
 The serried spears of the men of broken * speech,
 The strong rush of war on that situation
 Where are of the Cymmry the perfect great-laws.
 And after the toil of the blood-field
 The host with speckled heads from the cow-pen of Cadvan
 Shall be summoned on the day of ample allowance.
 The privilege of bards is to imitate heroes.

"Treachery (he says) to the wine in my mouth." So he makes himself present upon the occasion: and pretends to write so soon after it as to prophesy the events of the ensuing three years. Those who might hesitate to believe that Aneurin had thus carried himself back to the fatal carousal, will no longer do so, when Meigant is taken in the same fact; and, if I do not misinterpret the last of the above lines, appeals to the practice of so doing. Now let me observe, that the fatal banquet of Vortigern is here said to have occurred upon the situation of the great-laws (the constitution, or fundamental laws) of the Cymmry, their cynrheith; and the Gododin poem, quoted above p. 191, states that the affray which followed the feast of Mynyddawg filled with blood "the depository of the great-laws," the "cadw cynrheith." Were there *two* such places? and both of them scenes of carousal interrupted by slaughter? This curious question may now (as I should think) be considered as determined and at rest.

The transaction at the fatal Kalends of May was celebrated by bards on the eve of their periodical recurrence, and when the Coel-certhi or omen-fires of May ceased to be lighted, it was transferred to those of the Calangaunf or All-Saints. See Y. Greal p. 123. Such poems are Gododin, Cynvelyn, Maelderw, that beginning arvanghynnull, that of Meigant, Taliesin's Ode p. 76, his Gift to Urien, Cuhelyn's poem, and perhaps others. It was not unusual for the poet to feign himself a prisoner taken on that occasion (as in Gododin, Cynvelyn, and Meigant) whence the Coel-certhi were also called the Coel-caith, omen of the captive. The Awdyl Taliesin is a Coel-certh or Cyntevin commemoration. It confirms one of my great and cardinal points,

^d Before I can say my own name, or "say Jack Robinson."

* Saxons imperfectly acquainted with Latin or Celtic.

that Vortigern came quite young to the crown : and consequently that Saints Gwrtheyyr and Cyndeyrn are no sons of his but creatures of the mythology. It begins with the ravages of the Picts, proceeds to Vortigern's unpopular measure for remedying that evil, and then to the fatal affray.

How sad it was to see
 The tumult, a common evil,
 The stabbings and slaughterings
 Of the Painted Men on the tramp,
 And hardships superadded,
 And the government without treasure,
 And God's determination
 By losses to take much away
From the youth (maban) ill begotten,
Juvenile, treasureless,
 Necessitous, without faith,
 Who turned Lloegrian at last.
 Woe ! for the disagreement.
 Up to ^f my head was the seventh
 Of the afflictive Kalends.
 Wretched was the suppliant man,
 A disgrace to the blessed mount.
 Gwynedd set free again
 Joins together the Cymmry,
 Their hosts, and their lightnings.
 The omen of their deliverance
 Was the liquor, the treasure of the breast,
 The pledge of liberality,
 Of a portion with glory,
 Glory with a portion
 Which the ruler gave me.

Gwrtheyrn Gwynedd by his juvenile weakness and alleged meanness of spirit disgraced the Cymmry. MacIgwyn Gwynedd by the liberation of Gwynedd (meaning the burning of his uncle and usurpation of his estates) set them up again. What follows confirms another remark, that Cam-lan, field-of-iniquity,

^f It almost submerged me in its flood.

(the over-cad) was no battle, no place, but a descriptive phrase. It is well known that, since the cessation of Arthurism, cad Gamlan has signified any disastrous tumult. This poem proves that the phrase was applicable to any event falling within its signification, though anterior to Arthur's cam-lan. He proceeds to announce that the May Dirge for the year devolved on him, prophesies the rise of Maelgwn of Mona and the exploits of his "primi adolescentie anni" in language quadrating with that of Gildas and the Ymarwar Lludd, (above p. 158, 9), and the restoration of the May-Feasts at the Stan-Hengest without the recurrence of any fatal *Thursday*.

It has befallen me to be a bard reciting
 The repeated tale of the cam-lan.
 Renewed moaning shall be witness'd,
 And dejected wailing,
 And kindling into sympathy;
 And the conflagration spreading:
 And the growth of the youth,
 A war champion in miniature.
 Battles they shall see,
 And fortresses arising
 Guarded by many banners,
 The red ^s banner to lead,
 Arbiter of deaths,
 The ensign of his coming
 With his eagle warriors,
 In the spring-time of his glory
 With his sword always contending.
 With me are the mysteries,
 The bard's portion while he lives.
 A day serving unto bloodshed
 Was the day of chastising the Caers.
 He shall come, like navies
 When they scatter the foam.

 Trust in God, the world's life indeed.

^s The red dragon of Britain, the weaving of which is celebrated by the Maelgwn.

Round *the world* he will distribute graces,
 Thro' the intercession of saints
 And the meaning of the perfect books.
 And to us ^b shall be given on a Thursday
 The fine carousals of the Rampart of Light.

The Anrheg Urien was an even-song composed, like Gododin, "before the dawn of the fine day," i. e. on May Eve. That is implied by

I have greeted, I will greet (may he greet me!)
 Urien of Rheged,
 In the direction of pointing
 Towards the West.

The drift of that poem is recommended to Aneurin's comprehension, as the Gododin is to Taliesin's. It adheres to the same figure of describing the *maes mawr* as the sea and the slope of Mount Caer-Caradoc as the sea-shore: according to the "*gairvrith cyvrenhin Bran bore dewin*." It furnishes us with fresh argument, that the Cenau ap Llywarch of the *Gododia* was not a son of Llywarch surnamed Hên: for we find that the Cenau of the feast of *Calanmai* was the brother of one Cynnin. The *Juvenility* of Vortigern is again attested. Its peculiar theme is the disunion which prevailed among the British nation, and to which he ascribes the calamity. Their triple division was (I suppose) into Cymmry of the bardic party, Cymmry of the royal party, and Lloegrians or Latin Provincials.

Round the place of battle
 An ocean deluge
 Shall come, grey foaming.
 Visions present themselves,
 They are kindled up,
 Of that which shall be.
 The rich ⁱ viands shall be spread,
 And shall give sorrow.
 Woe, because of them!

ⁱ We learn from Meigant that the feasts of the Cyntevin or kalends of Summer at the Stan-Hengest were not resumed till the third summer after this dreadful occurrence.

^b Maeth.

Red of hue the blades,
Shining aloft
Round the fruits of their orchard.

There shall come the loss
Of mutual confidence
To the gathering of people,
And hands without thumbs,
And the blades in the flesh,
Miserable warfare.
They were like children
In their falling out
On the sea-beach.
No co-operation,
No mutual confidence,
In any, concerning their sanctuary.
The Dragon of Gwynedd^k
Is a disastrous flooding
Of the lovely habitations.
To Lloegria he will go ;
And wide-spreading there
Shall be the havoc.
More shall be lost^l
Than shall be gained
Of the Venedotians.
With the assembled council
Crowded was the interval
Twixt the sea and the mount.
As of three^m faiths were the Britons,
Upon the short^m pasture
For adventures convened

^k Dragon of Snowdon, in Meigant.

^l i. e. by him. Connecting himself with the Lloegrians he will gradually lose the support of his Venedotians. He "turned Lloegrian at last;" Awdyl Taliesin.

^m Gotrifydd. Atporion, twice-depastured herbage.

They will come to *the World*,
 Not then a bard-sheltering-world,
 To our world of art.
 The dear stewardess of the treasures
 Shall be the sister of the bear
 At the asylum.
 There shall be immersion in slaughter
 Even from Eleri
 To the mount of the° beetle.

Twelve women
 (And no wonder)
 Shall be round one man.
 It was a juvenile
 And a rash coming,
 To come to the rich viands.

We meet with a variety of complaints, want of sobriety, want of concert, snail-pacedness or want of promptitude, their ruler's want of discretion or good faith, his want of resolution, his youth and temerity, and here it is hinted that he had better *have staid away*; sometimes one thing and sometimes another. Taking these productions all together, they present to the ear any thing rather than the voice of the innocent blood crying to heaven.

° The scarabæus, used as a type of the Sun by the Hermetics.

THE END.

Britannia
After the Romans;

BEING

AN ATTEMPT TO ILLUSTRATE

THE

RELIGIOUS AND POLITICAL REVOLUTIONS

OF THAT PROVINCE

IN THE

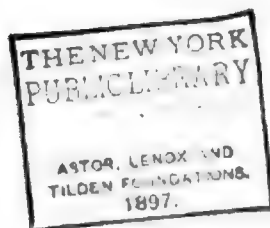
FIFTH AND SUCCEEDING CENTURIES.

VOL. II.

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MDCCCXLI



ADVERTISEMENT.

SINCE the first volume of this Essay was printed, another has been commenced entitled an Essay on the Neo-Druidic Heresy; to which were annexed Supplementary Pages belonging to the first part of this Essay, and a cancel of its 21st and 22nd pages. To these circumstances the attention of binders is invited.

Upon the whole, I am inclined to regret having thus divided the subject; not finding the historical portions of it so distinguishable from the doctrinal, as I had imagined they might prove.

The main points, for which I contend, will ultimately be regarded as above doubt. Great internal changes did attend the separation of this island from the Roman Empire; over and above the important change implied in those words. That fundamental fact is not generally known. The nature of it is fully developed neither elsewhere, nor in my pages. But its existence will be found established in the latter, on grounds, which cannot be shaken by taking small objections, however just,

to the interpretation of certain* Welsh words. My wish and object is, to give rise to the more mature investigations of persons better qualified; and to expose and, if possible, remove those obsolete prejudices of a local patriotism, that now clog the wheels of truth. By these means the giant works of the Post-Roman Britain, and the strange, occult, and awful system to which they appertain, may, in time, be understood and appreciated.

If many of the things here propounded be not such as we read in the enduring pages of Ussher and Stillingfleet, it must be remembered, that of some parts of their subject they had only seen the outside. Celtic literature did not exist in their days. The want of it, moreover, deprived them of the touchstone to test other materials, which they possessed and made use of.

Whether my Essay on the Neo-Druidic Heresy will ever be completed is very doubtful. I have made progress towards the illustration of that heresy in several of its branches. 1st. The great mysteries of the Gwyddvedd, and of the Saint Greal or Cauldron of Ceridwen. 2nd. An examination of the British Hagiographia; which appears to me to be separated from the legends of mediæval catholicity by the characteristics of Neo-Druidism; and which

* In the Essay on Neo-Dr. Her. p. 113, line 10, *vonsai* has been put (by mistake of the old FF for the F) in place of *fonsai*. Which is immaterial, as there is sufficient evidence of the point there in question. Perhaps, as a conjectural emendation, *vonsai* may yet find some favour.

I certainly estimate very differently from Mr. Rice Rees. 3rd. The date and character of the sanctuaries and other megalithic erections, which popular error has entitled Druidical. But the want of encouragement and the increasing pressure of domestic cares afford sufficient reasons for desisting.

Monsieur Villemarquè, in his *Barddas Breiz* Introd. p. iii. has printed a French sentence *between commas*, as an extract from this Essay, Vol. I. p. xxix. It is a garbled compound from two sentences that occur in p. xxxix., so fashioned as to yield an absurd and grossly offensive sense, distinct from that of the real passage. Though ascribing it to Monsieur Villemarquè's imperfect acquaintance with our language, I think it necessary to observe upon it.

After the 37th page of this volume and the note (p) at the foot of it were printed, I happened to see Mr. Richardson's Etymological Dictionary; in which the absurdities, usually propounded about the word *brat*, a child, and its derivation, are exploded, and all the difficulties removed. That noun (as well as *bratt*, a warm cloak) is derived from the Saxon verb *bredan*, *fovere*, to foster or cherish. Nor was it anciently a mean or an ignoble term; as appears from the verse of the poet Gascoigne,

Oh Abraham's brattes, oh brood of blessed seed !

There is nothing at all to choose between "Abraham's brattes" and the *brattau Iesu*.

CORRECTIONS IN

VOL. I.

- p. vii, note (*) for 127 read 147.
- p. 21, l. 32. for *flat-bottom* read *flat-bottomed*.
- p. 71, l. 18. for *Mithriacs* read *Mithriacs*.
- p. 90, l. 25. for *round tower* read *spherical building*.
- p. 109, l. 14. for *rampant* read *rampart*.
- p. 149, l. 25. for + read — five times.
- p. 175, l. 6. dele *reciprocally*.
- p. 190, l. 16. for *Ceirionydd* read *Gsirionydd*.
- p. 211, l. 11. for *Fleidior* read *Bleiddior*. See Triad 114, p. 74

CORRECTIONS IN

NEO-DRUIDIC HERESY.

- p. 2, l. 8. for *post-diluvium* read *post-diluvian*.
- p. 20, l. 11. dele *longer*.
- p. 33, l. 9. put a comma after *Melen*.
- p. 56, l. 15. for *then* read *than*.
- p. 95, l. 26. put a comma after *Red-spear*.
- p. 102, l. 22. for *Dies* read *Diis*.
- p. 106, l. 13. for *afar off* read *a ball*.
- p. 116, l. 15. for *Cel-gan* read *Mel-gan*.
- ibid. l. 16. for *mysterious-song* read *honey-of-song*.
- ibid. line ult. dele note (=).
- p. 120, l. 27. for 50 read 20.
- p. 148, line ult. The second of them is to Hist. Miscella, L.
xiv. p. 413, ed. Canisii, 1603, jussitque ut
comarum *schemate* semetipsos involverent.

CONTENTS.

CHAP. I.

	Page
<u>Aurelius Ambrosius.—Identity with Merlin.—And with Arthur.—</u>	
<u>His Death.—Eppa.—Poem of the Contrived World.—Not of</u>	
<u>Roman Birth.—Name Ambrosius.—The Ambrosian Stones at</u>	
<u>Ambri.—Maen Amber.—Name Aurelius.—Name Mer-ddin.—</u>	
<u>Name Dyvn-wal Moel-mud.—Name Ann ap Lleian.—Inter-</u>	
<u>polation of Gildas.—Character of Ambrosius.—Dunawd and</u>	
<u>Cadell</u>	1

CHAP. II.

<u>Arthur and his Nephew Eliwlod.—Their Dialogue.—Circum-</u>	
<u>stances of it.—Madawg and Erov.—Massacre of Innocents.—</u>	
<u>Eliwlod and Modred Equivalents.—Drift and Moral of the</u>	
<u>Dialogue</u>	24

CHAP. III.

<u>The British Easter.—Sulpicius Severus.—Martin of Tours.—</u>	
<u>Florus King of the Hunns.—The Seven Sleepers.—Song of</u>	
<u>the Plagues and Passover.—British and Irish Tonsure . . .</u>	40

CHAP. IV.

<u>Character of Germanus of Auxerre.—His Visit to Britain and</u>	
<u>Sprained Ankle.—Lupus of Troyes.—His Judaism, connexion</u>	
<u>with Attila, and Bad Repute.—Traces of Judaism in Ger-</u>	

	Page
<u>manus.—Simeon the Huntsman.—Oscillation of Heads.—</u>	
<u>Second Visit of Saint Germanus.—The Armorican Britain.</u>	
<u>—The Port of Totness.—What Became of the Essenes.—</u>	
<u>Faustus Regiensis.—Faustus of Renis.—Bardism of Armo-</u>	
<u>rica.—Guinc'blan</u>	72

CHAP. V.

<u>Emigration of Bacharius.—Mochteus of Lowth.—His Legend.—</u>	
<u>Porcine Titles and Mysteries Peculiar to the British Islands.—</u>	
<u>Mochteus and Bacharius both had Porcine Titles.—Their</u>	
<u>Identity.—Remarks on Muratori.—Translation of the Apology</u>	
<u>of Bacharius.—Its Lameness.—Britannia his Country . . .</u>	103

CHAP. VI.

<u>Britannia disappears.—Is reputed to be Hades.—Indications of</u>	
<u>Change.—Saint John.—Religion a Palladium.—Dunawd ap</u>	
<u>Pabo.—Saint Piran in Sabulo.—The Apostolic Number</u>	
<u>Twelve</u>	142

BRITANNIA AFTER THE ROMANS,

ETC. ETC.

CHAP. I.

AURELIUS AMBROSIVS.—IDENTITY WITH MERLIN.—AND WITH ARTHUR.
—HIS DEATH.—EPPA.—POEM OF THE CONTRIVED WORLD —NOT OF
ROMAN BIRTH.—NAME AMBROSIVS.—THE AMBROSIVS STONES AT
AMBRI.—MAEN AMBER.—NAME AURELIUS.—NAME MER-DDIN.—
NAME DYVN-WAL MOEL-MUD.—NAME ANN AP LLEIAN.—INTERPO-
LATION OF GILDAS.—CHARACTER OF AMBROSIVS.—DUNAWD
AND CADELL.

*Quid, quid et INVICTUM opelæa sub atra reconduat,
Quemque tegunt tenebris, audent hunc dicere Solem?*

PAULINUS.

§. 1. It has been the object of this Essay to shew that the separation of the British province from the empire was not merely the case of an effete civilization giving way to irruptent barbarism, such as its other provinces exhibit. But, that it was attended by an abandonment of established Christianity, and the rise of a strange and awful apostatic heresy; of which the historical vestiges are rare, but the internal evidences numerous and strong.

Symptoms of that change have tinged British history and literature from the separation downwards, to an indefinitely modern point of time. But it had its paroxysms; its times of greater ascendancy and

power than others ; times of greater publicity and more unreserved avowal, as others were of a more dissembling temper, and saw reason to prefer closer disguises of such initiation as may be termed masonic.

The long and great paroxysm of this mania was the period extending, from the revolt^a against the Gwynethian King-Insular, Gwrtheyrn of the Untoward Mouth, down to the conflict (called) of the Field-of-Iniquity or Cam-lan. Its period of extreme exacerbation was from the establishment of that power (known by the name of Arthur) which fell in the Cam-lan, unto its downfall in that revolution. After which event, the aforesaid power or principle was removed out of sight by the two chief bards of Britain, and kept alive, from thenceforwards indefinitely, in the secrecy of a charmed and magical asylum.

This long paroxysm includes that remarkable period, in which a most obscure and inglorious real history gives place to a romance of heroic wonders, again to relapse into a similar inglorious reality ; a period across which (so to say) poor Vortigern shakes hands with poor Constantine ap Cador. Emmrys Wledig otherwise Ann ap Lleian, Uthyr Pendragon, and Arthur, by whom that space is filled, were not real persons ; but terms expressive of the long rule of fanaticism, and of three sub-periods in which it presented varying aspects ; while a number of real men, of inferior glory, (Nathan-Leod, Caradoc, Cawrdav, Maelgwn, etc. etc.) were those that actually performed the brawlings and ruinations of that dismal time.

§. 2. I have been made sensible, that this argument remains inadequately worked out as to the first of the three heroes, king Aurelius Ambrosius ; and is presented to the reader in a sort of enthymem, rather than a full deduction. And the point is so great and cardinal

^a See Vol. 1. p. 44. etc.

in respect of these enquiries, that it is well worth reverting to even at the expense of some repetitions.

Those, who desire to have Ambrosius for a real king, are anxious to distinguish him from the prophet, bard, and sorcerer, called by the same name, and that of Merlin; and so to have two Ambroses, acting together, at one time, but in different capacities. It is fully felt, that the whole story, undivided, can never pass for aught but mythology. The doctrine of two contemporary Ambroses, the one a bard, and the other a king, was invented by the author of the *Brut of Kings*; whose historical system required it. But the attempt to establish such a distinction is vain. By far the most grave and authoritative testimony we possess to that point is in Taliesin's *Graves of Warriors*; a^b poem composed in that antique triplet called the Englyn Milwr or Warrior's Stanza, and possessing the highest character of antiquity. That testimony is absolutely conclusive of their identity, not in vulgar opinion merely, but in the depth of Bardic doctrine.

ST. 14.

Bedd Ann ap Lleian ym newys
Vynydd, llugor llew Emmrys,
Prif ddewin Merddin Emmrys.
The grave of Ann ap Lleian in the electoral
Mount, the host-opening^c lion Ambrose,
The chief enchanter Merlin Ambrose.

The host-opening lion is the warlike monarch who fought in the Cat-gwolph and on the Maes Beli, and the Mount of Election is that upon which history pretends that monarch to lie buried; but Ann ap Lleian is a title relating strictly to the legend of Merlin's nativity, and the

^b See Evans's *Specimens, Dia. de Bard.* p. 79.

^c Either deploying his own forces into warlike array, or piercing through those of the enemy.

last line is so unequivocal that words can add nothing to it. The next authority, if not for depth of knowledge, at least for innocence and simplicity of purpose, is the historical compilation of Nennius. That author appears to have collected and delivered the traditions of his country, without any wish to deceive, or to support any system. The work of Nennius introduces us to this personage, as the son of a maiden, who swore that she conceived him without father, which is the fable of the prophet Merlin; and puts into his mouth the most famous of that bard's predictions. Yet he makes him style himself *Emmrys Gwledig*, which is undisputedly the title of king Aurelius Ambrosius, and declare himself to be the son of a Roman consul. As usual, his text is in an unsettled state; but all MSS. agree in this. The text of Gale has; "He answered, I am called Ambrosius. It seems that he was *Embreis Gletic*." The Cottonian MS. has it *Embris Gletic*, and two others have *Embreis Gletic* and *Embreis Gulethic*. Mr. Stevenson's edit. 1838, prints it *Embries Guletic*. Some suspicion might arise of this being a gloss superadded. But the Vatican MS. of the same work published by Mr. Gunn and written in the later half of the 10th century, which is the highest authority for its text,^d hath it thus; "I am called Ambrose, in British *Embresguletic*. A Roman consul was my father." There is therefore no doubt, that this appellation belongs to the authentic text. And indeed it would be strange, if every transcript in Europe had introduced a gloss in the unknown and forgotten language of our Celtic mountains.

These (supposed) two are so inextricably interwoven together, that it is impossible to separate them without rending the whole tissue to rags. Yet if they cannot be distinguished, as some have desired to do, the whole attempt to make history out of their fable fails.

^d Gunn's Nennius, p. 29.

In their identity with each other they acquire a third identity, which not only knocks up the chronological series of the three hero kings, but the entire history of them. For the tale of Emmrys then manifestly appears to be that of Arthur, very slightly varied in the telling. The mother of the former was the Lleian, i. e. Nun, miraculously impregnated by Satan himself, without human father; and the mother of the latter was the Eigyr, i. e. Virgin, made pregnant by Uthyr Pendragon, i. e. the Portent of the Dragon's Head, under circumstances of miracle and witchcraft. And as their beginnings were alike, so also were their endings; they both departed by very similar modes of aphanism, each sailing away in a magic vessel, and each enjoying a protracted life-in-death, under the safe* keeping of a goddess or a sorceress. Aurelius Ambrosius is not only a creature of fable, but he has not even a fable that he can properly call his own. Both legends alike do but embody the conventional phrases and dark ænigmas of a dreadful theology.

§ 3. The historical death of Ambrosius, as given in the Brut of Kings, was after this sort. A Saxon named Eppa, well acquainted with the British manners and tongue, disguised himself as a British monk and physician, and found his way to the house and court of Emmrys. Being well received on account of his medical skill, he administered a poisonous draught to the king, and advised him to retire to slumber in his chamber. Before the consequences of his crime had transpired, Eppa made his escape unnoticed.

This was a very different tale from the magical aphanismus of the Ann ap Lleian. I had little to say about it. Though it was altogether but ill suited to the fierceness and ignorance of those earliest Anglo-

* The place of Merlin's is fixed by the Romancers in the forest of Brecllicu in Brittany; which they spell Broceliande, to insinuate bro cell, *the land of concealment*. Or rather Brecllien is a corruption of Brocelien, the Covert Country.

Saxons. Nor could it entirely escape observation, that Eppa, the Ape, was a term of mysterious sanctity. Without the ape, heb eppa, says Taliesin, without the milch-cow's stall, without the world's incomplete-rampart (go-vur), the world would be desolate. But I have since observed, that there exists an ancient bardic ode, of which the enigma hath its solution in the pretended death of Emmrys. From it we learn, that the story of his poisoning was not merely a false one, as the legend of a *real king's* death might well be, and has often been; but entirely mystical, and formed by a transfer of the bardic symbols into historical narrative. We find, that the Eppa, who thus brought about the termination of the Aurelian Ambrosian regimen, (and so set up Uthyr Pendragon, *himself to be poisoned in his turn,*) was indeed the mysterious and cherished Ape of the sanctuary. We find, that no Saxon appears connected with it; and that the whole transaction is acted among the Britons, and in the favourite seats of their superstition. The plain, it is said, meaning the Severian plain, on which the Cor Emmrys was constructed, poisoned its own young hero.

It must be premised, that this poem exhibits the Crist Celi, or man-god of the mysteries, in his form of Alexander Mawr; in which, as well as in Ercwlf Mawr, his miraculous conception by the Dragon Jove is signified. It likewise introduces the Judaism of those mysteries, by identifying the twelve knights of the round table with the twelve tribes of Israel, and these countries with the Holy Land; to which the occupation of Syria and Palestine by Alexander lent a handle. The round table (it will be borne in mind) was not contrived by Arthur, but was made by Joseph of Arimathea to receive the Saint Greal. And there were always twelve knights of the Saint Greal. The twelve Magicians of Vortigern, who declared that the Dinas Emmrys must be sprinkled with the blood of a boy begotten without father, and whom Vortigern afterwards put to death, were the same college. They

were' the twelve "Men of Israel," apostles and witnesses of the Crist Gwledig or Bardic Christ.

The Devised, or Contrived World.

There were twelve by whom the land was ruled.
There was the most generous and fairest of ladies;
A woe of the ardency of bees was her border,
It burst out upon the oak-trees thrice in battle,

5 And it shall be our wood-circle of feather'd oak-trees for the land.

Widely the Mighty One vanquish'd the wood^s of overtaking thrust.

This country (says the poet) was subject to the college of the Saint Greal, twelve in number. Ceridwen, the constant theme of bards, was its patron goddess; her fanatical votaries, hived within the periphery of her awful circle, came forth like stinging bees, whenever their hive was assailed; thrice did they thus burst forth victorious upon the Maes Beli; and the stone pillars that form her border are the sacred oaks in the Neo-Druidic grove, as the green trees were in the Druidic. That passage is of considerable moment, in illustrating the nature of the Neo-Druidic sanctuaries. As Druidism had little or nothing (that we can discover) to do with stones, so Neo-Druidism had little or nothing to do with oaks; except in bardic hypothesis, by which the giant stones *were oaks*. That is the true solution of the verse addressed to Hu Gadarn in "the Wand of Moses."^a

Thine was the previous possession of the coeval perfect trees.

The previous possession was that in ancient Druid days; but the perfect and coeval trees were those monumental oaks, which Ambrosian magic prepared in the quarry and erected simultaneously. For this reason also, the sect used to call their places of solemn meeting, in which their deity was supposed to be present, gwydd-va, or place-of-trees.

^a See Neo-Druidic Heresy, I. p. 130, 7.

^s i. e. the spear.

^b Ibid. p. 131.

In golden fetters of woe is Alexander imprisoned.
 Nor was he imprisoned afar ; death was near the place.
 He sustained an onslaught from the host, none of us being answer-
 able.

- 10 The oak-enclosed goes to his grave, fair and free by his blessedness.
 Generous was Alexander with his fair possessions yonder,
 The land¹ of stars and the cheerful, and the land of Syria,
 And the land of Dinivdra, and the land of liberation,
 The land of Persia and² *Mersia*, and the land of Cana,
 15 And the isles of plaiting and of the plaiting of the Ape,
 And the nation of Babylon and Agascia³ the Great,
 And the land of the might of Darus,⁴ of little avail
 Till he brought himself into the sod of the earth there.
 And they did their pleasure in their hunting,
 20 They subjected hostages to Europa,
 And the plunder of the countries, the raiment of the earth.

This passage shews us the Crist Celi, confined, and about to undergo his mystic death. The oak-enclosed, the dweller of the sanctuary, is about to depart. But they who would remove him do not, as yet, appear as poisoners. They are an open assailing host. Neither are they foreign enemies. But it is a British affair, in which the question arises, who was answerable for it. *Neb cynnogn ev ni*, is the bard's moderate disclaimer. We proceed to recount the glories of his empire, mixing the Eastern provinces of Alexander, and the Holy Land of the Lord's miracles, with other strange titles belonging to this country in the days of her madness. *Din-ivdra*, whatever it may mean, is such. But the islands of plaiting, braiding, or interweaving, are none other

¹ The central place of the Bards

Is the superb star of stars.

Canu y Cwrticv.

² Qu: Media?

³ For ag Agascia perhaps we should read ag Asia, and Asia.

⁴ Meaning Darus.

than our great Ambrosian sanctuaries, of the megalithic architecture; and are so called either from something originally observable in their actual structure, or from their being wood-circles, representing the entangled shade of "the feathered oak trees of the land." The island of the plaiting, or braided texture, of Eppa, (the Ape), is that one most famous, to which above all others Emmrys bequeathed his own name, it is his cor, his gwaith, his dewys vynydd or mount of election, and the go-vur byd in which the sacred Henvonva and the sacred Eppa were supposed to be.

Grimly smiled the women that urged them on,
 With seared bosoms, casting away modesty.
 With battles *on the sea*,^m in the hour of retribution
 They satiated ravens; they brought confusion on the head
 25 Of the soldiers of the Chief of Multitudes, in the hour of retribution.
 Truly, oh Land! when thou art stript of thy young men,
 There can be to thee no riddance, no riddance of oppression.
 With the anxiety of the fetters, and their hardships,
 An army of 100,000 died of thirst.
 30 Vagabondish were their arts in pursuing their prey.
The plain poisoned its youth ere he ran to his homestead,
 Ere he could become more sufficiently old.

There is nothing so barbarous in the old bards, as their contempt for the antecedent. In v. 19, who are *they*? The host of the Alexander Mawr, the Ambrosians. But in v. 22, who are *them*? Evidently, though in contempt of syntax, the destroyers of Ambrosius. Here we find his fall mainly ascribed to the fanatical women of the sect. We find him poisoned on the great plain in which his cor, the "ynys pleth

^m Printed a cor, but it should be ar cor. The sanctuaries were islands, and the plains around them were sea. Vide vol. 1. p. 210. The prospective reference in that page, line 4 from the bottom, relates to a portion of these researches that still is, and perhaps always will be unprinted.

Eppa," stood. And moreover we obtain the almost conclusive admission, that he was cut off not only *upon* but *by* the Plain which called him *its own*; that is to say, by the spiritual iniquities there enthroned and enshrined. "As gwenwynwys ei was." The Ape of this sanctuary, to whom great sanctity, together with foul crime, deception, and treachery, is ascribed, must signify the Mercurial principle, that strange and unexplained disgrace of paganism. Gwion Gwd or Gwydion ap Don, into whose knaveries and villainies all that is most sacred and awful in Neo-Druidism seems to resolve itself, must be the Eppa.

Yet we are bound to confess, we are left wandering in a labyrinth of names and words. It cannot be otherwise, when one Being, in various forms and circumstances, is ostensibly presented for several Beings. Emmrys Wledig, himself the Crist Wledig, and Alexander Mawr, was removed to make way for Uthyr Pendragon or Gorlassar, himself the Duw Celi; and the chief business of the pretended Uthyr's reign was to prepare another birth of the Crist Celi, Ercwlf, or Alexander, under the name of Arthur, and so recall Emmrys to life "another and the same." And he who went with the British Jove to the Cornish Alcmena's tower, in the character of Mercury, was none other than Merddin Emmrys himself. To give a definite certainty to all these ravings, will be a difficult, if a practicable, task. But when we have ascertained, that the history of this king's death is not a mere untruth, devised to fill up imperfect annals, but an allegory fetched from the innermost secrets of an occult religion, it does not merely fail to substantiate his reality, but seriously invalidates it.

For our land-prospering Lord a land of glory,
 One land of Eternity, of excellent communion,
 I will adorn, I will prepare. Be with thee the plenitude!
 And of whose hear me be granted to me the repose
 They will make God their happiness, ere they put on the earth.

These lines, in which the Bard glorifies the object of his poem, and promises to devote himself to preparing the precious communion of the sacred place, do not require any explanation at present. They are general expressions including, in their purport, all the terrible and hidden things of Bardism. He concludes with a blessing upon his congregation.

§ 4. The handle was furnished to his historians, by his having a title which was immediately derived from the Latin, viz. *Emmrys*. That word is not true British, but is merely a corruption of *Ambrosius*. Hence he was feigned to be a Roman of princely birth. But the whole story of his father *Constantinus*, and his brother *Constans*, has been explained. Mr. Sharon Turner clearly shewed that the history, fastened upon *Vortigern*, was that of *Gerontius*; and, following up those data, I have already^a explained how the whole story of *Constantine* and *Constans*, as told in the British annals, is no more than an allegorical fiction to disguise the real acts and vilify the name of *Vortigern*. Of this *Constantine Aurelius Ambrosius* is the pretended son, and the brother of *Constans*. There might have been really such a Roman, whose unknown parentage an erroneous conjecture might have supplied; and an incorrect pedigree of him will not disprove a man's existence. But, when we find that the name of his Roman kindred are neither true, nor yet false in any of the ordinary modes of inaccuracy; but artfully and mystically woven into a tale of occult signification; we are forcibly led to a contrary conclusion. The analogies of the case lead us to conclude, that *his* name also is a symbol occultly significant.

^a See Vol. 1. p. 37, 9.

As all belief in the reign of Aurelius Ambrosius is coupled with that of his being a Roman by birth, we shall meet with difficulties, which the supposition of some unknown father, in lieu of Constantinus, will by no means remove. Bred up a Roman and baptized to a good sonorous Roman name, he had a brother by name Uthyr Pendragon, an appellation of which the sound is quite as strange to Latin ears as its meaning is unusual at the Christian font. His nephews were Arthur and Madawg, his grandsons Llechau and Noah, his grand-nephews Eliwlod and Medrawd, etc. And these are not the names of Romans translated. For who had ever heard of such Roman names as Portentum Dracontioeps, Ursa Major, Serpentinus, Lapides, or the like? We settle down in the firm conclusion, that no Roman family ever existed, of which Emmrys Wledig was a member. Nobody *would have thought* of such a thing for a moment, had it not been for the Latin etymology of Emmrys. And, whatever may be feigned of that sort in the Bruts or Chronicles, nobody in pure Bardism (I believe) *ever did think* of such a thing.

§ 5. The names of this personage are all of them full of the neo-druidic mystery, and when examined will shew themselves to be no names at all; at least in that ordinary notion of a name, which historians attach to the appellation of Aurelius Ambrosius.

The most famous action ascribed to him is the removal from Ireland to the Severian Plain of the great circle of stones, now called the Stonehenge. It has been sometimes remarked, that allusion is made in the days of the lower empire, to stones or rocks called *Petræ Ambrosiæ*, which were the objects of a superstition. A Tyrian medal of the reign of Gordianus Pius has been found, with a representation of two upright stones rising out of one horizontal block, so as to give to

the one united mass the form of a sort of inverted trilith; and bearing the legend AMBROCIE ΠΕΤΡΗ. Analogous medals of Caracalla, Aquilia Severa, the same Gordian, Valerian, and Gallienus, represent the Ambrosian stones, but without the legend. Nonnus, a poet of the 5th century,^o gives this account. Hercules Astrochiton commanded the first men, who sprang out of the mud, and were coeval with the world and time itself, to build "a sea-chariot, the first vessel that ever sailed." Then he bade them navigate in all directions, "until they arrived at the predestined place, where two rocks sail about wandering unstable in the sea, which Nature hath named *Ambrosia*, upon which (ἀπὸ ἐνὶ), rooted in them, flourishes the inseparable plant of the coeval olive, growing in the centre of the sea-faring (πέτρης) rock. And (he added) ye shall behold an eagle sitting by the loftiest tufts of it, and a patera placed within reach. And spontaneous fire vomits wonderful scintillations from the flaming tree, and the glory of it plays about the unconsumed olive-plant, and a twining serpent disports himself around the high-growing tree." They were next commanded to catch the eagle and sacrifice him to Neptune; and then the floating rocks would become fixt and stable, and furnish a site for the city of Tyre. It cannot be collected from this passage whether the two rocks were connected or separate, whilst in their floating state; but as the olive, which grew on one, is said to have grown on both, the probable inference is that the poet understood them to be connected at the base. The legend πέτρη, annexed to what I have termed the inverted trilith, is to the same effect. All the other coins (except Caracalla's) represent them as rising out of a plain base or ground which connects them, and the olive growing *between* them, and not upon either. The fable is manifestly of the kind, that some English writers

^o Book 40. vers. 474, et s.

thing, and the meaning of the one is governed by that of the others. But if the Cor Emmrys or Gwaith Emmrys, as the great circle was called, was a system of Ambrosian Stones, it becomes clear that their supposed architect owes his name to them and not they to him. Moreover the place to whose immediate neighbourhood the giant circle was transported was called Ambresbury, or as Leland writes it Ambrosburi, i.e. *Urbs Ambrosia*. In this instance as before, our Ambrosius did either give his name thereto, or receive it therefrom. But the Brut here again lets the truth glimmer through. For it informs us, that king Emmrys set up these stones upon the mount of Ambri, at which place there were (then and previously) settled 300 religious persons styled the Monks of Ambri. Which prove very certainly, that the name is taken^r from that of the Neo-Druidic sanctuaries, and not conferred upon them in honour of their royal founder. But if once that be so understood, the whole idea of his being a Roman, by token of his name Ambrosius, is vanished.

Next we may observe, that his name Aurelius will not serve him any better. Aurelius is Latin for Gwledig, by a most extraordinary idiom of the sect in question. They regarded the solar deity as the god or tutelar power of this country, and *Lord of the Land*, which is the precise meaning of Gwledig. But Aurelius (gold of the sun, or the

we need not doubt but Dogan is said by mistake for Logan. Instead of Logan, the Welsh say *maen sigyl* or shaking stone. Dr. Borlase in his Glossary, p. 416, quotes the gloss, *Ambreth, shaking*, and adds the reference *Hals*. But it is impossible to imagine any mode in which such a word can be obtained, in any thing like such a sense. It seems that *maen ambreth* having been used, instead of *maen amber*, to express a *maen sigyl* or shaking stone, the person cited as *Hals*, formed the natural, though false, inference that *ambreth* meant shaking.

^r This state of the case agrees well with the more northern tale Hector Boece had heard, that the megalithic circles were founded by King Main; for *main* simply means *large stones*.

golden sun) was a name recorded to have originated with the worshippers of that luminary, and is applicable to himself. In this manner those *names* came to be translations of each other, though the *words* were not; just as Liber is a translation of Διόνυσος. This convertibility of the two Mithriac titles being established, it extended itself to other cases. So that, if any Briton having the surname or title of Gwledig wished to describe himself in Latin, he would use the word Aurelius. Thus the British prince Cynan Wledig (who lived in the Arthurian days) was always termed in Latin Aurelius Conanus. Hence it follows, that even if Gwledig be not applied to Emmrys in its first intention, it is at any rate nothing more than a pure British name translated into a Latin one; and it gives to Emmrys no more colour of a Roman origin than it does to Cynan.

As the name Emmrys has been traced to the main amber, petræ ambrosiæ, of the Cor Emmrys and of similar sacred structures; so can also his name Merddin be. It signifies that he was founder, or patron, of the Cor Emmrys. Nay, to speak more exactly, Merddin is not *his* name, as founder or patron of that place, but the name of that very place itself. That awful sanctuary, to which the British poets were perpetually adverting, and under titles as various as the myriad names of Isis, had one entire class of appellations relative to its peculiar structure. Besides being upwards hypæthric, it was surrounded by no entire wall. Its enclosure was discontinuous, and consisted of parts widely detached from top to bottom; although the outer circle may have been in some measure united by a rude uncemented entablature at the top. This feature of its construction* was implied in its bardic

* The importance thus attached to it shews that it had some special value in their sight. As a whole it seems to have represented *the grove* of the Druids.

appellations of go-vur, the partial or incomplete wall, go-van, the place imperfectly constructed, go-chy-mma, the place but partially connected together, de-va, the place of divisions or separations, go-do, the imperfect covering, go-do-din, the enclosure imperfectly covered.⁴ And merddin is another of the same family, literally expressing *the enclosure consisting of detached parts*, from "din, and mer, a detached or separate portion. This is not a conjecture, but merely the decomposition of a plain and easy noun compound. So that, when we read in the Bruts of Merddin Ambrose erecting the stones on Mount Ambri by the advice of Merddin Vardd, the *personal* information we receive is strictly no more than this, that the circle in question was founded by its founders; although the *chronological* tradition is supremely important. Another name of great moment in the apostatic heresy of this island has, I believe, the same origin and allusion as Emmrys and Merddin, and relates to the legend of the removal of the cor gawr from Ireland. It is that of the great lawgiver of the sect, Dyvn-wal' Moel-mud. Those words express *the Drawer of the Wall, the Mover of the Huge Mass*; and they seem quite descriptive of the fabulous Merlin, whose magic art compelled the giant stones to follow him.

Annap Lleian or Ann son of the Nun is an appellation of Merddin Emmrys; and it is one arising out of the depths of superstition and

⁴ See Gwawd Lludd, Marwnad Aeddon, Ymd: Eliwlod, Cynddelw, p. 211, etc. and above p. 9, line 4.

⁵ Din and dinas, as well as ener, usually apply to fortifications or camps; but have a known and peculiar application to the megalithic sanctuaries.

⁶ A variation of this name is to be found in a poet of the 12th century, who says:

Difficulties do not assail the treasure of Caswallawn.

The concordant host do not oppose the law of *Dynerwallawn*,

To pour abundant liquor to the gifted songster.

But we may suspect this name to be here used as a jocular parody on the lawgiver's real one, for it signifies *pouring abundant liquor*. Cynddelw, p. 206.

blasphemy. Ann is probably the Latin word *Annus*, and denotes the Mithriac Sun ; for the gnostical sects, who venerated that orb or its angel, considered him as the year or sum of 365 days, and therefore called him *Abraxas*. Merlin (as it is said in British history) was born of a nun, who had never known man, but had been visited by the vision of a beautiful youth, who vanished and left her pregnant. When Vortigern's twelve magicians heard that he was thus engendered without human father, they declared it was necessary to sacrifice him and asperse the Dinas Emmrys with his blood, in order that the structure might stand fast. The Romance* of Merlin declares, that the person who thus begot him was one of the devils, appointed to that service by a solemn council of evil spirits, in order that his offspring, by a superior knowledge of all things, might be able to deceive the followers of Christ. In other words, and according to the opinions then current concerning Antichrist, Merlin was Antichrist himself, or just such another. It should be observed that Merddin Ambrosius was never termed[†] Ann, without the words *mab Lleian* ; and was never styled *mab Lleian*, in addition to the names Emmrys or Merddin. His miraculous conception and his highest title of godhead, the Solar *Abraxas*, were studiously kept inseparable.

§ 6. Pure history is profoundly silent concerning that Aurelius Ambrosius, of whom historical legend makes boast ; although his Roman birth and earlier date might give him a better chance of being recorded in it, than later and Celtic sovereigns. Gildas[‡] was (as it seems) his contemporary. And he has this passage—*Tempore igitur interveniente,*

* *Romaunt de Merlin*, fol. 1.

† Anna is said by some to be his sister, and by some, Arthur's ; which, mythologically, is all as one.

‡ See Neo-Druid. Heres. Part 1. p. 88.

aliquanto cum recessissent domum crudelissimi prædones, roboratæ a Domino reliquæ (quibus confugiunt undique diversis in locis miserimi cives tam avidè, quam apes alvearii procellâ imminente) simul deprecantes eum toto corde et ut dicitur

“innumeris onerantes æthera votis.”

ne ad internecionem usquequaque delerentur, vires capessunt victores provocantes ad prælium, queis victoria Deo annuente ex voto cessit. Such account doth Gildas give of some successful rally, which the people of Britannia made against the encroachment of the Saxons. But where the dotted line is placed, his text² now exhibits the following words, “duce Ambrosio Aureliano viro modesto qui solus [fuit comis, fidelis, fortis, veraxque] fortè Romanæ gentis, tantæ tempestatis collisione, occisis in eadem parentibus purpurâ nimirum indutis, superfuerat, cujus nunc temporibus nostris soboles magnoperè avità bonitate degeneravit.” If this be an authentic passage of a contemporary author, there can exist no doubt of there having been such a commander, if not king. But upon examination it will clearly appear to be an interpolation. The title Gwledig is usually rendered Aurelius, not Aurelianus, and prefixed to the Latin name instead of following it. Nor is it a matter of doubt, which method was employed by Gildas. For shortly afterwards, in a passage of undoubted authenticity, he asks, quid Aureli Conane agis? It may be added, that the words represent Ambrosius as sprung from a family of emperors or tyranni, purpurâ induti; which is nothing but the common tale of his relation to Constantinus and Constans. But that is an ascertained fiction, of which the contemporaneous, or nearly contemporaneous, promulgation would be an impossibility. The text of Bede’s Ecclesiastical

² Gildas, p. 9. ed. Gale, also ed. Jos. Stevenson, 1838. The words in brackets are absent in one MS. and in p. 120 ed. Lugdun. 1687.

History, in great measure borrowed from Gildas, contains similar words in the corresponding place. Utebantur eo tempore duce Ambrosio Aureliano, viro modesto, qui solus forté Romanæ gentis præfatæ tempestati superfuerat, occisis in eâdem parentibus regium nomen et insigne ferentibus. Hoc ergò duce vires capessunt Britones, et, victores provocantes ad prælium, victoriam ipsi Deo favente suscipiunt. The treatise of the same author^a de Sex Ætatibus Mundi presents the same transcript of Gildas, in nearly identical words. A similar passage, but representing Ambrosius himself as invested with the purple of a Roman emperor, has found its way into the Milan MS. of the *Historia Miscella*, or continuation of Eutropius, by Paulus Diaconus and others. Apud Britones Aurelius Ambrosianus^b qui solus forté Romanæ gentis Saxonum cædi superfuerat, purpuram induit, victoresque Saxones Britonum ducens exercitum superavit sæpe, etc. But Muratori informs us that no such matter is to be met with in the *Codex Antiquus*.

The secret of this interpolation of Gildas (whether committed anterior to Bede, and adopted by him, or more recently interpolated into all these works) may be divined. The separation of Britannia from the empire, and her religious aberrations, were followed by an entire separation from the Latin Church of the West, and a disavowal of the growing authority of the sedes Petri and its primates. This was an unpalatable circumstance to the Latins. And they perceived that the cause of religious unity in the West, according to their view of it, might derive much support and popularity among the Britons, could it be shewn that the most renowned of their national kings had been of the Roman nation and church. That is the true source and origin of the passage, thus unskilfully introduced into Gildas. The age of St.

^a In *Zenone*, ap Bedæ Opera, tom. 2. p. 114. Colon. 1612.

^b *Hist. Miscell. L. xv.* ap Muratori Script. Rerum Ital. vol. 1. p. 100.

Adhelm of Shireburne, whose efforts were devoted to recalling the Britons to the unity of the Latin church, very probably gave birth to it.

It is tolerably apparent, that Gildas *did* not write this passage. It remains to observe, that he *could* not, upon moral grounds, have written it. The object of the book,^c or books, of Gildas was to revile his countrymen for their "infatuated apostasy," for "their *almost open*^d sacrifices to the heathen deities," and for their devotion to the idle and foolish tales of secular men, among which he makes special mention of the Arthurian mysteries, or those "of the chariot^e [of] the receptacle of the Bear," which were still kept up by its charioteer Cynglas. He wrote in the most severe and indignant orthodoxy of the Latin church; and his warm protestation against the awful aberrations of the islanders, cannot be regarded as a feature of his composition, but as the entirety thereof, its only topic, and its only motive. But all are agreed with one voice in representing Ambrosius as the founder of the great sanctuary of Neo-Druidism, the master of all its sorceries, and the very fountain-head of Bardic doctrine. As such, the most learned and fanatical of the bards have acknowledged him. He has no other fame, and is never mentioned by his countrymen in any other spirit. If he be not such, he is nothing. Yet in every copy of Gildas he is entitled *vir modestus*, and in some *comis, fidelis, fortis, verax*. Is it upon the dæmon-begotten Ann ap Lleian entombed in the mount of election, the bellipotent Ambrose, the chief of enchanter Merlin Ambrose, that these praises are bestowed by the severe advocate of orthodoxy and

^c Perhaps those copies, which exhibit the whole as one treatise, are in the right.

^d Non gentium Dis perspicuè litant.

^e It is impossible to say, whether the genitives *currus receptaculi* stand in apposition or in government. I incline to think the latter.

ecclesiastical unity, and the scourge of all British heretics? Nothing concerning Ambrosius is so absolutely and undeniably certain as this; that whether his names were those of a man, or those of a divine and ideal being, they were names altogether appertaining to the heathenish delusions and magic of the age. And consequently, if the passage were free from the critical objections that shew it was not written by Gildas, it would still be impossible on moral grounds that he could have used such expressions. One of the foreign writers of the middle ages deduced, from what authorities can not be discovered, a more faithful character of the reign ascribed to Aurelius Ambrosius. It was Godfrey of Viterbo; who relates that Maximianus, colleague of Diocletian, held the regions of Britannia, and left behind him two legitimate sons, Aurelius and Uthyr; who lived in a secure retirement, while the monk Constans, their father's brother, reigned in Britain. Upon his being slain by Vortigern, Aurelius (after the usually narrated series of events) recovered the crown.

Attamen¹ admissâ patris feritate patrizat
 Et, prius inflixa, renovat tormenta remissa,
 Et tenet erroris degmata, plena dolis.
Æmulus ipse Dei, populi fit tutor Hebræi,
Arria scripta vehit, sectamque fovet Manichæi,
 Catholicique rei prorsus habentur ei.

The legends, which remain of the several fabulous British reigns, will at least furnish the names of some of the real persons who followed one another, probably in no slow succession, upon the bloody stage. The miraculous incarnation of Emmrys, in his capacity of the Ann ap

¹ Goth. Viterb. Pantheon, part xviii. p. 522. 527. ed. Pistorii. p. 470. 474. ap. Muratori Scr. Ital. tom. vii. Maximianus is here, as elsewhere, confounded with Maximus; and the British traditions concerning the latter are mixed up with the *Gerontian* fable of Constantinus of Arles and Constans.

Lleian, was first propounded by a certain^c Dunawd, a man of princely birth. An important part may be assigned to him in the beginnings of the Ambrosian regimen. The establishment of that system and fall of Vortigern were ascribed, with much of *moral* truth, though with anachronism, to the arts of Germanus of Auxerre. He set up one Ketel,^b or rather Cadell, to be a sovereign from having been a swine-herd, and promised that his family should never fail; and from him descended the princes of Powys-Land. Cadell was therefore an agent in that crisis; and the spirit of the Aurelian days seems to manifest itself in his surname, Cadell *Dwrnluch*,^d or of the *Revolving Radiance*.

^c Brut G. ap Arthur, etc. p. 258. This is the name written Dionotus in Latin; and he is perhaps the personage out of whom king Dionotus, father of St. Ursula, has been coined. Her name is Arthurian.

^b See Nennius, c. 54. *Herici Vita Germani* ap. Labbe Bibl. MSS. 1. p. 555. Cadell (says the author of the *Cambrian Biography*) reigned in Powys about the close of the 6th century. Yet he has the utter recklessness to subjoin, that he was the *great great-grandson* of Vortigern!

^d See Gale's Nennius, and Gunn's Nennius or Marcus. The latter spells it Catel Drunluc, p. 64.

CHAP. II.

ARTHUR AND HIS NEPHEW ELIWLOD.—THEIR DIALOGUE.—CIRCUMSTANCES OF IT.—MADAWG AND EROV.—MASSACRE OF INNOCENTS.—ELIWLOD AND MODRED EQUIVALENTS.—DRIFT AND MORAL OF THE DIALOGUE.

*Nomine Magnus erit, vulneribusque perit.
Nec perit omnino. Maris observabitur imo.
Vivere perpetuū poterit, ex ordine primo.
Ista tibi refero. Cætera claudio sinu.*

GOOTHOPREDUS VITERBENSIS.

§ 1. WE need not a second time dwell upon what follows in the mythical cycluſ, the fable of Tintagel, and our Celtic Amphitryon of alas! no comic muse; upon the Cornubian Alcmena or Olympias, and the miraculous conception of our Erewlf Mawr, Hercules the Great, “*sword-smiter of the rampart*,” and Alexander Mawr; and all the ensuing phantasmagoria. The fabulosity of Arthur was always suspected by many; and it was not in that point, but in the matter of Emmrys Wledig, that my former remarks appeared so far scanty, as to require an enlargement even at the risk of some iteration.

Arthur received the finishing stroke, when it was^b demonstrated

^b See Vol. I. pp. 110-125, 132-4. and suppl. pp. 223-5. I have long had the belief that Lancelot (who is unknown in British bardism, and whose name is unconnected with its language) was no subaltern hero of Arthurism, but a name invented on the continent to express its main personage. He ought to have *atchieved the St. Greal*, and *filled the Seat Perilous*; but fell short of that awful eminence, which was

that he, though he was merely a divine or dæmonolatrous title in British religion, and no British man or king, did yet signify a real man and king; and when it was clearly shewn, from the legends of Britain and Armorican Brittany¹ combined, both *what* man it was, and that it was a man who never set his foot in either of those Britannias. In our late discourse upon Ambrosius, we observed how strangely knowing Godfrey of Viterbo appeared to be. His "*cætera claudo sinu*" seems to imply that he possessed the secrets of Arthur.

But (without re-opening the whole subject) there is one passage concerning him, in which I am obliged to competent^m critics for explaining to me an error of translation into which I have fallen. It becomes necessary to examine that passage, with a view to correcting the inaccurate version; and at the same time to maintain the essential truth of the argument, which will remain untouched. It is in the translation contained in vol. 1. p. 88. Dr. Owen's Dictionary (or the work he has so entitled) by its studious omission of all words having a

reserved for Sir Galaad. The author of the great romance of Lancelot du Lac promises, in the outset, that he will explain why he was so named; but he never does so. That name is merely the romance form of expressing the name Wladislas or Ladislas. Ladislas, king of Naples, son to Charles of Durazzo, king of Naples and Hungary, is called by the historian Costanzo, "*il re Lanilao*," and by the Biographie Universelle, "*Ladislas ou Lancelot*." The Vaudois of Piedmont, in the translation of an address from the Taborites of Bohemia to Wladislas the 5th, king of Bohemia and Hungary, style him *el serenissimo rey Lancelau*. I believe the name Lancelot never had any existence, except as a translation of Ladislas into the dialects of the Latin countries. The name Ladislas first became illustrious in the person of Saint Ladislas, king of Hungary, who reigned gloriously from 1079 to 1095. Its value in mystical romance is to express a mighty and revered *King of the Huns*. And so it comes out in a shape substantially identical with that which Arthur has so clearly assumed.

¹ Combined with each other, and also with those of Germany and Scandinavia.

^m Allusion is here made to private, but written, communications. I have to acknowledge the value and correctness of some other suggestions (one in particular) but they are not of sufficient moment to revert to at present.

Latin etymon, and among the rest of *gras*, *gratia*, led me into the mistakes there committed, in the 5th and 6th of the lines cited.

Wyt and gwydd are spelt alike in old writings, but there is certainly no doubt of the former being, in this instance, the word meant; and it is equally true, that *o honi* is not used here as it is in the 38th^d Psalm, v. 16, but in the more ordinary sense.

However, in correcting the version of these three phrases, I am unable to subscribe to the further suggestions I have received, viz: that *gwasanaeth sul* signifies *Sunday church-service*; and that the concluding triplet merely informs Arthur that, if he misses church-service of a Sunday, he must not laugh until the next Sunday.

I am not aware, that those ancient bards, to whom we owe these englynion, were in the habit of employing such a phrase as *sul* for *dydd sul*; however it may obtain in modern and popular use. We find in the bard Aneurin, *Dydd sul llavneu rhudd*, etc.; in Taliesin, *Dydd sul y dybyddant*, etc. and the like again in the *Maelderw*. But if *sul* (*sol*) is thus familiarly used among them for *Dies Solis* I am unaware of it,

* With much surprise, I have seen it asserted that *o honynt* is not there used for *otherwise*. It is not improperly so used, in the sense of *absque his rebus*. But I merely assert as fact, on ocular testimony, that it is so used, both in the Bible and the Prayer Book; waving discussion upon the reasons. "For I said, *Hear me*, lest *otherwise* they should rejoice over me." "Cano dywedais, *gwrando vi*, rhag llawenychu *o honynt* i'm herbyn." Llawenychu *o honynt* cannot here mean "the rejoicing of them," for then *o honynt* would represent the English pronoun *THEY*, and consequently could not be in italics. Even where a double pronoun is used (as *eu llawenychu hwynt*) no italics are employed, because the words (no matter if increased in number) only translate others that stand in Roman characters. On the other hand, *rhag llawenychu* alone suffices to render "lest *THEY* should rejoice;" as in Zech. vii. 12, *rhag clywed*, lest they should hear. The Welsh Bible faithfully retains in italics every word so put in the English, (for —, myself—, in composition, is a syllable, not a word, and forms no exception) even to the case of elisions, as *a'i* and *o'u*; and equally abstains from introducing others. It is therefore a question of visible fact, and not of critical opinion, what word *o honynt* represents in the Bible and Prayer Book.

and wait for the instances. Moreover my advisers, in order to give effect to their construction, require me, in lieu of the plain words *Di e Sul eb rhaid, eb angen*, to read *Dydd sul heb rhaid heb angen*. But I cannot accommodate them to that extent. And the more so, as their construction further requires a monstrous interpretation of the last line, *hyd yr ail Sul na chwardd wen*. Having rendered the four first words "till another Sunday," they proceed to interpret the remainder thus, *chwardd*, laughter, *na*, is not, *gwen*, fair; meaning thereby, it will not be *fair*, right, or proper, for you to laugh, till the following Sunday! Any one with the least idea of the British idiom can appreciate that. I have translated it faithfully, and it offers no difficulty. But the other translation is absolutely barbarous. Besides, that *chwardd* twice before occurs; and in neither instance is it put for laughter, but for illusion, or a visible object imposing on the senses. In the third line the same critics employ the verb *cael* or *cavael* for "to hold, keep," or have in observance," instead of "to obtain, attain, or get;" which is its regular meaning, and that which it bears in the five other instances which this little poem supplies. So again in the fourth line, *ceisiaw* is employed for "to seek" simply, or "*go to*," instead of "seeking for," in which its proper sense it had been previously used. However, the distinction between service of the Sun and service of Sunday is not of that importance, which seems to be imagined; for the service of the Sun's day^p was that of the Sun. It was (as we know) both Lord's-day and Sabbath, in the Mithratic orgies of this island.

The last verbal dispute arises upon *heb eiriau llen*; which will bear

^a Thus making it do the duty of the verb *cadw*.

^p *Ecce enim Dies Solis adest; sic enim barbaries vocitare Diem Dominicum consuevit.* Greg. Turon. Hist. 3. c. 14.

several meanings, according as *llen*¹ is used for *veil* or for *learning*, and *eiriau* for itself, i. e. *refulgencies*, or for the truncation of *geiriau*, *words*. I cannot adopt the proposed version, "without the words of learning" (meaning without the church service on Sunday), simply for the reasons above shewn, viz: that the other translation, which it requires and supposes, would be absurd and untenable. But having perceived that *geiriau* previously occurs in its form of *eiriau*, I have judged it better to interpret it, "If thou wilt have me speak in plain, unveiled, or undisguised words;" which is just as literal a version.

§ 2. Having hazarded these grammatical remarks which will be interesting to a very few, I will endeavour to lay before the reader the whole of this singular production, and then subjoin some comments upon it.

DIALOGUE OF ARTHUR AND ELIWLOD.

1. ARTH.

Ys rhyveddav, cyd bwyv bardd,
Ar vlaen dâr a'i brig yn'hardd
Pa edrych eryr, pa chwardd.

2. ERYR.

Arthur bell glod oddiwes
A'th llu llawenydd a'th lles,
Yr eryr gynt a'th weles.

3. ARTH.

Y sydd rhyveddav o du mur,
A'th ovynav yn teaur
Pa chwardd, pa edrych eryr.

4. ERYR.

Arthur bell glod yn hynt
A'th llu llawenych dremynt,
Yr eryr a'th weles gynt.

ARTH.

I wonder, seeing I am² a bard,
On the top of the oak and its branches on high
What the vision of an eagle, what the illusion.

EAGLE

Arthur, who hast attained distant fame,
Joy and advantage of thine host,
The eagle heretofore hast thou seen.

ARTH.

I wonder at thy station by the side of the wall,
And I will ask of thee in metre
What the illusion, what the vision, of an eagle.

EAGLE.

Arthur whose fame hath travelled far,
And whose host is of gladsome aspect,
The eagle hast thou seen heretofore.

¹ The mark over the vowel, *lên*, was not employed in the writing of the more ancient scribes.

² Another would not have known it was a phantom, but would have thought it a real bird.

5. ARTH.

Yr eryr a vai ar vlaen dar
Pei hanvydd o'r rhyw adar,
Ny byddid ti na do na gwar.

6. ERYR.

Arthur, gieddydawg uthyr,
Ni sai dim gun dy rhuthyr,
My yw mab Madawg ab Uthyr.

7. ARTH.

Yr eryr ni wn ei rhyw
A dreigla glyneu Cernyw.
Mab Madawg ab Uthyr nid byw.

8. ERYR.

Arthur iaith gyvrwyslid,
A'th lle nis gwradyddlid,
Eliwlad gynt im gelwid.

9. ARTH.

Yr eryr olwg diwai
A'r dy'madrawdd nid oes vai,
A'i di yw Eliwlad vy nai?

10. ERYR.

Arthur dihavarch osod
Os my ydyw Eliwlad
Ai gwiw ymgystlwn o honod?

11. ARTH.

Yr eryr barablau dirvad,
Os di ydyw Eliwlad
Ai gwiw ymladd amdanod?

12. ERYR.

Arthur dibavarch ateb
Ni sai gelyn i'th wyneb,
Rhag engau ni ddianc neb.

13. ARTH.

Yr eryr iaith diymgel,
Allai neb drwy rhyvel
Yn vyw eilwalth dy gaffel.

ARTH.

Eagle, being on the top of the oak,
If thou beest of the race of birds,
Thou canst not be either domestic or tame

EAGLE.

Arthur, glacial portent,
Before whose onset nothing stands,
I am the son of Madoc son of Uthyr.

ARTH.

I know not the kind of the eagle
[As one] that frequents the vales of
The son of Madoc ap Uthyr liveth :

EAGLE.

Arthur of speech both subtle and fier,
Whose host is of unreprouched wrath
Eliwlad erewhile was I called.

ARTH.

Eagle of blameless aspect
And whose discourse is not evil,
Art thou Eliwlad my nephew?

EAGLE.

Arthur audacious in the onset,
If I be Eliwlad
Am I a good connexion of thine?

ARTH.

Eagle, untreachorous in discourse,
If thou art Eliwlad,
Was the battle-slaughter good around thee?

EAGLE.

Arthur, audacious in answering,
Before whose face no enemy standeth,
From death there is no escape.

ARTH.

Eagle, undisguised of speech,
No one could through war
Bring thee to life again.

* How, then, can I have seen thee before?

14. ERYR.

Arthur bendeſg haellion,
O chredir geiriau y ganou,
A Duw nid gwiw ymryson.

15. ARTH.

Yr eryr barabl eglur
A ddywedi di wrth Arthur
Pa beth sydd drwg iw wneuthur ?

16. ERYR.

Meddylaw drwg drwy avrddwl
A thrigaw yn hir in y meddwl
A elwir pechawd a chwl.

17. ARTH.

Yr eryr barabl doethav,
It dy hun y govynav
Bodd Duw pa ddelw yr haeddav ?

18. ERYR.

Caru Duw o vryd unlawn
Ac erchi archau cyviawn
A hair nev a bydawl dawn.

19. ARTH.

Yr eryr gwir vynegi,
Os llwyr, ovynav iti,
Ai da gan Christ ei voll ?

20. ERYR.

Arthur ydwyd gadarnav.
Ar^a dwr gwr gwiw obeithiav.
Pob yspryd moled ei Nav.

21. ARTH.

Yr eryr rhadlawn vywyd
I'th ovynav heb ergyd,
Pwy sy nesav, ob Yspryd ?

22. ERYR.

Arthur disegur llavnau,
[A cw]yddalist o gur gan waedau,
Crist yw ev cred nag am au.

EAGLE.

Arthur, dignitary among the generous,
If the words of the canon shall be believed,
With God contention is not good.

ARTH.

Eagle clear of speech,
Wilt thou say unto Arthur
What thing is evil for him to do ?

EAGLE.

To purpose evil with premeditation,
And to abide long in the purpose,
Is called sin and failure.

ARTH.

Eagle, most wise in discourse,
Of thyself will I enquire,
How shall I attain to God's approbation ?

EAGLE.

To love God with righteous mind,
And ask upright requests,
Procures heaven and the mundane gift.

ARTH.

Eagle, veracious in declaring,
If it be correct, I will ask thee,
Is the praising of him ¹ good in Christ's sight ?

EAGLE.

Arthur, thou art the most mighty.
On the tower I will expect the excellent hero.
Let every spirit praise it's Lord.

ARTH.

Eagle of serene existence,
Without intrusion I will ask thee,
Who doth the spirit say is nearest ?²

EAGLE.

Arthur, restless with blades, [sheddings,
[Who hast fa]llen by the pain of thy blood-
Christ it is, whose faith is not concerning false-
hoods.

¹ Viz. of Arthur. See above, st. 16.

² We should read *ar ddwr*, upon the water; because the Eagle, though near to the mur, was upon the oak; and because Arthur's aphanism was upon the water.

³ Either to God or to the truth.

23. ARTH.

Yr eryr barabl addav
A ovynav o hyd lleu,
Beth ore i gelstau ner ?

24. ERYR.

Ediseirweh am trawsedd
A gobeithlaw y drugaredd,
Hyn a bair y tangnevedd.

25. ARTH.

Yr eryr barabl diwg
A vynegi di yn amlwg,
I wneuthur be sy drwg.

26. ERYR.

Meddylhaw brad anghywyr
A chelu meddwl yn hir
Cwbl pechawd y gelwir.

27. ARTH.

Yr eryr barabl tawel
A dywedl di heb ymgel,
Beth a bair ym i ochel ?

28. ERYR.

Gweddiaw Duw bob plygeint
A dymunaw cael maddeuaint
Ac erchi cynnorthwy 'r Saint.

29. ARTH.

Yr eryr barabl didlawd
I'rh ovynav ar draethawd,
Pa vath waetha ar bechawd.

30. ERYR.

Arthur o derchawg doethiaith,
Gwedi prover pob cyvraith
Owaetha bernir anobaith.

31. ARTH.

Yr eryr barabl ovydd
A vynegi yn gelvydd,
O anobaith beth a vydd.

ARTH.

Eagle speaking words of acknowledgment
I will ask, the while I cry out,*
What is the course to seek for heaven ?

EAGLE.

Repentance for perverseness,
And to hope for mercy,
This procureth peace.

ARTH.

Eagle not ungracious in speech,
Declare thou with clearness,
What thing it is evil to do.

EAGLE.

To meditate unrighteous treason
And conceal your purpose long
Is called complete sin.

ARTH.

Eagle, gentle in discourse,
Speak thou without reserve,
What shall enable me to escape ?

EAGLE.

Praying God at every dawn,
And seeking to obtain remission,
And asking the aid of the Saints.

ARTH.

Eagle, not poor of speech,
I will question thee on thy discourse,
Of what sort is the worst that happens to sin.

EAGLE.

Arthur of the elevated language of wisdom,
After experiencing every law,<[†]
The worst is to be judged without hope.

ARTH.

Eagle, with the speech of a teacher,
Declare in mystic lore,
Of the hopeless what shall become.

* Even while my wounds make me cry out.

† Qu : every stage of metempsychosis ?

32. ERYR.

Heuddu hir boen uffernawl
A caffol cwymp anesgorawl
A cholli Daw 'n dragwyddawl.

33. ARTH.

Yr eryr iaith ymadaw
A'th ovyndav rhag llaw,
Ai gore dim gobeithiaw?

34. ERYR.

Arthur ardderchawg cynan,
O myni o vyd gavel rhan
Wrth gadarn gobalith gwan.

35. ARTH.

Yr eryr barabl cywir
It dy hun y govyndir,
Pan nad cadarn perchen tir?

36. ERYR.

Arthur ardderchawg wyddva,
Na choll Dovydd o'r Alfa
Y cadernyd yw'r pennav.

37. ARTH.

Yr eryr barabl diau
A'th ovyndav ar elriau,
Ond yw cadarn vinnau.

38. ERYR.

Arthur ben cadoedd Cernyw,
Ardderchawg, viniawg o lliw,
Nid cadarn neb ond Duw.

EAGLE.

To obtain the long penance infernal,
And get an irrecoverable fall,
And lose God to eternity.

ARTH.

Eagle of speech about to depart,
I will ask of thee previously,
Is there a course devoid of hope?

EAGLE.

Arthur of exalted eloquention,
If thou wouldst obtain a share of the world,
With the mighty hope is weak.

ARTH.

Eagle, sincere of speech,
Of thyself it shall be asked,
When is not the mighty possessor of the earth?

EAGLE.

Arthur, exalted gwyddva,¹
Not to lose God or the Alpha¹
Is the summit of mightiness.

ARTH.

Eagle, certain in thy speech,
I will question thee on thy words:
Except that I myself am mighty.

EAGLE.

Arthur, head of the battles of Cornwall,
Exalted one, acute-edged of shape,
None is mighty excepting God.

¹ This untranslatable word signifies "the place of presence," or that wherein the Deity makes himself personally manifest; being compound of *ma*, a place, and *gwydd*, presence. *Gwydd* is also knowledge. And *gwydd* means *trees*; which is probably the radical sense, and borrowed from the Druids, whose religion and philosophy was entirely among, and connected with, trees. The Druidists of the Mithraic and Judaizing apostasy seem to have transferred the notion of a grove to their own haunts so different in appearance. See above, p. 7. p. 16, n. 8. As applied to a person, it should bespeak an indwelling deity.

¹ See *Awd. Vraith*, p. 93, 4. *Dirregwawd*, p. 95. *Cyffes*, p. 100.

² "I submit to you, that..."

39. ARTH.

Yr eryr iaith diarfordd
A'th ovyndav heb valdordd,
Beth a wna Duw a goagordd?

40. ERYR.

Goagordd os gwir i voll,
Os cyviawn cyverchi,
Ni rhydd Duw uffern arni.

41. ARTH.

Yr eryr iaith trymgarn
A'th ovyndav yn gadarn,
Pwy dydd brawd a rhydd barn?

42. ERYR.

Arthur ardderchawg wyddva,
Gorchest gwir a deua^a
Duw ei hun a varna.

43. ARTH.

Yr eryr newawl dynged,
A'r na chavas i weled
Beth a wna Crist i'r rhai cred.

44. ERYR.

Arthur vyddva llawenydd
A'th llu buost llwyr gynydd,
Dy hun dydd brawd a'i gwybydd.

45. ARTH.

Yr eryr barabl rtychoedd
A'th ovyndav berchen torvoedd,
Dydd brawd beth a wna i bobloedd.

46. ERYR.

Arthur ardderchawg llamprhe
A'th wir wiriondeb hagd'le,
Yna y gwybydd pawb ei lle.

47. ARTH.

Yr eryr barabl diwustyl^c
A'th ovyndav heb gynvil,
Ai da cael gwasanaeth sul?

ARTH.

Eagle of intricate speech,
I will ask thee without trifling,
What doeth God with [my] retinue?

EAGLE.

If the retinue be sincere to worship,
If upright in praying together,
God will not give hell to them.

ARTH.

Eagle of speech, dismal as the grave,
I will ask thee in my mightiness,
Who shall give judgment in the doomsday?

EAGLE.

Arthur, exalted gwyddva.
Sacred enigma of the divided-place,
God himself shall judge.

ARTH.

Eagle of celestial destiny,
Hast thou not obtained to see
What Christ doeth to those who believe?

EAGLE.

Arthur, gwyddva of gladness,
With thy host thou wert a complete huntsman,
Thy self shall know the judgment-day.

ARTH.

Eagle, with the speech of " * * * * *,"^b
I will ask of thee the owner of hosts, {tiles?}
What shall the judgment-day do to the Gen-

EAGLE.

Arthur, exalted swiftly-moving lamp,
Whose pure innocency is gash-extinguish'd,
There shall each one know his place.

ARTH.

Eagle, *not fitter*^c in discourse,
I will ask of thee without offence,
Is it good for the sun to obtain service?

^a For the explanation of this remarkable phrase, see above, p. 17.

^b Probably "spirits;" from *bwc*, the same as *bwg* and *pwca*. But I do not find the word in this precise form. And *ducks* would make no sense.

^c From *bustl*, gall. *Dibystyl*, from *pystyl*, was substituted without necessity.

48. ERYR.

Gwasanaeth sul o chessi,
A gras gan Duw gwedi,
Gwynvydedig wyt o honi.

49. ARTH.

Yr eryr barabl divri
A'th ovyndw dros Gelli,
Beth ym o bydda hebddi.

50. ERYR.

O byddi heb ciriau llen,
Di e* sul, eb rhaid, eb angen,
Hyd yr ail sul na chwaraidd wen.

51. ARTH.

Yr eryr barabl hynod
A'th ovyndw in hynaid,
Beth ore rhag enaid.

52. ERYR.

Pader a gweddian
A dirwest a chardodan
A dioddev enaid hyd angau.

EAGLE.

If thou seekest to have the service of the sun,
And favour with God afterwards,
Blessed art thou by reason thereof.

ARTH.

Eagle^d condescending in discourse,
By the Concealed-God I will ask thee,
What shall be mine, if I shall be without it?

EAGLE.

If thou wilt have unveiled discourse,
Thou art the sun, saith Necessity, saith Destiny,
Until the other sun of no illusory lustre.

ARTH.

Eagle of very notable discourse,
I will ask thee in all security,
What is the course for the soul?

EAGLE.

The Pater and prayers,
And fasting and charities,
And calmness^f of the soul until death.

§ 3. In considering this curious production, we will begin with the parties. Arthur himself appears in that mysterious state of life-in-death, which he was supposed to enjoy and suffer, after his deadly wound in the Cam-llan. His natural life had been extinguished by the gash (st. 46.) from the hand of Medrawd, which cleft his skull and brains; and he had fallen (st. 22.) by his bloodsheddings. When he died, or quitted natural life, Excalibar (the Hunno-Scythic Acinaces) was seen to vanish in the air. And in such form, ensiform, Arthur reappears in this colloquy. For he is termed "the glacial portent," (st. 6.) cleddydawg, which answers to *μαχαίριον τίρας*, not to *μαχαίρο-*

^d Divri, without honour, i. e. not claiming or assuming honour. Though it may signify not paying honour or flattering.

^e E is the ancient spelling for y. See Owen's Grammar, p. 9. ed. 1832.

^f Dioddev, impassibility.

φάρος, and again (st. 38.) he is accosted as "the acute-edged of shape," to which I can attach no other sense. It is precisely the same sense as that of his mystical name Llyminawg,^g i. e. *having an edge intensely acute*. It is certain, that this poem reveals to us the slain Arthur, in his enchanted Ynys Avallon; the dead-alive Adonis (or Memnon^h) of the mysteries. This state of life-in-death began to attract more attention, as paganism, stript of its false glare, began to subside into mere magic, and the pretended apotheosis, into necromancy. Persons in that state were called Biothanati, i. e. *Having Life in Death*; as, in the converse, Thanatobii would have signified *Dead in Life*. That word has been improperly confounded with bisathanati,ⁱ i. e. *dying by violence*. The heathen demi-gods were regarded by the Christians as persons who had attained to the state of Biothanati. So Comodian says of Sylvanus and other such deities,

Unum quære Deum qui post mortem vivere dat,^k
Secede ab istis, qui sunt biothanati facti.

Arthur, at the time of this poem's action, is not living, but factus biothanatus.

He is conversing with his nephew Eliwlod, son of his brother Madawg ap Uthyr Pendragon. We know little indeed of this brother; not so much as his mother's name. But his own name means Serpentine, having the nature of, or some relation to, a serpent. He is the earliest on record of the numerous Madocs. He has been celebrated

^g See Vol. I. p. 117, 8. The sword Arthur, or sword of Arthur, vanished over the water; and in st. 20, as I have expressed my opinion in p. 30, note, his return is said to be "expected on the water."

^h Whose legend, in this respect, differs not from that of Adonis.

ⁱ See Tertullian de Animâ, c. 57.

^k Commod. c. xiv. p. 18. Pisaur. This author lived about A. D. 200. He wrote in accentuated hexameters, without quantity.

as one of the three¹ golden-tongued knights whose discourse was so persuasive that no man could refuse them ought; if, indeed, his son's name be not accidentally omitted in the text of that Triad. For, in another series² of Triads, his son Eliwlod ap Madawg is so described, and with the same two companions. The Triad next following the one last-cited describes the all-persuasive eloquence of Medrawd, in almost the same words. Medrawd (or Modred) is always termed the nephew of Arthur. Had he then two such eloquent nephews, both gifted alike? Or do Medrawd and Eliwlod, in different mythi, bear the same value and express the same idea? Considering the 10th and 11th stanzas of this poem, I am led to the latter conclusion. The question and rejoinder contained in them seem to allude, in a tone of some little taunt and bitterness, to the harm they had inflicted on each other; and induce us to think, that Eliwlod is that nephew that fell with Arthur by mutual wounds.

To this purpose we may quote those curious old verses, by which alone some darkness visible (if not light) is thrown over the concerns of Pendragon's lesser son. They are entitled:

MADAWG THE HERO AND EROV THE TYRANT.

Of Madoc, intellect of the "Ram-	Erov was the tyrant
part,	Of the helpless West.
Of Madoc ere was the grave,	Unavailing sorrow
To the "Dinas there was abun-	The tyrant Erov caused
dance	To the <i>brattau</i> of Jesus
Of games and festal meetings.	And of the believers in Him,
Son of Uthyr! ere was slain	The earth shuddering,
By his hand thy pledge,	The elements wandering,

¹ Triads 3. 115.

² Tr. 1. 82.

* Usual terms, to express the pseudo-Druidical stone circles of the 5th century.

The world quaking,
And baptism trembling.
An unavailing step
Did Erov the tyrant take ;

To go in due course
Among the grim demons
To the bottom of hell.

Madawg ap Uthyr is here described as being, by some other means, dead. The violent death inflicted by the unknown Erov was not the death of Madawg, but that of *his pledge*, by which we can scarcely choose but understand his son ; and he had no son (that we hear of) except Eliwlod. Erov is an unheard of name, which seems to me to be an alteration of Erod, i. e. Herod ; to whom, and to his massacre of innocents, mysterious allusions were made^o by the Bards. The word *brattau* is utterly impracticable as a British word ; and it must be a British plural to the Anglo-Saxon word *bratt*, from which the English *brat*, a young child, is understood to be derived. The inference is, that some Herod or Herov in the western parts of Britain committed a massacre of innocents. To which effect, we read that Merlin^d informed king Arthur, that a child born on May-day would be his destroyer. Arthur consequently directed all such children to be sent to him. And his nephew Modred was among them. Arthur put them all into a vessel and turned it adrift on the sea, where they nearly all were drowned, excepting the fatal Modred, who was washed ashore and saved. Thus it was that the tyrant “took an unavailing step,” and ultimately perished. Hence arises strong confirmation, that the nephew Eliwlod is the very nephew Medrawd, who, having escaped the fate of the other innocents, survived to die by the hands of the Cornubian Herod,

^o Mar. Milveib. p. 170. Llath Voesen n^o. 1. p. 42. Neo-Druid. Her. p^t. 1. p. 131, 2.

^p That word is usually said to mean *rags*, and brat from thence to denote a ragged child. But it is more probable that the Saxon word itself was used in the sense of brat. However, these lines were perhaps composed in English and not in Saxon days.

^d Mort Arthur, Book 1. c. ult.

and, at the same time, hurl him to hell. We must observe, that Erov was tyrant of the West "ere Madawg's pledge was slain;" therefore, it seems, not subsequently; and therefore (again) the deaths of Erov and the son of Madawg were synchronical, which is the peculiar case of Medrawd and Arthur. These verses have the unusual character of a violent Medrodian and Anti-Arthurian poem; and give us an inkling of two rival forms of the great heresy.

The nephew of Arthur appears to him in the shape of an eagle, seated on the summit of an oak tree, by the side of the *mur*, (wall or rampart) by which name the sanctuaries of the sect were frequently denoted. That the Eagle was a known form of those dead-alive persons, who had passed out of the natural into the magical state of life, may be inferred from the history of Llew Llawgyves in the Mabinogi of Math.

§ 4. The character of this poem is not Medrodian, like the poem of Madawg and Erov. But its tendency is to reduce Arthur's pretensions into subordination to an higher system of religion, which is dressed up in some of the forms and phrases of Christianity. The Eagle represents him, much against his wish, as an accountable agent. Nor is this a peculiar, or a very unusual, circumstance. In their *Dirge of Hercules the Great*, though in other respects an ode of as high Mithriacal Arthurism as can be, the Bards conclude with intimating that their Hercules would obtain final mercy from the Trinity. In their *Marvels of Alexander the Great*, which boast of his miraculous conception, descent to Hades, ascension to heaven, and visit to the boundaries of the universe, they conclude with promising him "at his end, mercy from God."

¹ Ap. Cambrian Qu.: Mag. vol. 1.

² Vol. 1. p. 113.

³ See Neo-Druid. Heresy, Part 1. p. 114, note.

Swedenborg, a heretic whom I judge to be almost in Neo-Druidism, represents^a the theism derived from the Magi as twofold, some owning an invisible, and some only a visible, Jehovah. The former is the teaching of this poet's Eliwlod.

Amidst the common-places in this Dialogue, we may distinguish one sentiment truly Bardic. To Arthur's question, wherein moral evil consists, (st. 16 and 26) the Eagle answers that it consists in deliberate treason. By men whose life was a hidden compact and a conspiracy, nothing was accounted evil, save betraying the secret affairs, however nefarious, into which they were initiated.

The upshot of its doctrine is, that the ensiform Arthur in Avallon was a being responsible, at a day of final consummation, to the Supreme Power; that, at that day, a Sun of more manifest effulgence should supersede the Sun of the mysteries; but that, in the mean while, Arthur was that Sun of the mysteries, the "exalted swiftly-moving lamp," and the "sacred ænigma of the sanctuary."

Such a minority and unaccountability of the great dæmon of Neo-Druidism was, it has just been said, from time to time alluded to. That minority does not (as I apprehend) exhibit to us an Arian or created *Crist Celi*, but a Manichæan^v or emanated. And Gnostical emanations of every degree may be considered as having responsibility; that of a part to its whole, and a derivation to its source.

^a Apoc. Revel. p. 20.

^v See Pearson on the Creed, l. p. 237. London, 1821.

CHAP. III.

THE BRITISH EASTER.—SULPICIOUS SEVERUS.—MARTIN OF TOURS.—
FLORUS KING OF THE HUNNS.—THE SEVEN SLEEPERS.—SONG OF THE
PLAGUES AND PASSOVER.—BRITISH AND IRISH TONSURE.

*Maximè incongruum et indecorum videbatur, ut in tam solenni religionis nostræ
festo esset dissensio, ut iisdem diebus alii jejuniis vacarent, alii agitarent convivia.*

J. SMITH IN BEDAN.

§ 1. THE internal evidences of the British defection have not been supported by numerous evidences of external history. Gildas indeed speaks of it expressly ; but with little of explanation, and with as much^a of timidity as wrath. We learn however from him, that it was essentially paganism or a worship of some of the “ Dii gentium,” but hidden under a cloak of dissimulation. It is not, that external history bears much testimony in favour of the islanders. Of such, there is scarcity enough. But, in fact, we possess little or no clear history of the affairs of this island, after it had ceased to be part of the empire, and before it became essentially Saxon. It is probable, the separation from the empire and the religious falling away were nearly of equal date ; although the latter was, in the first instance, far more veiled and dissembled than Gildas had seen it. Some historical gleanings, not unimportant, remain to be made.

About the commencement of the fifth century, a curious incident of

^a See the strictures on him in *Neo-Druid. Heresy*, part 1. p. 91, 2.

ecclesiastical history occurred, and one which I humbly consider as applicable to this subject. The Britons then abandoned the mode of computing Easter, and the time of celebrating it, used throughout the churches of the Roman empire.

The catholic church from the beginning celebrated the crucifixion and resurrection in an annual commemoration. But the apostolic tradition was not fixt and uniform as to the time. The churches^r founded by St. John in Asia kept their pascha on the day of the Jewish passover, or 14th day of the month Nisan or Abib, according to the Jewish cycle of 84 years; and kept the feast of the resurrection three days afterwards, and, of course, upon any day of the week. The other churches of Christendom^s seem to have fixed the recurrence of that anniversary by the same cycle, but so that the yearly feast of the resurrection should be had on the weekly feast thereof, (that is, on the una sabbati or Sunday,) which should fall upon the 16th day of that month to the 22nd inclusive. When the Nicene council ordained an uniformity in this respect, those congregations in Asia who persevered in rejecting its decisions and keeping their old passover were called the Quartodecimans; and to them that title properly belongs.

The British (as St. Adhelm^a intimates) received from Sulpicius Severus a cycle of 84 years, according to which the feast in question was to be celebrated on the Sunday, which should fall upon the 14th to the 20th inclusive.

At a later period (when the dispute was^b handled by Wilfrid and

^r See Barton's Hist. of the Church, A. D. 158. Prideaux Conn. book iv. part 2.

^s Usher Brit. Eccl. p. 480.

^a Juxta Sulpicii Severini regulam, qui 84 annorum cyclum descripsit, XIV Luna com Judæis paschale sacramentum celebrant. Adhelm's Epistle to Geraint, British Prince of Devon, apud Alford Annal. Eccl. Brit. ann. 692. p. 419.

^b See Bedæ Hist. Eccl. 3. c. 25. 5. c. 22.

Colman, at the council of Whitby) the Western Church was in possession of the compound cycle of Dionysius Exiguus, and computed Easter Sunday from the 15th to the 21st, and no longer from the 16th to the 22nd, inclusive. That council was in A.D. 664, and has no relation to the epoch we treat of. But both of these schemes agreed in condemning the 14th of the vernal moon, as a Judaistic feast. "Let us (said St. Cyrill^c) celebrate the passover on the Lord's Day following, and not on the 14th moon, with the Jews, and the heretics who are termed *Tessaresdekatitæ*." This was the gravamen of the dispute, and obtained for the British churches the epithet of Quartodeciman, borrowed from the purer Judaism of the Asiatics.

It is an ascertained fact, that, during the reign of Constantine the Great, the British church was in harmony with all the churches of the West in its paschal ordinances. The synod of Arles, A.D. 314, was attended, and its decrees subscribed, by the bishops of Britannia; and its first canon^d enacted, *ut uno die et tempore Pascha per omnem orbem celebretur*. And the Epistle of Constantine, *ad Omnes Ecclesias*, in A.D. 325, condemns the Jewish Paschal, and affirms that the *decens ordo*^e was then observed *uno et consentiente consilio* throughout Spain, Gaul, and Britannia. Therefore the paschal schism, beyond all doubt,

^c Cyrill. ad Synod. Carthag. cit. Cummiani Epist. ap. Usher Vet. Epist. Hibern. p. 32.

^d Spelman Concilia, p. 30.

^e Spelman, *ibid.* p. 45.

^f When Mr. Roberts, in his *Dissertation on the Ancient British Church*, says, "Previous to the time of Sulpicius it is probable that the Gallican and British Churches followed the rule of Polycarp, and observed it on the 14th day of the moon of *March*," (sic) he seems to style that probable, of which the contrary is altogether certain. *Collect. Cambr.* p. 320, note. That Dissertation is not worthy of being quoted in such a work as the *Horæ Decanæ Rurales*; where it is said, from Roberts' *Dissert.* p. 316, that "the British Church observed the rule of the Gallican as to the time of keeping Easter." But if that learned author held the Dissertation worthy of

invaded this island in times subsequent to Constantine's. But it is almost a moral impossibility for that to have occurred while the Roman government continued to be regularly established in Britain, without some allusion to its occurrence either in historical or theological authors. Consequently, we must assign it to those days of confusion and dismemberment, in which it was the lot of Sulpicius Severus to live. In those considerations we shall find a potent confirmation of the bishop of Shireburne.

From the primitive days of Polycarp, or at least from those of Victor and Irenæus, the matter of Easter had been one of moment to the peace of the Church. And if it had been the wish of Sulpicius to destroy the communion between this island and the churches of the continent, he could not have adopted a shrewder method than to excite a paschal schism, and set the one feasting while the others were fasting.

It is to no great purpose, that ^aArchbishop Usher (who wrote without suspicion of the real characters of Sulpicius, Germanus,^b Lupus, and Palladius, and the part they were privily acting in these islands) refers his conduct to the desire of obtaining a medium, between the discordant computes of Alexandria and Rome. For it appears certain that Sulpicius promulgated no such doctrine in his own country, and that no paschal controversy arose in Gaul. He sought no medium between computes on the Roman continent. It is strange that he should introduce into a foreign land a custom which he never attempted

reference, he might have observed that Mr. Roberts himself (in p. 321) qualified his untenable assertion, by saying, "their own custom was derived from the Gallican Church in the person of Sulpicius."

^a Brit. Eccl. p. 493. ed. 1687.

^b A corner of the veil which covers these men is lifted in the Neo-Druid. Her. Part 1. p. 149—51.

to introduce into his own, and which (of course) he did not follow himself. We can conceive that one deeply impressed with some doctrinal heresy (the Arian for instance) might in his zeal export it to a foreign land, when unable or afraid to vend it at home. But the same thing becomes monstrous, when applied to a point of ritual, a division upon which involved perturbation and discord, without ministering to any known feelings or principles.

Usher, who considers the separation of this island from the empire of Honorius to have occurred in A. D. 408, assigns the year 410¹ for the introduction of the paschal schism by Sulpicius. For this he can scarce have had any authority. But he proceeds, no doubt, upon the conviction that no such thing could have passed unnoticed in Britain, whilst it was united to Rome, and its history was part of the history of the empire. Therein he judged very soundly. The confusion and novelties which immediately followed the separation were convenient for this change.

§ 2. It is unknown at what time Sulpicius died. But it is certain from his writings, that he survived Martin his master by some years. And the question arises when Martin died. It is one veiled in great mystery, and most unaccountable prevarication. One of his successors in the see of Tours, Gregorius Turonensis, affirms² that he was born in the 11th year of Constantine, and died in his own 81st year, which yields the year 397 for that of his death. And again, that he became³ bishop in the 8th of Valens, and continued so twenty-six years, four months, and twenty-seven days, after which the see was vacant twenty days. Which equally brings us down to A. D. 397. A third statement is, that he died in the second⁴ year of Arcadius and Honorius; which

¹ In the Index Chronologicus.

² Hist. x. c. 31.

³ Hist. l. c. 24. x. c. 31.

⁴ Greg. Turon. l. c. 48.

year ended in the January of 397, but the same date is clearly meant. These statements, thus diverse in form, but agreeing in result, exclude the possibility of mistake; and are necessarily deliberate. I know not why this bishop of Tours has thrice deliberately averred a falsehood. But such we must esteem it. In the first place, he furnishes a twofold contradiction to it himself. For he declares, that Clovis^a died 112 years after Martin's death, which method gives the year 399; and is, virtually, followed by John^b of Fordun, who says that Martin died in the 5th year of Honorius. And, again, Gregory^c twice directly asserts,

^a Greg. Turon. L. 2. c. ult.

^b Scotichron. c. 9.

^c Greg. L. 1. c. ult. L. 10. c. ult. We must however observe that his words are "a passione Domini" and "a resurrectione Domini" "anni 412"; which, taken as expressed, would prorogue Martin's death to A. D. 445. But it seems to pass belief, that Gregory could intend to offer such a date, as would involve the history of his diocese in manifest confusion, by swallowing up the whole episcopate of Briccio or St. Brice, the successor of Martin. For by his own showing (L. 10. c. 31) that bishop died, and was succeeded by Eustochius, in A. D. 444. The date of 445 would offend against common notoriety. In vol. 1. p. vii. I observed that the Book of Saint Greal exhibits the date of "717 years after the passion of Christ," and inferred that his nativity was thereby meant; on the authority of the bard Meilyr, who thus identifies our Lord's passion with his incarnation.

Jesus exists in the womb of martyrdom,

Good Mary bears the burthen of that pregnancy.

Asser, bishop of St. David's, accepts Gregory's words in the same sense; and is good authority, being a Briton by birth and education.

We may approach to the same conclusion by another way. Martin was succeeded by Briccio, his greatest adversary; who in his lifetime had boldly confronted him and exposed the hollowness of his pretensions, and in his turn had been vilified to the utmost by Martin. In the *thirty-third* year of his episcopate he was expelled from his see by a riot among the Turonians, who imputed to him fornication with his washerwoman, and successively intruded into it the schismatic bishops Justinian and Armentius. Briccio was obliged to retire to Rome, where his innocence was recognized by the apostolic father; and, after seven years exile, he was restored to his see by the interference of that prelate. It is odd, that his enemies should have smothered up their hatred of Briccio for thirty-three years. As he seems to have been a prominent character at Tours before the death of Martin, he probably succeeded him towards the middle age of his life; and must have been far declined in the vale of years when

that St. Martin departed this life in A. D. 412; wherein he is followed by bishop Asser in his *Annals*. The dissonant assertions of this prevaricating witness can be traced to no assignable motive; but they prove, that he had *some* motive for wishing the year of Martin's death to be unknown. They are all refuted by the companion and survivor of Martin; with whose writings⁹ bishop Gregory was acquainted. For Sulpicius^r himself, speaking of the Synod held at Treves in A. D. 386, Evodius being consul, says of Martin, *sedecim postea vixit annos, nullam synodum adiit*, by which account he must have died before the commencement of the year 403. Unless it can be supposed that sixteen years of abstinence from Synods, and not sixteen years of life, are signified, (which supposition would extend his life further, but seems in all respects unlikely,) his words are conclusive that Martin died in * A. D. 402; at which time he was aged 86. Since we learn from Gennadius, that Sulpicius Severus himself attained to an advanced

these amorous pranks are said to have been laid to his charge. But if there existed a practice of naming the passion and resurrection to signify the nativity, then A. D. 33 will signify A. D. 1, and the *thirty-third* year of St. Brice signifies *his first* year. The form of expression, which seems to add 33 years to Martin's life, converts the 1st year of his successor into the 33rd; and bishop Asser's interpretation of that form of expression brings it back again to its place. That is the truth of the case. The Martinist rebellion and intrusions took place almost immediately upon the election of Brice. And the ambiguous expression of the Christian era is made a cloak for those transactions, to which he elsewhere lends an oblique sanction (2. c. 14. c. 26) by a computation that (without naming them) includes Justinian and Armentius among the bishops of Tours. Upon what heretical principle this mode of expressing the era of the nativity was adopted, is surmised in vol. 1. p. vii. note.

Sulpicius Severus had previously used the passion of Christ, really meaning A. D. 33, as an era. *Hist. Sacra*, L. 2. c. 11. And the like is done by the British author of the second Cottonian appendix to Nennius, p. 118.

⁹ L. 10. c. 31.

^r Dial. 3. c. 13. Vit. Martin, c. 20.

* He is reputed to have died on the eleventh of November. Summarth. *Gallia Christiana*, 1. p. 734. ed. 1656.

age, there is no reason to doubt that his lifetime was extended some time beyond the revolt of the Britannias, insular and Armorican.

Whether Sulpicius bestowed that boon of schism upon Britain, which he never seems to have even tendered to his native land, by means of emissaries, or whether he was a visitor to the island himself, is not to be learnt. For the assertion of Bale, bishop of Ossory, to the latter effect (testimony of a low order, at best) is rendered weak in the extreme by his confounding this Severus with Severianus the father of Agricola. But if we consider the great influence of Martin[†] over the wife of Maximus, and the strong and not[‡] uncorroborated tradition that Eugenius, son of Maximus, obtained the power here when Honorius resigned it, the ascendancy of the surviving chief of the Martinists in affairs of British religion becomes natural rather than surprising; and a visit to this country, during the reign of Eugenius, not improbable. That which moves wonder, is this; that a conspicuous member of the Latin church of Gaul should urge and persuade the islanders to separate themselves from its Paschal communion, and (ostensibly) from his own. He can scarcely have acted so inexplicable a part, without sinister motives. But *Martinism* was at the bottom of the defection that happened in these islands. That it was so, will be shewn more at large. But the fact was, after a sort, professed in the language of British legend. For St. Ninian, a Briton who introduced some sort of Christianity among the Picts, was nephew to St. Martin. And the pretended Patricius (of which most fabulous name all, that is clearly historical, belongs to Palladius, a friend of Germanus,) was his nephew or his grand-nephew.

[†] See vol. 1. p. 15.

[‡] The early prevalence of the name Eugenius, or Owen, among all the indigenous tribes of these islands, appears to me a corroboration bordering upon proof.

§. 3. Before we proceed, some words should be bestowed on this Martin of Tours; a man who never visited Britannia, but who connects himself with a critical period of her history by his ascendancy over the wife of Maximus and mother of Eugenius, and with her hagiography, as legendary uncle to the Pictish and Irish apostles. The Church upon earth, it must be premised, does not know her saints. She judges by the sight of her eyes and the hearing of her ears. Else there would be no invisible Church. Her calendar of saints is a record of the Church Visible, and contains the names of holy men and of hypocrites. Being fallible in such cases, her favourable judgments in any given age are open to the correction of a less partial posterity; which would ere now have purified the shrines of Tours and Auxerre, had it not been for the erroneous definitions of her infallibility. Martin was a native of Sabaria in Pannonia, and being son to a military tribune was therefore liable to serve in the Roman armies himself. The mask of ascetic sanctity was assumed by him in early youth, to evade that duty. He affected, and recommended to others, the ostentations and almost cynical self-denial of the eastern anachorets; and by his conduct and doctrines he incurred the disapprobation of all the bishops in Gaul, and the zealous admiration of the multitude. He set an example of mob election to a Germanus and a Sidonius in the ensuing times, and was raised to the see of Tours with the acclamations of an immense multitude. His power was so great, that Maximus, though opposed to some of his views, found it necessary to pay him the humblest court. The dangerous speculations of Origen seem to have found apologists in him and his followers.

At this time the heresy of the Priscillianists disturbed both Spain and Gaul. It was one of the impurest forms of gnosticism, introduced by a certain Marcus from Egypt. But its outward professions fell

short of its intrinsic depravity, because the truth of their system was kept out of sight "arcanis" occultata secretis," and guarded by masonic oaths and compacts, "non solum consensione sed sub quâdam etiam conjuratione." The book of St. Augustine to Consentius *Against Lying* was directed against them, and informs us that they in particular were found to make lying a principle, dogmatizare mendacium, and taught that whoever published falsehood to his neighbours, but kept the truth in his own heart, was acting up to the words of Scripture, "he that speaketh the truth in his heart." Priscillian (it is said) virtually rejected the Trinity with Sabellius, and the divinity of Christ with Ebion; for he made no real difference of persons, or except in mere words. He denied the liberty or volition of man, which he subjected to a stellar necessity. He was a dualist like the Manichees; most of whose doctrines he adopted, and especially the license of promiscuous uncleanness. The Priscillianists had a doctrinal book called *Libra* or the Pound, because it contained twelve memorable propositions, as a pound troy does twelve ounces. They taught that the human soul was a part of God, and was of his very nature and substance; and that the parts of the human body depended on the twelve signs of the zodiac. They made an appearance of receiving the eucharist in churches, but did not swallow the elements. They had one most important feature, in the comparison of their mysticism with that of Britannia; they did not, with the Manichees, reject the Old Testament, but explained it away allegorically. Priscillianism is geographically connected with Britain by the choice of the Scilly¹

¹ Sulp. Sever. Hist. Sacra. 2. 46.

² Augustin. ad Consent. c. 2.

³ See Malinbourg Hist. de St. Leon, p. 50.

⁴ See Fleury Hist. Eccles. L. xvii. c. 56.

⁵ Sulp. Sever. Hist. Sacra. 2. 41. Perhaps the ocean had not then broken up Scilly into so many islets, as now.

island or islands, *Sylina insula quæ ultra Britanniam sita est*, as a place of banishment for its leaders. Instantius, a Spanish bishop, and Tiberian, were transported thither.

Ithacius, bi-hop of Soesuba,^a accused Martin of being himself secretly addicted to the gnosis of Marcus and Priscillian. He defended that sectary and his followers with the utmost energy, though without success; pretexting the impropriety of calling in the secular arm in spiritual cases; but really apprehending (as his friend and biographer admits) that the inquisition into Priscillianism would involve^b many persons of his own immediate connexion. We shall be led into a false estimate of Martin's character, if we omit to consider that Priscillian's enormities were not confined to doctrine or tenets. He was, by his own avowal, the author of magical orgies, obscene discourses, and nocturnal conventicles of women, before whom he appeared naked to perform his rites. Nor even were the abominations of his sect buried in secret places. But they paraded themselves in procession through Gaul, followed by a train of loose women and wives abandoning their husbands. The most tolerant of modern *Liberals* would not hesitate to coerce, with the arm of the magistrate, such detestable proceedings; however they might wear the cloak of religious sentiment. The opinion expressed by Martin, that the emperor had no controul over subjects who acted in such a manner, and "*sub quâdam conjuratione*," seems to me seditious and anarchical; and his wish for their impunity agrees ill with the pretended sanctity of his principles.

Martin was a thaumaturge of rare impudence. The acts of Patrick and of Kentigern have been compiled by Jocelyn of Furness in

^a A diocese in Algarve, now transferred to Silves.

^b See Sulp. Sever. H. S. 2. c. 5. and Dial. 3. c. xi.

volumes, which do not excite more contempt than the memoirs of Martin. But those were written 800 years after the date, by a credulous and pious man collecting together the tales that floated on the stream of tradition. Not so the memoirs^c of Martinus by Sulpicius Severus. He was the companion and the disciple of Martin, the confidential friend and accomplice of Martin and all the Martinists. "I have written (he saith) nothing but what has been ascertained and proved by me, else would I rather be silent, than utter falsehoods." In his case there was no place for credulity. By this protestation, he effectually strips himself of any such excuse. Neither was that the failing of which his detractors accused him. But his friend Posthumian (such another as himself) says to him; "I am^d horrified to relate what I have lately heard, that some wretched man has ventured to maintain, that you have told a great many lies in that book of yours." Sulpicius, while relating, upon Martin's own authority, an interview between the latter and the ghosts of Saints Agnes, Thecla, and Mary, expresses his hope, that "no man^e will be so sacrilegious as to suppose that Martin lied." They claimed the Bardic principle, viz. that their testimony should be preferred to that of all other men. For a sample of its value; Posthumian is introduced as describing a visit, which he pretended to have paid to the thaumaturgic solitaires in the deserts above Egypt, who lived on the fruit of the date tree. One of them,^f in the presence of this traveller, culled "some of the dates which hung within reach *on the lower branches*," *attigua ramis*

^c Mr. P. Roberts (Collect. Cambr. p. 304) affected to style this work "the legendary Life of St. Martin attributed to Sulpicius Severus," as if he would slur its authenticity. And then proceeded to cite from it words, in themselves demonstrative of its authenticity, viz. "Soli illum clerici, soli noscunt sacerdotes."

^d Dial. 1. c. 26.

^e Dial. 2. c. 13.

^f Dial. 1. c. 13.

humilioribus poma! For another sample, Martinus boasted of having displayed his youthful magnanimity, upon occasion ^a of a donative distributed in Gaul by the Cæsar Julian, in a manner somewhat improbable in itself; but it happens ^b to be certain, that the armies of Gaul never received either donative or pay during the wars in which Julian commanded them. Persons of education might well complain, that they "had told a great many lies." The tissue of Martin's miracles is gratuitous and revolting; and the rejection of them does not imply a denial of the prolonged continuance of miracles in the Church. By raising the dead to life, he became equal to the apostles themselves in the eyes of all men. With angels and departed saints he conversed familiarly, and the devil was also a frequent visitor at the cell of Martin. Upon one occasion, he went the length of offering ^c the devil plenary absolution for all his sins. Valentinian the First (as Martin stated) refused to see him, ^d and had the doors locked upon him. But Martin, by the aid of an angel, passed unobstructed through bolts and bars, and lo! he stood before the emperor. The latter, being very wroth at this intrusion, would not rise from his throne to receive him, until he was forced to do so by flames of fire, which covered the throne, and scorched Valentinian, "*eâ parte corporis quâ sedebat.*" Briccio of Tours ^e had had the intrepidity to oppose this impostor, and to hold up to public contempt "his superstitious, ridiculous fantastic visions, and deliraments." But Martin asserted, and convinced the silly people, that his eyes could discern the two demons by whom Briccio was pos-

^a Vit. Martini, c. 4.

^b Ammianus, xvi. c. 9. xx. c. 8. xxii. c. 33.

^c Vit. Mart. c. 22. N.B. This is rank Origenism.

^d Dial. 2. c. 6. Pannonians could hazard freedoms with that cruel tyrant which others could not; for his partiality to his co-provincials was noted.

^e Dial. 3. c. 16.

essed, and that his ears could hear them encouraging him with the words, "heia te Briccio!" This more honest divine succeeded Martin as bishop, but was driven from Tours by the intrigues of the Martinists. Martinus and Sulpicius may be numbered among the most shocking characters in the annals of fraud and blasphemy. They imposed^m upon the too credulous piety and honest charity of the great luminaries Augustine and Jerome, who lived at a distance from them; and they it was, who opened the gates to that flood of monkish fable which deluged the West.

§ 4. Such being the character of Martinus Turonensis as revealed in his own days, we will now see how it was handled by his successors in process of time. Gregorius Turonensis, who succeeded to that see in A. D. 573, hath curious matter indeed concerning that saint. Heⁿ addressed to Sulpicius bishop of Bourges an Epistle, entitled "Concerning the Seven Holy Sleepers," in which he relates, that Florus, a most puissant king of the Huns, revolted from Diocletian, and married Bricchildis, daughter of Chut the Saxon, by whom he had

^m One of the earliest and most zealous dupes of Martin and S. Severus, and the intimate friend of the latter, was Paulinus of Bordeaux, afterwards bishop of Nola. Severus had a baptismal font adorned with the effigies of Martin and Paulinus. And the latter was so intimated with S. Severus, that, while he was praying to Saint Clarus (a Martinist monk, of whose proceedings Severus gives some account in Vit. Mart. c. 23.) and Saint Martin for their good offices with God, he called in the secondary aid and mediation of the living Severus to propitiate them, "interveniente Severo." At which rate, intercession might run into an endless series. Paulinus was a man of exceedingly weak judgment, and was a pupil of Ausonius, by whom his mind was originally formed; although he subsequently became pious. Ausonius was not only a friend and approver of the "*Apollinares Mystici*," but I infer from Idyll. vi. r. 56—8. that he was no stranger to their secrets. His disciple was probably a credulous man misled by Martin, Severus, and Posthumian. See Vita Martini, c. 25. and Dial. 3. c. 17.

ⁿ Epistola ad Sulpicium Bituricensem in Vitam Sanctorum VII. Dormientium ap. Greg. Turon. Op. Pis. p. 1082—93. and Bibl. Patr. xi. 959. Lugdun.

three sons, Florus, tribune of the Huns, (for Diocletian would not let him be styled king or consul), Hilgrim, and Amnar. Saint Martin was the son of Florus; and *the seven sleepers*, Clemens, Primus, Lætus, Theodosius, Gaudens, Quiriacus, and Innocentius, were the sons of Hilgrim and Amnar. Martin ordained his seven Hunnish cousins, and placed them in a cave by the side of a * mountain. They survived him by twenty-five years; and then, instead of dying, they all at once fell asleep in their cave when the due time was come; quia, licet hominibus mortui essent, Deo, cui omnia vivunt, dormiebant. If we consider the antiquity of Gregory; his celebrity as an historian, more especially in what regards the barbarous nations; and his personal connection with Tours; we are forced to the conclusion, that this awful distortion of history and chronology is not the language of credulity or ignorance, but that of cryptography and mysticism. No man knew better, that even the Ostrogoths (much more the Huns) did not enter the province of Pannonia until thirty-five years after it had given birth to Martin.

The fable of the ^PSeven Sleepers belongs, in real truth, to the allegories of the masonic or illuminate system, and not to the legends of the Church. This very Gregorius was the man who first introduced their other, or Ephesian, legend to the Western Churches. Mahomet in his Chapter of the Cave, says that *the companions of the cave* and

* Martin's cœnobium præcisâ montis excelsâ rupe ambebatur. S. Sever Vit. Martin. c. 10.

^P In the continuation of Bede, 2. c. 24, it is related, how Edward the Confessor, while feasting one Easter Sunday, was miraculously made aware that the Seven Sleepers had turned upon their left sides. For 200 years, (as Edward said) they had lain upon their right sides, on the Mons Cœlius. Their turning was a prognostic of dreadful troubles in the world. This shews that their sleeping is always continued, and did not really end in the days of Theodosius.

the Rakim (or tablet inscribed with their names) are a sign and a miracle; but he forbids any dispute as to their number. But Wahab ben Monabbeh (one of his comrades) declares^a that they were seven in number, and had a dog Kitmir, who slept near the mouth of the cave with his head between his paws; and adds, that both Christians and believers alike said "they are of our number," and tried to debar all others from visiting their cave, until God decided the question in favour of the true believers. The same tale was received among the Teutonic nations, one of whose earliest historians, Paul Warnefrid, ^rsaid, that the seven sleepers had been reposing from time unknown in a cavern of the North-West of Germany, situate under a high rock by the shore of the ocean; and he added, that their garments bespoke them to be Romans, and that many supposed they were Christians, and would one day wake up to convert the Northern nations. It found its way into Romance; where^b the Seven Sleepers are seven warrior saints, Champions of Christendom, three of them from the British islands, and one of them reputed to be Martin's^c nephew. And it penetrated into British bardism; where we find St. David (the sixth of the seven Champion Sleepers) enclosed^d with six companions within a hollow rock, "the seven who numbered the stars." I can entertain very little doubt, that the cave of the seven^e sleepers is the celebrated specus or spelæum of Mithras, chief of the seven planets.

When Gregory presumed to declare, that Martin's seven favourite monks were seven sleepers in a cave, he implied (to such as had ears)

^a See the Seven Sleepers in *Mines de l'Orient*, by J. C. Rich.

^r *Gesta Longobard*, l. c. 3.

^c The Seven Champions, 3. c. 7.

^d The seven Taronian sleepers were his grand-nephews.

^e See the verses in the *Bonedd y Saint*, p. 38.

^f Mahomet suppressed their number, and forbade enquiry into it, because he knew it was an abrax number and meant no good.

that they possessed and cherished the arcana of the sworn mystics; and so (in effect) he justified the charges of bishop Ithacius against Martin. When he states, that Martin and his elect brethren were princely Huns, and off-spring of the "Hunnorum" rex strenuissimus," he touches upon the mystery of the Arthurists, whose tutelary daemon was (as we have seen) the great monarch of the Huns, considered as the incarnate spirit of the sun and sword, a Martial Mithras. For Brinchildis daughter of Chut we must read Brinchildis daughter of Chuk,

* Coming from such a source as the Bishop of Tours, his name of *Florus* becomes an object of great curiosity. It seems to connect itself with much; though it may be less apparent with what. Romance is deeply impregnated with it, whatsoever it may be. The *Real di Francia* gives us *Florus* (*Fioro*) de Monte or *Flos de Monte*, Emperour of the Romans, his two sons *Flos* and *Florellus*, kings of Ardennes and of France, and his grandson *Floravant*. The poem *Regina Aneroja* recounts the wars of the *Puladins* against *Baldus de Flore*, Emperour of all Paganism. The Romances of *Amadis* and *Palmerin* record the exploits of *Flores*, *Florisander*, *Florisellus*, *Florindus*, *Flore-tan*, and *Florlan*. Another Romance was entitled the *Antiflor* or *Anti-Florus*. See *Ferrario*, 2. p. 264. The *Filoeopo* of *Boccaccio* relates the adventures and loves of *Florio* (a descendant of *Cæsar*) and the Roman lady *Blancofiore* or *Blanche fleur*, in a strain which is, with some reason, supposed to be meaning and enigmatical. See *Rossetti Sullo Spirito Antipapale*, p. 183-200. In the *Bardic Triads* (3rd series, 102) we read of *Flur* (Flower) daughter of *Mygnach* the dwarf, for love of whom *Cassivellaunus* invaded Gaul, and carried her off; which was the cause of *Cæsar's* invasion. *Gwydion ap Don*, the British Mercury, is extolled by the goddess *Ceridwen* (in the poem called *Cadair Ceridwen*) for making a woman of flowers,

The expertest wight, was ever heard of,
Was Gwydion ap Don patient of toils,
Who by glamour made a woman out of flowers.

The woman, whom he thus created, is called *Blodenwedd*, i. e. Flower-face, in the *mabinogi* of *Math ap Mathonwy*. It might be desirable to examine the bearings of the *Blomsturulla Saga*, or Legend of the Vale of Blossom. The meaning of the cryptonymous appellation *Florus* (rendered more important by the antiquity and authority of *Gregorius Turonensis*) lies deep in occult arts and practices, not in any solutions that History can furnish. It should rather be sought for in the cauldron of *Ceridwen*, or in the purlieus of *Rosy-Cross*.

* This is the subject to which the note in vol. 1. p. 125. alluded.

and then we shall be aware of the too famous wife of Attila, the heroine of the Edda, the Nibelunge Not, and the Niflunga Saga. This author became bishop, only thirty-one years after the Camlan revolution had humbled the fierceness of British Arthurism.

Thus we may easily comprehend, that the Priscillianism, of which Ithacius accused Martin, continued to conceal much under its mysterious oaths; notwithstanding so much was admitted by Priscillian. We must, however, take care to push our interpretation of Gregory only thus far; that the machinations of Martin and his colleagues paved the way for those Hunno-Celtic mysteries, in which pure Scythism afterwards became united to his Gnosticism. The *slumber* of the seven in their spelæum is a term of masonic value, importing the concealment of a dormant but unextinguished purpose. It is nearly equivalent to the occultation of Arthur at Ynys Avallon, and the giant's repose in the Isle d'Un or the Isle of the Hun; which island, situate in the lake of Grandlieu near Nantes, is otherwise termed le Grand-Bon-Homme and *la Vieille de Saint Martin*. The heresy of Priscillian, as distinguished from most other modes of Gnosticism, has one very signal point of affinity to that of Britain, viz.: the retention, but mystical perversion, of the Old Testament; instead of rejecting and anathematizing that Testament, as the work of an Evil Creator. That imprinted upon Priscillianism a certain character of Essenism; and harmonizes it with the Pseudo-Judaism of the Druidists, and of Ambrosius who, "rival of God, made the Hebrews his peculiar people."

It is worthy of being remarked, that Priscillianism, which went to

¹ But subject to this inaccuracy on the part of Gregory, that, of the two queens whose crimes were so famous, the daughter of Chuk was not Brinchildis but her rival Chrimchildis.

² And makes it, pro tanto, Origenistic rather than Gnostic.

sleep in Martin's time, when Priscillian himself suffered death, arose once more with refreshed energy and after a nap of no brief duration, when St. Leo (the *Emperour Leo* of Arthur's legend) was patriarch of Rome and Attila was king of the Huns. In A.D. 447 Leo wrote his Dogmatic Epistle against the sect, which gave rise to the council of Toledo; and the preceding year, 446, is that to which the *Acts of the Seven Boys* assigned their resurrection from the cave.

The Greek document just cited gave to those boys of Ephesus a strange mixture of Greek and Roman names, Maximianus, Iamblichus, Martimus, Dionysius, Antoninus, Joannes, and *Hexacustodianus*; which hybrid name points out the chief of the seven, and so the *guardian of the six*. Martimus is a name unknown to either language, but evidently intended, and probably a mere copyist's mistake, for Martinus. That same Gregory, who describes the seven sleeping Huns in St. Martin's cave, begins his list of the ^b seven Ephesian sleepers thus, Maximianus, Malchus, *Martinianus*. And he is himself probably the author of this list of names. For the Syriac document, which he states himself to have translated with the aid of a Syrian, is (I presume) the Homily of Jacobus Sarugiensis; and that homily did not^c contain any list of names. In place of Hexacustodian, Gregory gives the name Serapion. And the list given by the Syrian Jacobite Dionysius, some fifty years afterwards, by retaining both of those names (the former of which he corrupts into Exustidian) has swelled the number to eight. The third in his list, and so corresponding to Martimus and Martinian, is Martelus. So we possess no list of names, of which some portion is not distorted from the Latin tongue, and of an origin unquestionably Western. And it remains very doubt-

^a Photii Bibl. cap. 253. p. 467. Berol.

^b Miraculorum 1. c. 95.

^c See Assemani Bibl. Orient. 1. 336.

ful, whether we have any list, that does not originally emanate from Gregory^d bishop of Tours. Perhaps one pair of equivalents will help us to judge, of what spirit this mystic fable was. Second in order, where the Asiatics place Iamblichus, Gregory has placed Malchus. Those two celebrated sophists and magicians (of whom Malchus was otherwise called Porphyry) were tutor and pupil, and fellow-labourers in the revival of Pythagorism. Some other Malchus might have been alluded to, or some other Iamblichus; but this substitution shows that the notorious preceptor and pupil were the objects of allusion.

§ 5. If the mystery of Attila is manifest in that legend of St. Martin, which Gregory has delivered with feigned ignorance, the connexion of Martinism with Neo-Druidism is scarcely less evident in the case of the *virides pueri*; who emerged from a cave called the Wolf Pit, and described themselves as coming from *the Land of St. Martin*, where the sun never shone, but a perpetual twilight prevailed. We find a trace of the same thing, in the crypt^f of St. Martin excavated beneath the brazen statue of Cadwallon. Even the Primary Bards do, at least in one place of their remains, claim the Martinists as their peculiar associates and brethren.

Dybi Jerosolima | There shall come to Jerusalem

(meaning their own Sion or sanctuary, the "Sion o rhwyvanusion," or "Caer bedd Ion")

Niver saint Armorica	The number of the saints of Brittany
A niver ^g <i>ny</i> null Toronia.	And that of <i>my</i> rule of Tours.

^d Constantinus in Gregory's text seems to be a copyist's error for Antoninus, which latter is given in the Greek and Syriac, and is disguised in Wahab's Arabic *Amudinoush*.

^e Gulielm. Neubrig. l. 27. See vol. 1. p. lx.

Galfrid. Monumet. xii. c. 13.

^f Marwnad Milveib in Arch. Myvyr. l. p. 170. It is printed *y* null. But the aspirate mutation (as they call it) of *dall* imperatively demands the possessive pronoun *my*.

The churches of the Armorican or Colonial Britain were under the superintendence of the metropolitan see of Tours, and her bishops belonged to its synod ; and this continued to be so, without any memorable interruption, till 848, when Nomenoë set up the Breton archbishoprick of Dol.^b That country was from the beginning intimately mixed up in the revolutionary, apostatic, and suicidal excesses of the Mother Britain. The intercourse of the latter with the continent was chiefly through her. The colonial Britons were under the especial protection of Germanus of Auxerre, who passed through Armorica in both his visits to the island, and composed his ecclesiastical retinue (the famous Congregation of Garmon) in great measure of Armorican Celts. Both communities alike had the mania of covering their country with grim and un-Christian megalithic structures, cherished the same mythology, and kept up an interchange of saints. That the metropolitan church of Tours was at one time not uninfected, notwithstanding its outward and apparent soundness, may be collected from the behaviour of Gregory, as well as from that of Sulpicius and Martin. The early prevalence of Martinism in Britain appears from the statement of Bede, that Bertha, queen of Kent, A. D. 596, used to worship in a church at Canterbury “ which had been built to the honour of St. Martin long before, while *the Romans were still inhabiting Britain.*” But these words by no means imply that it was built while *the Roman emperors still governed Britain* ; which is another matter, and can scarce be true.

We have seen Gregorius (otherwise a grave and valued author) assigning with audacious waywardness three dates, all equally false,

^b See Delaporte *Recherches sur le Bretagne*, 1. p. 81. ; 2. p. 23, Manet. *Hist. de la Bretagne Armorique*, 2. p. 175. ; Ogeë *Diet. Historique de la Bret.* p. LXXXV.

¹ *Ecccl. Hist. L. 1. c. 27.*

for the date of Martin's death, A.D. 397, 399, and 412. As the seven Hunnish sleepers went to sleep in the cave 25 years after Martin's death, we obtain the years 422, 424, and 437, for dates, of which all are, or some one is, important to these affairs. That importance was probably felt in Britain and Britanny. But our want of true British Post-Roman history leave us unable to apply these data. But those who may carry these investigations farther, should keep them in mind; at the same time not losing sight of *the real date* of Martin's death, 402, because it cannot be certain what date, the true, or a false one, bishop Gregory^j was in this instance pleased to make use of.

§ 6. Sulpicius Severus (as we read^k in Gennadius) in his old age, having been misled by the Pelagians, and coming to a sense of the fault of loquacity, kept silence until his death, that by a repentant silence he might amend the sin he had committed by speaking. These words signify that he condemned himself to taciturnity, for having uttered some sentiments of a Pelagian^l character. Gennadius who flourished about seventy years after his death, was liable to be deceived as to a character, who had imposed on the credulity of many of his own contemporaries. But we, who cannot be mistaken in that man, shall not fail to understand better than Gennadius did, how the tongue of Sulpicius had so offended him, that he (in a manner) plucked it out.

The history of his final repentance is the only thing connected with his name in which the mind can find pleasure. Considering how he was

^j It may here be observed, that the periods named by the Greeks and Mahometans for the duration of the Seven Sleepers' slumber are widely remote from all chronology; the one being 372 and the other 309 years. But they both make 12 by addition of the digits. See Neo-Dr. Heresy, Part 1. p. 44.

^k Gennadius, c. 10. p. 13. Fabric.

^l His Epistle ad Claudiam Sororem de Virginitate is filled with Pelagian sentiments; and perhaps his works contain none of the opposite character.

surrounded by Martinists, able to suppress and stifle the sound of his palinodia, we ought not to conclude that his alleged repentance was devoid of the work of restitution ; which, where the injury consists in deceiving by lies, must consist in retractation.

The motives that actuated the agents in the Paschal schism may be imagined. This island was fixed upon as a convenient place for realizing schemes, which could not then be brought to maturity in any part of the continent. But in order to work out those designs, it was essential to destroy the unity and shake the authority of the Latin church ; without which, the unity and authority of the Roman empire might perhaps have been broken up in these parts to no purpose, or to no such purpose as those people desired. The Paschal schism was a sure step towards ecclesiastical separation.

The British apostasy was so deeply tinged with "Judaism, that it required an Easter more conformable to the passover of the Jews. And that was furnished by the scheme of Sulpicius. For according to that scheme Easter Sunday would fall upon the 14th day of the first month, or strict legal passover, upon a general average of once in seven times ; whereas, by the catholic scheme, which they rejected, it could never fall upon the 14th day. To this difference the British owed the appellation of Quartodecimans, and St. Adhelm's imputation of Judaism. Without possessing any evidence of the fact, I cannot but think that the recurrence of those Paschals, in which the Levitical and Dominical^a feasts were coincident, must have been an especial festival of the sect.

^a See Neo-Druidic Heresy, part 1. p. 124-31.

^a It is perfectly well known that the Welsh Easter was the same as that of North Britain and Ireland. *Non enim pasche diem dominicum suo tempore, sed a decima quartâ usque ad vicesimam lunam observabant.* Beda 2. c. 2. Yet Mr. Roberts, in

But the passover kept by the true Jews and, anciently, by the Asiatic churches, would have suited their purpose, even less than it did the generality of Christians. For their Judaism was Essenian; it was that of the Emperor Julian, and those unreal Jews (of the Satanic synagogue) with whom Julian was concerned. Their Jehovah was Oromazdes, and their Moses^o and Christ were forms of Mithras. Therefore it was a great point with them that the hidden things of their Pascha should fall upon that day, which, in the new Hermetic week, was dedicated to the Sun. Those Arthurians, who were the most deeply initiated in the great and awful mysteries, kept the Sun's Day with a

his poor Dissertation, quotes the *Annales Menevenses* in these words, *Pascha Commutata apud Britones super diem Dominicum emendante Elbodo*, which he renders "Easter day was changed to Sunday by the correction of Elbod." p. 321. The real meaning is, "Easter was changed among the Britons, Elbodus rectifying it *as to* (or *concerning*) the Sunday." This blundering version of a Latin preposition serves him to overthrow all history, and ascribe to the Welsh the old Asiatic Easter.

* The identification of the Bardic Crist Celi with the Bardic Moses, with a view to blending both religions in one scheme of magic, has been illustrated in the just cited pages of the Neo-Druidic Heresy. The continuance of those principles into the 12th century appears from a passage of Cyddelw, the Chief-Bard of Powys-Land. It begins his Dirge of Rhird the Wolf, and is entitled to rank as a locus classicus of Neo-Druidic Judaism. The two last lines declare the system of secrecy, kept up by a jargon.

I will keep myself from straying, I will be a wrathful minstrel
To the Son, to the great Father giver of my Lord,
To the high Spirit of the one derivation,
To the land-prospering lord Moses, Ruler of the Land.
[Yr (or I'r) arglwydd gwladlwydd Gwledig Moysen.]
Of impulse how fair am I a songster, vulnerable nevertheless!
How sincere a bard am I of the bards of Gogyrven!
How blessed am I and subtle! I am not a flatterer.
How secret are the paths of the songs of Ceridwen!
How needful is it to carry them on in their playfulness!

The words Gwledig Moysen shew us that the Moses of this spurious Israel was himself its tutelary deity; and he is not different from the Crist Gwledig. But that epithet designates the Being spoken of, in respect of his local tutelarity, and not of his more general attributes as a Person of the Trindawd.

sabbatical reverence; as we learn from a Triad^p concerning one of Arthur's immediate retinue. In the Praise of Lludd we find it named as the day, on which the ceremonials of their sacred week were perfected, and their salvation achieved. The Moon's Day is named as the first of the seven, and the Sun's as the last; and thus it becomes not merely numerically, but ordinally, *the seventh day*. The "Vulgar Errour" mentioned by Sir T. Browne, that the Sun dances on Easter Day, is not only derived from the Mithriacal Paschal of the Dies Solis, but seems to commemorate a solemn ceremony of it, a Chorea Solis or Dance of the Sun; the same, perhaps, for which Merlin the Wild calls his sanctuary "the caer of our 'circumgiration.'" Thus the paschal innovations answered three favourite ends, by being schismatic, Judaistic, and Mithratic.

§ 7. The affairs of the new British Easter, whatever they were, doubtless were kept very decent by a Germanus, a Lupus, an Illutus, and churchmen of that leaven. But when these matters passed out of the hands of false-hearted priests into those of the College of the Bards of Beli (as they did in a great measure, during the Ambrosian, Uthyrrian, and Arthurian æras) discretion gave way to a frenzy, indiscreet and self-betraying, in the midst of its avowed and boasted cryptography. Those days gave voice to *the Song of the Passover*, as we might better entitle that of *the Plagues of Egypt*. It is probably among the most ancient British songs that have come down to us. Some lines from it have^r been given in a different volume. It announces the approach of the great annual feast of the Jews. And it leads us to suppose that cruelties of several sorts, respectively imitating the ten plagues of

^p Series iii. Triad 46.

^q Caer ni weagrydd. Cyroesi et. ult. See Sir T. Browne's *Vulgar Errours*, 5. c. 22. s. 16.

^r Neo-Druid. Heresy, Part 1. p. 137.

Egypt, so far as they were susceptible of imitation, were then inflicted by these raving fanatics on their victims. One of them, however, the third, was no imitation of the acts of Moses, but a new and interpolated plague; to find room for which, the third and fourth plagues of Moses were thrown into one, and placed fourth in the list. The remembrance of that mixing up of two plagues was never lost, and the fourth plague is called *the mixt plague* to this day even in the authorized Welsh version of Exodus. That important circumstance fixes the *Post-Roman* British Church with the whole length of the Neo-Druidical Heresy, and prevents her advocates from throwing off the blame upon idle minstrels and private sectaries. The lice and flies were *mixt together* (*cymmysg*) solely to make place for the *gwyddvedd*. Therefore by adopting, so fully as she must have done, the idea of *crasis* or *commixture* in the fourth, she virtually recognized the intrusive third plague. That third plague is the awful secret of secrets. The sixth plague (Exod. ix. 10.) was imitated, as it seems, by causing their victims to be stung all over by ants.

No doubt can exist of this being an Easter Hymn. For after describing the other nine plagues or grievous inflictions *as such*, it mentions the 10th, or that of the first-born, merely as a blessing and a passover to their Israel, and not at all as a plague to their enemies. Another ancient rhapsody, not being composed for the occasion of the Paschal or Passover, makes open and fierce allusion to that plague,

Dec-crawn Rachel* gwel-id pla,

that is to say, "Rachel hath seen the ten-completing plague," the crowning or cumulating tenth plague.

* *Merwnad Milveib*, p. 170. *Rachel* hath seen it, because the Egyptian first-born and Herodian innocents are equivalent values in their jargon.

PLAEU YR AIPHT,
OR
THE PLAGUES OF EGYPT.

Bvrel edwyl ¹ ar veib Israel	The Hebrew recurring-festival for the sons of
Uchel envryd	And the lofty imaginations [Israel
Cydriv dilyn	That attend upon it in <i>the due</i> ² number
Rhy dyneseynt.	Are fast approaching.
Rhygadwys Dduw ddial	God has stored up vengeance
Ar blwyv Pharaowys,	Against the Pharaonic people,
Deg pla poeni,	The ten penal plagues,
Cyn eu boddi	Before their drowning
Ym mor aphwys.	In the sea's abyss.
Cysscvinbla pyscawd ddiva	The first plague, to destroy the fish
Dignawd annwyd.	With an unusual coldness.
Bilbla llyfeint lluosawg;	The second plague, of abundant frogs;
Llewysynt ³ anronoedd	The tail-less [quadrupeds] overran ⁴
Tai a threvnau	Houses and furniture
A thyleu	And couches
A chelleu bwyd.	And provision closets.
Trydedd gwyddvedd,	Thirdly, the ⁵ GWYDDVEDD,
Gwyebr gonoged, gwaladwyd.	Bold in its precious ⁶ elevation, was prepared.
Pedwar, i Cewr ⁷	The fourth, to the Devil
Am ystyr cwr,	The circumscription ⁸ of his knowledge,
Edenoglon;	Of winged insects;
All, cygnoes	And another such, that gnawed
Frwyth oedd a maes	The fruit from trees and from fields

¹ Old spelling for adwyl. So edvryd, edlid, and in some compounds ded for dad.

² The exact force of cydriv is better given thus, than by saying (as in my former version) "in numbers." The number *ten* is signified; the strict observance of which gave rise to the cymmysgbla in the fourth place.

³ Literally, devoured

⁴ Printed aronoedd, which is no word.

⁵ This is the tremendous mystery, for the admission of which the two plagues of the cymmysgbla were consolidated into one.

⁶ Conoged, from con, an exalted or aspiring attitude, and goged, having a certain value or preciousness.

⁷ Old spelling for Cawr.

⁸ Exodus viii. 18.

Cawd, cyllion.
Pumed bwystnon
 Ar holl *veibion*^b
Egiption,
Belsid miled^c
 O drum aeled
 Der i tollion.
Chnoched heb eu
 Chwysig crugan,
 Craithlau morion.
Seithfed tarian
 Cynllus a than
 A glaw cynwyd,
 Gwynt gorddiberth
 Ar ddeil a gwydd.
Wythred locust
 Llydan eu clust,
 Blodeu cyrys.
Nawfed aruthyr
 Diwedlawg uthyr;
 Donlawg, norys
 Du dywyllwg,
 Drem^f enegiwg,
Egiptwys.
Deg veinnoeth
 Mwyav gwyniaith
 Ar blwyv cynrain.
 Crist Jesu Christian! grein,
 Hyd ynt clydwr
 Chwechant mil wr
 Miled Ewral.

The harvest, of flies.
 Fifthly, the murrain
 Over all the sons
 Of the Egyptians,
 Hath assailed the beasts
 With a grievous ailment
 Severe for^d causing them to fall.
 Sixthly, in very truth
 Blistering tumours,
 The punctures^e of emmets.
 Seventhly, thunder,
 Hail-storm and fire,
 And the destructive glare,
 A blasting wind
 On leaves and trees.
 Eighthly, locusts
 Having broad ears,
 Devouring blossoms.
 The ninth, a very prodigious
 Taciturn portent;
 Fertile, did swim
 In black obscurity,
 Unluminous of aspect,
 The land of Egypt.
 The tenth, the fine night
 Exceedingly blessed
 To the people of the tribes.
 Christ Jesu! Christians are prostrate (before
 Until are lodged in shelter [thee])
 The six hundred thousand^g
 Of the hunted Hebrews.

^b Printed vibnon, which is not a word.

^c Miled expresses wild beasts or beasts of chase. But two senses animate this poem; the one, referring to the history of the Exodus; and the other, to the atrocities of the paschal games, in a sort of imitation thereof. The same word is used in the concluding line, to signify a creature exposed to hostile pursuit.

^d Literally, for throwings or castings.

^e No such a thing is to be read in Moses. But this sixth plague seems to have been thus travestied.

^f Old spelling for anegiwg.

^g They were about six hundred thousand, besides children. Exod. xii. 37. But

§ 8. The diffusion of the paschal schism in the British islands excited little attention, and found no historian to record it. For Britannia had ceased to interest the Empire from which she was torn asunder; and the perturbed annals of that expiring monarchy no longer mentioned her internal affairs.

Those who would have been most able and likely to advert to her moral aberrations were themselves (in the outset of them) their secret promoters. The Germano-Lupo-Palladian system, of which it seems that the beginnings with Martin and Severus, wore the outward guise of orthodoxy and catholicism, and professing the faith of the church transmitted her apostolic orders and authority. In short they were in the Church and, for most purposes, of the Church. But unto those whom they admitted within the veil a far other scene was opened; *to them* the Holy Church was but an outer court of unexplained symbols and low exoteric meanings, passed through and left behind; *they* looked down the wondrous vista of the Cave of Mithras, the Cave of the Sleepers, the Essenian Cave of Zoar. Afterwards, the veil was rent by the violence of the Beirdd Beli, who for a time nearly superseded the ecclesiastical party in the Apostasy, and partly exposed those "dolorous mansions to the peering day." But the veil was only rent, never taken clean down. Poems such as the plagues of Egypt are vivid ebullitions of the Bardic rabies.

There grew up a contest between two parties, that ecclesiastical one, of the Martino-Germano-Lupo-Palladian double doctrine; and that

this number is of a higher import in the Kabbala. The doctrinal Kabbala contains few principles not essentially included in Neo-Druidism; although the converse would not be true. In the Kabbala there are, properly, no other Israelites than the 600,000. That number of Israelitic souls was made at the creation, and all besides are but emanations of the 600,000 radical souls. See Allen's Judaism, p. 203, 4.

other, druidical or bardic, musical, convivial, and martial, of the more riotous barbarian Celts. That contest was probably the same, as is said to have raged between Merddin Emmrys and bishop Guitolin, between fierce Arthur and golden-tongued Medrawd or Eliwlod, and afterwards between Taliesin, Merddin Wyllt, and Gwenddoleu on the one side, and Maelgwn, Rhydderch Hael, and the Culdees of Columba, on the other. The original Culdeeism was, in fact, but another name and a revival of the old scheme of the Gaulish bishops and monks. There is little essential difference in the tenets, which the two parties desired to cherish in very opposite forms and modes.

Considered by itself, the paschal schism in Britain, introduced in the fifth century, from a country in which it did not exist, and by a person who had agitated no such controversy at home, would have been inexplicable. But illustrated as it has been, by an examination of some of the secrets of Martinism, and by the Paschal fanaticism of the early bards, it appears to become that, which I designed to make it, a historical feature of this island's great aberration.

§ 9. The paschal schism has usually been connected in controversy with that^b of the tonsure. The latter had the same advocates and the same assailants in these islands, was equally unknown in Gaul, was in all probability introduced into them at the same time and by the same individuals, and was at all events introduced by the same sect or party.

The story goes, that it wasⁱ brought into fashion in Ireland by the swineherd of king Leogaire, and at his suggestion almost universally adopted. But Leogaire was the very king under whose reign Patricius is pretended to have been an apostle, and whom he is said to have con-

^b Coelfridus Abbas ap. Bedam Hist. Eccl. L. 5. p. 274, 5. Usher Brit. Eccl. p. 478-80.

ⁱ Pseudo-Patricii Sermo apud Canonum Cod. Vetust. Cotton. clt. Usher, p. 479.

verted. And the office of a royal swineherd is the same, in which all legends agree that Patricius himself was employed. It is therefore obvious that, by this account, the Palladio-Patrician emissaries of Germanus are represented as having introduced it into Ireland. Equivalent statements are made, concerning the quartodeciman schism in that island. The *Annals of Ulster* (says Mr. O'Connor) pretend that one Docus, who died in 474, introduced the rule of Sulpicius into Ireland, and Sirinus, p. 128, says it was another Docus, disciple of St. Patrick, and master of St. Canic. But, supposing two saints of that name, the first mentioned of them belongs equally, by his date, to the Patrician regimen in Ireland. This intimate connexion of the two schisms or deviations, paschal and tonsural, is important; and is persuasive for proving that the former emanated from an evil heart of schism, and not from any dry and honest search after astronomical exactitude.

The tonsure of the Latin church was the coronal, by which the hair was removed from the crown of the head. But the tonsure introduced into the ex-province of Britannia was semi-coronal, extending from the forehead only as far as to the ears. In the subsequent controversies that arose between the Anglo-saxon and British churches, this tonsure was confidently pronounced to have been that of Simon Magus; an assertion of no weight, in its strict acceptation, as it cannot be shewn that any tonsure was used in the apostolic age. But whether it was really the form long afterwards employed by Priscillianists, Manichees, and the like, in which sense it might be referred to Simon, as the fountain of those sects, I cannot say. As the tonsure of divines seems, in

¹ Cit. O'Con. Prolegom. p. cxlii. But in his text of those Annals I merely see, anno 473, quies Doeci episcopi sancti, Britonum abbatis. Nor am I aware what work is indicated by the name Sirinus.

its main intention, to have been the putting on of their Master's crown of thorns, the substitution of the semi-coronal tonsure has nothing to recommend it. But after all, the gravamen consists not in the importance of the question, but in its intrinsic unimportance, as it did in the paschal case. While the Arian or Pelagian might have credit for sincere intentions in the midst of grave error, those who prevailed¹ upon the clergy of these islands to abandon the garb and appearance which their brethren wore would be wanton authors of scandal and schism; and the offence, of which the causes and motives are unapparent, "is great because it is so small."

This curious affair may possibly obtain some elucidation in the following manner. The Neo-druidic heresy was a system of Judaism evidently connected both doctrinally and personally with that race of apostate Jews, who chose first the tyrant Patrius, and afterwards the Emperor Julian and the pseudo-Moses, for their leaders. That has been pretty fairly shewn in the first part of my Essay on that Heresy. It was also a fact not wholly unknown to Godfrey of Viterbo; who has that most remarkable passage on Aurelius Ambrosius, saying, that he set himself up in the place of Jehovah as the leader of the people of Israel,

Æmulus ipse Dei, populi fit tutor Hebræi.

Words so striking, as to create an intense desire in our minds to see those sources from which he borrowed. It is commanded to *the priests* in Leviticus, c. xxi, that "they shall not make baldness *upon their heads*," and it is commanded to *the whole people* in Deut. c. xiv., that "they shall not make baldness *between their eyes*." From a comparison of which passages it was possible to elicit this distinction, that a priest might make baldness between his eyes, or in front, but not a coronal baldness. In this manner, the spirit of Judaism may have entered into that affair, otherwise so inexplicable.

CHAP. IV.

CHARACTER OF GERMANUS OF AUXERRE.—HIS VISIT TO BRITAIN AND
SPRAINED ANGLE.—LUPUS OF TROYES.—HIS JUDAISM, CONNEXION
WITH ATILA, AND BAD REPUTE.—TRACES OF JUDAISM IN GER-
MANUS.—SIMEON THE HUNTSMAN.—OSCILLATION OF HEADS.—SECOND
VISIT OF SAINT GERMANUS.—THE ARMORICAN BRITAIN.—THE PORT
OF TOTNESS.—WHAT BECAME OF THE ESSENES.—FAUSTUS REGIENSIS.
—FAUSTUS OF REMIS.—HARDISM OF ARMORICA.—GUINC'HLAN.

"Se dicunt Judæos esse, et non sunt, sed sunt synagoga Satanae."—APOC.

§ 1. THE paschal schism was effected from Gaul, almost immediately after the separation from the empire. Other transactions followed, in which Gaulish divines were the agents; and which I cannot but regard as hinges on which the moral fate of these islands turned. I will speak with all the brevity I can, of personages so important as Germanus and Lupus.

No greater blot has found its way into the calendar of saints, than the honour paid to the memory of St. German of Auxerre. Germanus,^m son of Rusticus and Germanilla, a Roman of Gaul, was noble by birth and rich by marriage, a learned lawyer, and an eloquent pleader

^m See Constantii Vita Germani in Surius, tom. iv. July 13. Hericus Autisiod. Vita Germ. Paris, 1543. Hericus Autisiod. in prose. ap. Labbe Bibl. MSS. l. p. 537. S. Antonin. Florent. Chron. part 2. tit. xl. c. 17.

before the tribunals. He was governor of the city and district of Autisiodorum. Germanus found a contemporary^a biographer in the priest Constantius, and a spirited poet in Eric of Auxerre, a Benedictine of the ninth century.

This governor was not a real Christian, but, on the contrary, addicted with no usual degree of openness and zeal to those strange rites, which many were more secretly cherishing. His true character transpires through the slender veil, which a Constantius or a Sidonius may have flung over his errors and crimes. Germanus was devoted to the pursuit of hunting; and he used to hang up the heads of all the beasts he killed to a pear tree, which was planted in the centre of the town, and consecrated to that purpose. That was the mysterious and to this day^b unexplained ceremony of *oscillation*; in which various things, and especially "the heads^c and faces of victims," were hung upon trees and dedicated to some of the gods, most usually to Bacchus.

Thine, Bacchus, are their joyful songs, and thine
The oscilla dangling from the lofty pine.

Amator, bishop of Auxerre, remonstrated with Germanus, its governor, against these "insane rites and^d pernicious ceremonies," but to no purpose. At last he seized upon an occasion when Germanus was absent, cut down and burned the^e abominable tree, and flung the wild beasts' heads (*oscilla*^f *ferarum*) out of the town. Germanus returned in a

^a Germanus had been dead forty years, when the aged Constantius composed it, at the desire of Patiens, bishop of Lyons, and his brother Censarius, bishop of Auxerre.

^b For attempts at explanation see Servius in Geo. 2. 380. in *Æneid.* 6. 741. Lactantius in Stat. Theb. xi. 644. Pomp. Festus in *Oscillum*.

^c Philargyrius in Geo. 2. 380.

^d Herici Poema, fol 13, b.

^e Compare the history of the arbor daemoni dedicata in Sulpicius Vita Mart. c. 13.

^f Constantius and Hericus.

phrenzy of rage, and raised all his adherents in insurrection against the bishop, with the avowed intention of taking his life. But he saved himself by flying to *Ædua* or *Augustodunum*, where he was received by *Simplicius* the bishop. *Amator* declared himself *unworthy to be honoured with the crown of a martyr*, (in other words, preferred resigning his see to having his throat cut by *Germanus*), and expressed his wish that *Germanus* should be consecrated in his stead, because (he said) he was a vessel chosen by God. To this unholy and pusillanimous wish *Simplicius* acceded, though with much reluctance, and solely upon the pretext that *St. Amator* was an inspired person. *Amator* returned to *Auxerre*; which, of course, implies that he had made his terms with *Germanus*. He assembled the people, expressed his wish to resign his bishoprick, and desired them to elect a fitting successor. Then he went into his church to solemnize a communion or sacrament; and, upon that plea, desired *Germanus* and his adherents to lay down their arms. This done (and it was the only act of penitence or submission obtained from the governor of *Autisiodorum*), he contrived, by shutting the church doors upon *Germanus*, to seize him, have him tonsured, robed, ordained, and declared coadjutor to the bishop, heir of the see, and successor of its prelate, all at once, and all *by main force*; *Germanus* submitting like a patient lamb to the shears of the tonsor. Much as poor *Amator* still valued life and hoped to enjoy it, methinks there was something in this state of affairs unfavourable to longevity. At any rate, very speedily after the acting of that collusive farce, *Amator* died, and the people installed his coadjutor by acclamation.

Germanum ingeminant, Germanum ad sidera jactant.

He accepted the rank with fresh shows of reluctance, became conspicuous as a saint of the Martinist model, ate his bread mixed with

ashes, slept upon cinders, wrought some miracles, and did all that was suitable to his new pretensions. By these means this heathenish fanatic, turbulent ruffian, and sacrilegious usurper, became in the year 418 seated in the episcopal chair; a station of the first importance, in the then rapid decline of the imperial and civil power. I am persuaded that his hatred of the church, whose censures he had put down by violence, never ceased; and that in the midst of his apparent zeal for her doctrine, he was plotting her destruction.

§ 2. The heresy of Pelagius, and his confederates Celestius and Julianus, consisted chiefly in denying the original sin and insufficiency of man to effect his own salvation. He imbibed his errors from Rufinus the Syrian, under whom he studied. He had been in some measure anticipated, and was supported in them by Theodore of Mopsuestia. The root of the whole evil lay in the corrupt theology of Origen, to which Rufinus was devoted. Pelagius began his controversy about A. D. 405. Yet, although he was a native¹ of Britannia himself, he never revisited his country, and the progress of his doctrines there did not excite any attention until A. D. 429.

At that time, Coss. Florentio et Dionysio, one Agricola, son to a Pelagian bishop named Severianus was actively employed in their diffusion. The orthodox clergy of the Ex-Province sent over to Gaul for spiritual aid in that year. Germanus and his friend Lupus of

¹ A story circulates, that when he was in Britain he bore the Celtic name Morgant, now usually curtailed into Morgan. But I am not aware of any authority for it. It has been added that Morgant is an equivalent for Pelagius; which is false, except that *mor* means *the sea*. The etymon of the name *Mor-gant* is *like a hundred*, i. e. himself a host. Mor-gan has been explained Great-Head from the Gaelic, by H. Llwyd Comment. p. 90. But I rather believe there is no such name. There is no probability of Pelagius having been connected with the mountain Celta. To fancy such a thing, is a part of the system too much followed.

Troyes were consequently sent over hither by Cœlestine, bishop of Rome, through the intervention (actio) of the "deacon Palladius. This island was then suffering under the evils of its newly-restored independence. Who reigned there, and whether Eugene (or Owen) son of Maximus yet lived, is unknown.

Germanus assembled a council at Verulamium, in which he disputed openly with the Pelagians. And he brought matters to such an arrangement^{*} as enabled him to give a handsome report of his mission, and Prosper of Aquitaine to compliment Cœlestine, on having made the Romana Insula again catholic by means of it. He found occasion to prolong it beyond the expectation of those who sent him; alleging that he had been tripped up by a rope, maliciously laid across his path at Verulam, and his foot badly sprained. The sprained ankle may have had a double value. It was not only a pretext for remaining; but it seemed to shew that he had exercised an honest zeal, and had made real enemies of the Pelagians. Meanwhile some Saxon pirates had united themselves with the Picts, to commit depredations in the Ex-Province. Germanus was invited to take the command of the British forces, which he did; and having marshalled them with skill, caused them to commence their onset with three shouts of Allelujah. Their success was regarded as a miracle; and the field of battle continues to be called the Maes Garmon.

^{*} This personage was probably a member of that noble Gaulish family of which Sidonius spoke in his *Concio ad Plebem Biturigis*, (perhaps including some personal allusion to the first bishop of Ireland) saying of Simplicius, whom he recommended for primate or archbishop of the vacant see of Bituriges; "*Uxor illi de Palladiorum stirpe descendit, qui aut litterarum aut altarium cathedras cum sui ordinis laude tenuerunt.*" Liber vii. Epist. ix. *Papæ Perpetuo*.

^{*} This was perhaps the occasion, on which Fastidius Britannorum Episcopus, a violent Pelagian, quitted Britain. See Gennadius, c. 56; and Augustini Opera, tom. vi. Benedict.

Saint Lupus of Troyes, the companion of Germanus in this mission has been¹ said to have been his first cousin. He was married to Punimola, a lady of Toul, and sister to Hilarius, bishop of Arles. Lupus had a brother named Vincentius, who has been improperly confounded with Vincentius Lirinensis, whose *Commonitorium* is so highly esteemed. But he and his brother were both inmates of the Convent of Lirina. In the British tongue he was styled Bleiddan or Bleidd, the Wolf-man or simply Wolf. He is but little known except by the praises addressed to him by Sidonius² of Clermont. Those praises are suspicious from their vast exaggeration, falling little short of blasphemy. He terms him "the father of fathers and bishop of bishops," and "beyond controversy the first of all bishops in the whole extent of the world, to whose prerogative is subjected, and before whose censure trembles, the whole multitude of his colleagues." He further styles him a second St. James [the Less, Bishop of Jerusalem] *alter seculi tui Jacobus*, overlooking all the portions of God's church *from no inferior Jerusalem, nec de inferiore Jerusalem*. And he says, "if you, a junior rather than a minor Moses, will stand intercessor between me and Him, together with whom you are crucified, I shall not go down alive into the pit," etc: Elsewhere he addresses him as if he were Christ, saying to him, "Depart from me, Lord, for I am a sinful man," and again, "If thou wilt, thou canst make me clean." These awful extravagancies were penned in 472, in the 46th year of the episcopate of Lupus, and six years before his death. Their drift and motive are far from obvious, and the adulatory phrases in his epistles to other people, possess no sort of analogy to them. Neither

¹ Vasebourg Gaule Belgique. 51, a.

² Sidon. Apoll. Epist. 1. L. vi.

do these praises fall from the pen of a good or trustworthy man. Lupus, we see, was a second Moses, and equalled St. James in this

Count Sollius Apollinaris Sidonius was grandson to Apollinaris Prefect of Gaul, who became a Christian. His family are supposed to have been the possessors of Polignac in Auvergne. If so, their name was not unconnected with the Apollinares Mystici. For the Chateau de Polignac contained the oracular head of Belenus. See Vol. I. p. 138. He married the daughter of Avitus, afterwards emperor; and inherited from him the estate of Avitacum in Auvergne. His poetry, whilst a layman, was entirely Pagan; and made, I believe, not one allusion to the existence of Christianity. Amid the ruins of the empire, he and other nobles of Gaul (as he tells his wife's brother Ecdicius) determined to seek safety in holy orders. *Si nullæ a republica vires, nulla præsidia; si nullæ, quantum rumor est, Anthemii principis opes; statuit (te auctore) nobilitas seu patriam dimittere, seu capillos.* Lib. I. ep. 1. As soon as Anthemius had perished in A. D. 472, Sidonius accomplished this design at Arverni or Clermont, in a manner partly analogous to that of Germanus. He was, like him, Prefect of the city; when, the see being vacant, a sedition and tumult was raised among the people, and Sidonius (professing reluctance, in spite of what he had written to Ecdicius) was dragged by them into the pontifical throne and installed in it. This done, he resigned his temporal honours and estate to his son, and attended to episcopal matters himself. See Sammarth. Gallia Christ. 2. p. 232. In his letter to Lupus, written shortly after, we have seen him comparing himself to Corah, Dathan, and Abiram, and deprecating their fate. The answer of Lupus Domino Papæ Sidonio (ap. d'Achery Spic. 3. 302.) styles him *lucernam* in Israel, and under all the circumstances is a gross and fulsome document. Other rich nobles, such as Elaphius, Maximus, and Count Arbogastes, exchanged civil for church dignities. He was bishop about sixteen years. But the closing scenes of his life are involved in mystery. Two priests whose names, means, and pretexts are alike suppressed, deprived him of all authority in his see, and only allowed him a bare sustenance. But they were both cut off in modes which, though described as miracles, savour of poison. Sidonius enjoyed his recovered power a very short time. See Greg. Taron. 2. c. 23. The nature of this story is unsatisfactory. The whole character of his attractive writings is equally so. We discern, throughout, the worldly intriguer and fulsome flatterer; sometimes directing his adulation to the worst of men, such as Counts Ricimer and Victorius. While the Bishop of Clermont was imprisoned by king Euric, he translated the life of Apollonius Tyaneus; and his observations upon the work and its hero must excite feelings, which the cold parenthesis "*fidei catholicæ pax*" cannot remove. Lib. viii. ep. 3. I look also with great suspicion on his request to Eriphius, that he "*would secretly read over what he (Sidonius) had, at his request, written in parables or figurative words against one who could not endure the Dies Boni.*" Lib. v. ep. 17. This accomplished person no doubt enjoyed influence and popularity, but neither

point, that he wielded an extensive authority from another Jerusalem, not inferior to his. What was this second Jerusalem? Surely not the town of Tricasses, a provincial see under the metropolitan of Senones. What were these prerogatives, over-riding those of all bishops in the world, not excepting St. Peter's apostolic chair? Surely not those of a simple Gaulish provincial. We collect from Sidonius, that St. Lupus was in 473 the head of some system peculiarly Mosaic and Hierosolymitan, such as we (in the outer courts of the temple) know nothing of. And we shall presently trace similar imputations to his patron Germanus.

Lupus was Bishop of Troyes when Attila (the real Arthur, *so far as Arthur was a man*) approached that city. He not only succeeded in pacifying the Barbarian; but subsequently, upon his retreat from the slaughter of Catalaunum, he accompanied him as far as the Rhine. The particulars of that transaction are now unknown. But its nature was then accounted so culpable, that the people of his diocese refused to receive him again on his return, and he was obliged to withdraw from Troyes. He retired to Luçon and Macon for four years; at the end of which time he found means to re-occupy his see. No light or venial matter could have thus alienated the people from a prelate, to whom they had owed the preservation of all things worldly in a crisis of extreme danger. When his patron Germanus died, the star of Attila had not yet culminated; and they were not personally connected. The seal of the Chapter of Troyes represented him on horse-

his character, nor the relation in which he stands to the Christian church and faith, is such as to relieve St. Lupus from any odium that the language of his letter may cast upon him.

His son Apollinaris afterwards, with the aid of his own wife and sister, obtained the same bishoprick of Arverni by the most flagitious simony and intrusion. See Greg. Taron. 3. c. 2. And died fighting against Clovis at the battle of Vouglé.

back with a drawn sword, and with the legend * *Sanctus Lupus Comes Trecentis*. It is pretended in British hagiography, that Saint Bleidd was placed by St. Garmon at the head of a college in this island ; and that he had by some British lady a son called Hyvaidd * the Tall, who was elected king of the country of Glamorgan. This Hyvaidd seems to have been an actor in the sanguinary affair of the Gododin (being that of Vortigern's May Feast at the sanctuary), and to have been styled by Aneurin,^b Caeawg, i. e. the Crowned or Wreathed. But it does not appear from external history, that Lupus remained in this island for any length of time after the return of Germanus to Gaul.

The Benedictine editors of St. Ambrose^c mention, among the works falsely ascribed to their author, a MS. of the 7th century, entitled *Liber in Laude Sanctorum Compositus*, of which the writer describes himself as "returned from the Britannias, where he had long been sojourning (*diu moratus*) for the sake of conciliating peace." A biographer^d of Germanus conjectures he may be that writer.

§ 3. In the year 447, being the last but one of his life, some slight symptoms of reviving Pelagianism afforded Germanus an occasion for returning to Britannia. He was accompanied by Severus, bishop of Treves, the disciple of Saint Lupus.

Germanus brought over with him to Britain in 429, a junior, but not minor, Moses, from no minor Jerusalem. In 430 the same Palladius, who was concerned in his mission to Britannia, was sent over from Gaul to Ireland, where he was surnamed Patricius. In 431 (as Irish mythology relates) a Briton, the pupil of Germanus, (whose real

* Acta 88. Bolland, 29th July, p. 64.

* Triad 26. Hyvaidd Hir vab Bleiddan Sant.

^b See Gododin, p. 2. v. 56. Var. Lect. Canu i Urien, p. 57. v. 19.

^c S. Ambr. tom. 2. Præf. p. 3.

^d In Biog. Univ. tom. 17.

name was Succath, to whom Germanus gave the title of Magonius, and who ultimately received the same surname of Patricius) was sent to Ireland to replace Palladius. He was a second Moses, not inferior to Moses himself; if even to Christ. Germanus introduced to Britannia^a the *Man of Israel*, called by the bardic name Mei-gant. The bishop of Auxerre was busy in planting that Neo-Judaism, which was one of the forms and aspects of Neo-Druidism. It is remarkable, that the only words known to have been uttered by St. German here were, not indeed^c exactly "three words of the old primæval language," but one Hebrew word, three times repeated in his victoria Alleluiatica. The name Germanus might, some years after his death, have become unacceptable and of ill omen, as being expressive of the fierce nation to which Hengist and Rowena belonged. At any rate, it was changed by some early writers to Simeon. The *Brut Tysilio* mentions^e the arrival of the *Bishop Simeon and Lupus his friend*, to oppose a doctrine called Pelagian. The assumed name savours of Judaism. In the forest of Caerleon upon Usk (king Arthur's capital) innumerable wild beasts were often seen, but, however closely hunters invested that enchanted forest, none could they ever take. A knight hunting therein was overtaken by a thunderstorm, and an enormous hound-bitch rushed by him vomiting flames. He invoked *Saint Simeon*. Presently a warrior appeared with a hunting horn, and said,^b "*I am Simeon, I give this horn to you and yours, that whenever you fear thunder and lightning, you may sound it, for no storm can arise within hearing of the horn.*" That very night, the fiery hound-bitch consumed the mansion of an incestuous family. This is evidently not Simeon who was with Anna

^a For this point, see Neo-Druid. Her. part 1. p. ult.

See *ibid.* p. 126.

^c *Brut.* p. 241.

^b Gervas. Tilb. *Otia Imp. L. 3.* p. 983, 4.

in the temple, or the Stylite ; but the Bishop Simeon, friend of Lupus, the Alleluiatic warrior, and the fanatical huntsman of the forests of Autisiodorum. His horn is similar to, if not the same as, the horn¹ of St. German's pupil, the many-named Hibernian Moses ; which struck with palsy or madness, whoever blew it profanely or without leave. Once again I meet with him² in that impious book, ill deemed a mere romance, the *Livre du Sainet Greal*. When the elder Sir Galaad was out hunting, he lost his way in a forest, and arrived by night at a fiery fosse, in which was Simeon the father of that Moses, who essayed to fill the Siege Perilleux, (or seat reserved for Jesus Christ, in the centre of the Round Table, typifying the world) ; and Simeon said to him, " When the good knight who bears your name (Sir Galaad le Très-Souverain) shall come hither, I shall be delivered, and the adventures of the advent of the Saint Greal shall happen." There runs a story, that Germanus cursed and excommunicated Vortigern for committing incest with his daughter, and that at midnight the king's house was burnt by fire from heaven. For which enormous anachronism Nennius cites the Book of Saint German. That story explains the fable of Saint Simeon the huntsman of Caerleon, and his hound-bitch ; and so, further establishes his identity with Tysilio's Bishop Simeon. But it also converts the name of Saint Garmon into an equivalent for that of Aurelius Ambrosius, who called fire from heaven upon Vortigern ; and so shews his name to have obtained a sort of apotheosis among the Mithriacs. In his *Covenant of Angar ap Caw* the bard, enumerating all manner of secrets that lay within his gifted knowledge, declares himself to know.

¹ Stanhurst *Vita Patricii*. L. 2. p. 83. Giraldi *Itinerarium*, by Colt Hoare, p. 56, 7. note.

² *Livre du S. Greal*, cxvi, b.

Py daddwg garthan
Geraint ag Arman.

What conducted into battle
Geraint and German.

Angar ap Caw himself, in the days of his emigration, (when he wrote his loud, but most wary, reproofs to the Britons from Armorica, under his Gaelic title of Gildas) treats Germanus and Lupus in a manner worthy of notice. His wish is to shew that Britain *never* flourished spiritually for a moment, except with and under Rome. *Yet he never names Germanus or Lupus*, or mentions the affair of the Pelagians.

§ 4. The superstition of Germanus was shewn, down to the hour of his sacrilegious consecration, in the orgies of the chase and the oscillation of heads to the Dii Nemorenses. Under a Jewish name we again meet him, as Britannia's Alleluatic warrior, presiding over "forests and enchantments drear," and overawing the wilderness with the blasts of his magic horn. Having in all essentials identified the Neo-Druidism of Britain and Gaul with the great association of Mithriacs, it is well to remark that the governor of Antisiodorum seems to have been a member of that connexion. In the most celebrated of the Roman bas-reliefs, that represent Mithras immolating the bull under the inspection of the Hiero-Corax, there is¹ represented a tree with a bull's-head oscillum suspended to it. In a medallion representing the same subject, there stands a cypress with an oscillum hanging mid-way up it, and bearing resemblance to a human head. Nor do we fail of tracing this custom into the Mithriac apostasy of Britain. For the words of Avaon ap Taliesin in his Song of Horses,

Bum^m pell, bum pen
Gavr ar ysgaw bren,

I have been afar, I have been the head
Of a goat upon an elder tree,

unequivocally alludes to the practice.

¹ Montfaucon Ant. Expl. 1. p. 379 p. 382.

^m Arch. Myvyr. 1. p. 44. Since the verb is, throughout this long enumeration, applied to things or substances, and not to the categories of time, place, etc.: I

The great and sinister influence exercised by Germanus over both the Britannias encouraged their historians or legendaries to make free use of his name. The story, which describes him as compassing the death of Vortigern, is an error of hyperbolical magnitude. Vortigern first began to reign in or about the year in which Germanus died, and his life was protracted through another generation. Understood of the party which Germanus had organized, and not of himself personally, it becomes important and instructive.

The doctrines which Pelagius had imbibed from the Origenists were, as far as they went, agreeable to those Britons among whom the notions of Druidism still lingered, or were beginning to revive. But they were framed by him in the form and character of a Christian sect; and they did not embrace the heathenish portions of Origenism. The latter were indeed so far identical with Druidism, that both were modifications of Pythagorism, the one received from the early disciples of the Samian, and the other from Ammonius Saccas. It is possible, that Pelagianism as taught by Agricola in this remote island, then twenty years separated from that fountain head of order and civilization the Empire, and exercising a turbulent independence, was of a more envenomed character than that which had been discussed elsewhere, and at last condemned by the Councils of Carthage and Rome. It is the more probable, as king Owain ap Maxim Wledig, under whose auspices that independence had been assumed, was himself a sort of wizard saint, and consecrated for a secret palladium of this island the head of Bran ap Llyr, which Arthur's rashness revealed.

Germanus ostensibly performed his mission with great success. He reproved the Pelagians, and prevailed on them to keep a quiet tongue,

imagine we should read *bam pel*, I have been a ball, or globe, the *ovum anguinum*, or "*pel peleidyr*."

and give an apparent assent to principles of which he had always been as much the enemy as them. While by a secret organization, and by means of *cyvrinach* (*cyvænad*, *cyvrenin*, *celvydd*, *rhydyngiad*, or whatsoever expresses the simulation and dissimulation of the Royal Art) he enabled them to carry on to its ultimate conclusions a system, of which mere exoteric Pelagianism had barely uttered the first preluding notes. Perhaps the Book of the Greal conveys to us some faint inkling of this. Sir Galaad son to Sir Joseph of Arimathea was made king of Wales, the capital of which kingdom was *Pelagia*, and his son Lyanor (Joseph's^a grandson!) was slain in the battle between Arthur and Medrawd. The transactions of Garmon were carried on, partly with the Mithriac, or Patrician and Hiero-Coracic, sect, the men of Bran's Head, being in fact the free-masons of his own lodge; and partly with the Pelagian heretics. The facility, with which he seemed to remove that elsewhere obstinate error, was almost suspicious in itself. Subsequent events suggest, how he removed it from sight and for what purpose.

§ 5. In his second visit of A.D. 447 he occupied himself with organizing the religious education of the Britons. Dyvrig or Dubri-cius, and Sir Illtyd (a saint, warrior, and guardian of the Saint Greal), were placed by him at the head of the colleges, in which the Britons were to learn it remains to be ascertained what. Most of the other eminent saints, real or fabulous, such as Dewi Brevi, Patrick, Cadvan, Catwg, Teiliaw, Padarn, etc., are recorded to have been disciples of St. Garmon of Gaul. Some of them are known as warriors, Bards of Beli, and teachers of Bardism. It is in my judgment impossible to shake off that general and cordial tradition, which hails Germanus as

^a Extremes of anachronism, that go beyond ignorance, become notes of the mystic sense.

the patron and institutor of the main body of San-Grealists and Ambrosian or Arthurian saints, who were denominated in Britain *the Congregation of Garmon*. Through the two Patricii, St. Paldy and St. Patrick, Ireland likewise became a Congregation of Garmon, and blended Christianity with the *Sacra Patrica*. But it is equally certain that his arrangements were masked, and their nature unknown on the Latin part of the continent of Gaul. For he died in conformity with the apostolic churches of the West, and in harmony with the see of Rome, under sanction of which he had first visited Britain.

To the question, how Germanus carried on these dark intrigues unnoticed by the other Romans of Gaul, British legend furnishes a sure and sufficient answer. He carried them on through the medium of Armorica, or the Britain of Cynan Meriadawg; and of many Armoric-British agents devoted to his person and principles. So the need of jargon, or cyphering, or secret methods of discourse, was much diminished. The Celtic tongue then, and to this day, spoken by the British colonists effectually rendered all matters impenetrable to the Armorican, and other Latin, Gauls. Germanus is said (in Celtic legend) to have been maternal uncle to one Emyr of Llydaw, i. e. Armorica, a prince or petty king. And this Emyr was father or °grandfather to a whole family of saints who, with divers others, accompanied Germanus hither in 447. The Cambrian Biography enumerates fourteen Armoric-British saints, who formed the retinue of the warrior saint, Cadvan ap Æneas ap Emyr Llydaw. One of Emyr's sons and German's kinsfolk was Saint Amwn the Black, husband to Anna king Arthur's sister, and himself a king or prince of Armorica. German

* To find his nephew described as grandfather to his comrades will surprise no one, who knows the recklessness exhibited on such points. In quarters where genealogical accuracy is nevertheless highly esteemed.

probably came hither from the coast of Armorica, having made use of, if not fomented, the disturbances that agitated that Celtic corner of Gaul. His first business on his return from hence in 448 was to fly to their aid, and mediate between them and Eocharic, who had been sent with the Alani to chastise them. Having obtained a truce for them, he pushed on with all haste to Ravenna, to obtain a ratification of their pardon from Aetius or the Emperor. Here the angel of death was waiting for him, and he never quitted Ravenna, but died there on the 31st of July. The poet Eric closes his career with a story, that seems to make him, in a manner, *the chief of seven*. He worked innumerable miracles at Ravenna, having six bishops for his assessors and the witnesses of his acts,

Hi testes operum multis mansere diebus ;

and when his death occurred, as it presently did, his reliques (*exuviae*) were divided between the Empress Placidia, the see of Rome, and the six bishops.

§ 6. Sailing from Armorica he would arrive in the south-west of the island, towards East Cornwall, or Devon. That we shall find, so far as strong conjecture can guide us, true. Brutus of Troy and his followers landed at Totness. Aurelius Ambrosius with his brother Pendragon landed at Totness. Totness^p was the mart of fables and mysteries, both Post-Roman and Ante-Roman. The concurrence of the two great fabulous debarkations at this obscure western port, intimates to me that some landing, venerable and auspicious in the sight of those who wove these webs of fable, did really occur there. Since

^p The prophecy, ascribed to Merlin Ambrose, predicts the oppressive reign of the wild boar of Totness. Galfrid. Mon. vii. c. 4. Alanus bishop of Auxerre in his Commentary simply says, Totonesium litus est unde a Majori Britannia in Armericum regnum navigatur, and offers no farther explanation. Alan. in Merl. L. vi. p. 242.

Ambrosius, coming from Armorica, landed there for the express purpose of attacking and destroying Vortigern, *the very point in which the legend of St. Garmon blends and identifies itself with that of Ambrosius*, there is reason to suppose that one (or both) of the voyages of Germanus was directed to that point. The plan upon which the fabulous origins of the British people were laid down in the Brut, and elsewhere, was that of disguising as mythi of primitive Britain the strange circumstances of the new Britain separated from Rome. Lludd ap Beli and Llevelys, quite undeniably, relate to the affairs of Vortigern and Hengist. Bran ap Llyr has relation to the Coracina Sacra introduced in the days of Eugenius son of Maximus, and more openly revealed in the Arthurian days; the organization of bardism by Plennydd, Alawn, and Gwron, to the early life-time of Gildas; and the reign of Dyvnwal Moelmud, to regulations compiled, and structures erected, in the Mithriac æra. The arrival of Brutus from Tours⁹ in Gaul, his landing in Devon, and the partition of his country into the new and unheard-of names and divisions, Alban, Lloegyr, and Cymmru, (a division naturally arising out of the unhappy state of the country) is equally a legend of the nation's *recommencement* disguised as one of its *commencement*. Joseph of Arimathea's legend *expresses* the epoch of our Lord's passion and of primitive Christianity, but it *means* the much later epoch at which the mysteries of the Greal were planted on these shores. The second visit of Germanus to the west of Britain is perhaps as likely a date as conjecture could furnish, for the original foundation of the Bangor Wydrin in Avallonia. In his time the Provincials, though harassed, still held the bulk of their territory; the Cymm'ry were not yet supreme; the Saxons were only known as

⁹ The fountain-head of all these iniquities, flowing from Martin.

roving pirates; the richest and most civilized part of the Roman province had scarcely yet received a name of Bardic jargon, its ruin was yet to come, and it was still first in importance; and Verulamium or St. Albans, was still the most accredited resort of the pious. If all St. Garmon's ecclesiastical foundations are placed by the Welsh in Wales, that has arisen from their adaptation of his history to a subsequent state of circumstances.

The double part Germanus acted is apparent in the incompatible positions he holds, in two calendars of extreme variance. He was a Roman of Gaul sent over by the Roman metropolitan or pope, to put down a heresy congenial, rather than otherwise, to the notions of the Cymry, and a strict observer of the rites and festivals of the Roman and other Latin churches. But he was nevertheless cherished and commemorated in all ways of honour; and with all praise, direct and open, or indirect and veiled in cyvrinach; by bards, bardists, and quarto-deciman schismatics. Such was not the lot of those, whose blood was shed for the undeniable church of Christ, and of whom Gildas bears record, Saint Albanus of Verulam, and Saints Julius and Aaron of Caerleon. These belonged to an earlier and entirely distinct Hagio-graphy.

§ 7. The design included in these machinations was a great one. Affairs were hung up in suspense between the great and yet venerated, but languishing, Roman Empire, and the rising, encroaching, and improving powers of Barbaria. And the Christian and Pagan schemes of religion trembled in the same balance. By a fusion of the essentials

* The practice of insulting and abusing the Lloegrwys expired with the Beli Bardism. The more recent practice is to pass them over lightly; to take little or no notice of the ruin of this island betwixt Humber, Tamar, and Severn; to enquire discreetly little into the causes of that ruin; and to contract the whole tople into a eulogy on certain western mountaineers and warriors, who got the name of Cymmyr.

of the various heathen mysteries, all coalescing in that one point, to which Macrobius and other Neo-Pythagorical Mithriacs direct them all, with the language, names, and forms of Christianity; and by converting the loftier and more mysterious parts of Christianity into an awful all-engrossing object of zeal and faith, such as the piacular atonement, Sacramental Presence, and communion therein, were thought insufficient to supply; one great mundane empire, Romano-Scythic, might be constructed politically, and animated morally. It is that idea, which a Vandal Stilicho, an Aetius of hybrid race, and a Suabian Ricimer, were unable to realize. Britannia offered the requisite fulcrum for their lever. It was in a great measure Roman, but independent of the laws and government of Rome. It was barbarian and semi-pagan, in its Celtic and Druidizing districts. And it had acquired in Armorica a large and commodious, yet safe and private, channel of communication with Europe; an umbilical chord, uniting its life to that of the Continent. Thus Britannia became the capital seat and centre of the great crisis or syncretismus, of the great union, of the great secret of secrets; and, through the channels of secret knowledge, became known to the very ends of the earth as such. She became *the Sacred White Island of the West, beyond the Romanic shores*.

In this attempted crisis, Judaism was a most important ingredient. But real Judaism would serve no better than true Christianity. If St. Simeon the Huntsman was father of a Moses, it was the Moses of the *Siege Perilleux*. And the Moses who sat in that central seat was Brumantius, i. e. Julianus. Those Jews whose *Prophets* joined with Julian in adoring the *Kpáirrov*, could only be the Essenes. For they only boasted of prophets after the cessation of prophecy, and they alone adored^{*} Julian's deity. The jealous persecution which Valens carried

* To this Josephus speaks clearly enough, in B. Jud. 11. c. 8. s. 3. s. 9.

on in Syria, against all the mystics and magicians whom Julian had patronized, must have probably ruined the affairs of that sect, and dislodged them from their ancient cœnobium at Engaddi by Zoar. The knowledge of their subsequent movements is a desideratum. But Attila (of whose connexion with Neo-Druidism we became fully aware, in considering his titles of Arthur and Daniel Dremrudd) in his kingly style, after enumerating various nations over whom he reigned, averred himself to be "descended from Nimrod the Great, and nursed in Engaddi." Nothing can be more certain than it is, that he was born and nursed at a great distance from that place, and never approached it. The only possible meaning his words can bear is, that he was instructed in the mysteries of the Essenians, and valued them upon a par with his highest titles of sovereignty. His original nurture had been among people exceeding the other barbarians in rudeness and ferity, equally unacquainted with the huntsman king of Babel, and with the Pythagoreans of Palæstine. When and by whom was he regenerated with the nurture of Engaddi? Should Priscus¹ be ever given to the world, that question may obtain some sort of answer. If he did not receive it from Bishop Lupus (who pacified him at Troyes, followed him all the way to the Rhine, and was driven from his see for his transactions with him), but had some previous initiation, we shall at any rate believe that they were brother initiates. It is probable that

¹ The existence of his work at the Vatican in modern times is not merely attested by Raph. Volaterran and Robert Constantine, but it has been remarked that the Jesuits Forcadel and Munster, as well as Moreri, appear to quote portions of its contents. See Herbert's *Attila and his Predecessors*. It may be added, that the Jesuit Inchoffer also quotes, from Priscus by name, a story not extant in his printed fragments. Ann. Eccl. Hung. p. 2. Sir Michael Scott (of wizard celebrity) had long previously quoted the same tale from a Greek historian, whom he calls, but I think from a slip of the memory, Eusebius. Mensa Philos. 2. c. 21. His quotation is circumstantial, and its words are of some value; though quite irrelevant here.

he did receive it from Lupus, for the Style of Attila is suited to his acme of power, at which time he became intimate with the Gaulish saint.

When the Arthurian, that is Attilane, island received the crown and sceptre of David, the magic wand of Moses, etc. we are clearly to understand that it became the new Engaddi and the residence of the central Essene lodge. Since the monarch, who ruled from the Rhine and Baltic to the borders of China, delighted to style himself *nutritus in Engaddi*, it is no wonder, if Britannia was famed from West to East as a place of strange sanctity. And is not Britannia herself the "nec inferior" Jerusalem" of the "junior magis quam minor Moses?" In the year but one after Lupus's recorded visit to Britain, and in the same year that Germanus sent Moses Patricius into Ireland, the disasters* of the Alter Moses in *Creta* are said to have occurred. But I feel unable to determine, whether they relate to any actual calamity; or whether the story arose by confounding the real Jerusalem in Syria with the allegorical Zion in the West.

§ 8. Another Gallican divine deserves brief notice, Faustus Regiensis, bishop of Reii Apollinares or Regium. He became the third abbot of Lirina in 433, and was bishop of Regium in 462. Sidonius Apollinarius in 481 or 482 addressed to him an epistle, which states in unequivocal terms that Faustus was then *upwards* of 100 years old and in vigour of health, but does not say by how much he had exceeded the century. He was therefore born in or before 381, and he was a native of Britannia. Not to mention that the Armorican colony was then only about to exist, it is certain that the insular Britain gave him

* So far as it hath locality, for the association or Church was in one sense the Zion of St. Lupus.

† The second of the mislaid references in Neo-Dr. Her. p. 148, is Paul Diac. Hist. Misc. xiv. p. 413. ed. 1603, *jussitque ut comarum schemate semetipsos involverent.*

birth. Legi (saith * Apollinaris) volumina tua, quæ Riochatus antiætes ac monachus, atque *istius mundi* bis peregrinus, Britannis tuis pro te reportat. It was the second voyage or pilgrimage of Riochatus to *that world*; and the island Britain (as we shall shortly observe more at length) was regarded not only as a transmarine country, but as another world. Those words are conclusive. However, he adds, that Faustus would bequeath his body to a foreign country, but his works to his own (to relicturus externis, tua proximis); and Armorica would not, I think, be called foreign or external in respect of the rest of Gaul.

Sidonius pleasantly relates how he followed Riochatus, and extorted from him a perusal of the volumes which he was bearing from Faustus to the Britons; a clear proof of the strict intimacy and friendship between the two prelates. Riochatus is said “*mysticæ gazæ clausis involucris clam ferre thesauros*,” from which it may be supposed that the writings sent to Britain were private, and not any of those works which Faustus published in Gaul. Their tendency cannot be collected from the epistle. But the time at which they were sent was one of extreme trouble and anarchy. It was nine or ten years after the Plot of Long Knives, six or seven years before the death of Hengist, and probably anterior to that of Vortigern. It was however in the days of the Ambrosians, and considerably subsequent to the erection of some of the great Megalithic circles. The messenger was, seemingly, an Armoric-Briton. His name Ri-o-chat signifies Chieftain of Battle. That was, from St. German’s days downwards, the mode of private communication with the islands. The works of Faustus are considered infected with the error called Semi-Pelagian, which turns upon the

* Lib. ix. Ep. 9. Domino Papæ Fausto. Savaron’s conceit that Riochatus, by being both priest and monk, had twice renounced this world and its vanities, is frivolous; and it also confounds *istius* with *hujus*.

question of Preventive Grace. There is a story in * Nennius and Marcus Eremita, of which the folly and great anachronism induce us to reject the literal sense, and to suspect some bardic cyvrinach. Vortigern, after his marriage with Rowena, got his own daughter with child. Germanus with all the clergy of Britain came to rebuke him. But he had forewarned the girl to swear the child to Germanus himself. Germanus took the child to himself, and reared him till he was adult; and then sent him to Vortigern, to claim recognition as his son. Vortigern fled into Gwynedd with his magicians, and was shortly afterwards burnt by fire from heaven. This son of incest was Faustus, quem Sanctus Germanus baptizavit, enutrivit, atque docuit, et condidit locum magnum super ripam fluminis quod vocatur Renis, et manet usque hodie. I had suspected an allusion to the bishop of Riez, before I saw the similar suggestion of Mr. Gunn. Nor should I be loth to entertain the idea, persuaded as I am, that Vortigern's sons Gwrtheyyr and Cyndeyrn are also creatures of the cyvrinach. Usher imagines that the river Renis is the Rumney, dividing Monmouthshire from Glamorgan. But no Llan-Faust or Capel-Faust is to be heard of thereabouts. And the word *Renis* may be formed out of an abbreviation of *Regiennis*.

We find in history, the Briton Faustus of Riez in active communication with Britain in 481 or 2, towards the critical and closing period of Vortigern's life and reign. And we find in fable, a certain Faustus of Renis, a disciple of St. German, more or less instrumental in his last flight and ruin. Here we seem to detect some connexion between the Ambrosians of Britain and the surviving friends of Germanus and Lupus in Gaul, carried on through Celtic Armorica; and somewhat

* Nennius, c. 38. ed. Gunn, p. 67, 8.

the more remarkable, for being conducted by a man who had outlived a century.

§ 9. Brittany was originally embarked in the same boat as Britain. It simultaneously⁷ and conjointly shook off the Roman authority, in the days of Honorius. It was, in effect, founded by Maximus, father of that Eugenius or Owain, who (as there is really reason to believe) first reigned in Post-Roman Britain, and first lent the aid of civil power to the establishment of the ineffable mysteries. Its ecclesiastical obedience was the Turonian-Martinist. It was under the especial protection of Germanus, it sent forth the congregation of Garmon, and it served as a secret channel and a Celtic interpreter for his negotiations; and seems, through its monk Riochat, to have kept up the communications of Faustus.

When, therefore, it was announced that Monsieur de la Villemarqué was collecting the remains of the Bas Breton minstrelsy, some faint hopes arose of recovering portions of ancient Bardism. But they were little gratified. All, save one, proved to contain mere popular legends and fairy tales, similar to those which are yet current in Ireland and the Highlands; and of so low a type and character, that those in which Merddin Emmrys figures call him by his French-Romance name of *Merlin*. Of Daniel Dremrudd not a vestige is to be found in this collection.

But it contains one poem,⁸ really composed in Neo-Druidism, and presenting all its most fearful characteristics. It is ascribed to that Gwino'hlan, whom the editor has preferred to term Gwenc'hlan, and who seems to be the only cynvardd of that country of whom even the name has come down to the moderns. He was the reputed author of

⁷ Zosimus, vi. c. 5, 6.

⁸ Villemarqué *Barzas Breiz*. 1. p. 2.

a volume of prophecies, foreshowing the destinies of Brittany, and analogous to the prophwydoliaeth mawr or Great Prophecy, which is ascribed to Merlin Ambrose, and was composed, in its original shape, before * A. D. 745. Father Rostrenen^b mentions it as follows. "What I have discovered most ancient in the Celtic or Bretonne tongue, is the ms. in the Bretonne tongue of the predictions of the Breton astrologer Guinclan, who is yet very famous among the Bretons, and is commonly called by them the Prophet Guinclan. At the beginning of his predictions he mentions that he wrote in the year of grace *two hundred and forty*, and dwelt between Roc'hellas and the Porz-gwenn, that is, in the diocese of Treguier, between the towns of Morlaix and Treguier." Dom Taillandier,^c in his Preface to Dom Lepelletier's Dictionary, hath what follows. "It is not surprising this language should be so little abundant. For we have scarce any written manuscript of it. The oldest that Dom Lepelletier found was a ms. of A. D. 1450, being a collection of the predictions of a pretended prophet, named Gwinglaff." The date of 240 must have been erroneously given by Rostrenen, and seems altogether absurd, for Brittany did not then exist. Some other lexicographer^d cited by Monsieur Villemarquè states, what no doubt is true, that his prophecies bore the date of 450. The manuscript, which was at Landevenec, is unfortunately lost. But no one will give credence to that date, which is anterior to the introduction of the Christian æra into chronology; and the real date of this bard is quite unknown. These prophecies, purported to have been delivered on the

* Because it fixes 300 years for the sojourn of the Saxons in Britannia. Galfr. Monumet. vii. c. 3. Gildas, c. 23. p. 117. Lugd. 1687. It has subsequently been added to.

^b Dict. de Rostr. preface, p. 9.

^c Preface, p. viii.

^d Dict. Français-Breton, 2. p. 409. cit. p. xi.

Mount Menè-Brè. A fragment of them is given by the Abbè Manet* in these words. "The day shall be, when the descendants of Brutus shall lift up their voices on the Menè-Brè. Hither shall they come, to admire the generations of yore, and the times of which I could fathom the profundity." A gentleman named Pengwern is said to have been[†] successful in recovering some other fragments, orally preserved.

It seems to me, that his name is traditionally formed in *clun*; but that the ms. of 1450 formed it in *claff*. These are synonymous, and both express malady, infirmity, or bodily imperfection. The former part, gwyn or gwen, is well known as meaning white, with other secondary meanings. He is said to have been blinded by a hostile prince, and thrown into a dungeon, where he died. The prince was afterwards slain, a victim to his prophetic curses. That he was cruelly deprived of sight, appears in this poem; and seems to be expressed in the titles Gwenc'hlan and Gwinglaff, by which he is now known. The rest of the story is, I believe, made up from a misapprehension of the same poem.

In answer to the enquiry of its editor, whether it is "erroneously or with reason" ascribed to Gwenc'hlan, my humble opinion of it is, it is the genuine[‡] effusion of the man so called; and whatever his date may be, that it was as old as the existence of Neo-Druidism in all its terrors. It is no faint and popular reminiscence of departed faith and manners, but a vivid and dire reality from the lips of a *Bardd Beli*. That the general prophecies in the lost book of Landevenec were of

* Hist. Petite Bretagne, 2. p. 98.

† Barzaz Breiz, 1. p. xlv.

‡ Whether it was originally spelt according to the Celtic patois of Cornouailles, to the peasants of which district we owe this edition of it, may well be doubted; the more so, since the place, which he mentions as his residence, does not belong to that district.

the like archaic type, is more than I will venture to surmise. The false date introduced into them must, at any rate, destroy their character for authenticity.

DIUGAN GWENC'HLAN, PE GWINC'HLAN, PE
GWINGLAFF.

- When the sun sets, when the sea swells,
I sing upon the threshold of my door.
When I was young I used to sing,
But being old I sing still.
- 5 I sing by night, I sing by day,
But I am sad nevertheless.
If I go with my face downcast,
If I be sad, 'tis not without cause.
On account of fear I have no blame,
- 10 Of being slain fear have I none.
On account of fear I have no blame,
I have lived long time enough.
When^b I shall not be sought I shall be found,
And when I am sought, I am not found.
- 15 Little matters it what may chance,
That which must be, will be.
Need is, that every man die thrice,
Before he can have final repose.
- I see the hog coming forth from the wood,
- 20 And he is grievously lame, his foot wounded.
His mouth gaping and full of blood,
And his bristles grey with age ;
And his little pigs round about him,
Because of hunger great their grunting.
- 25 I see the sea-horse coming against him,

^b Death comes unexpectedly ; and, when it is expected, it frequently comes not.

- The shore quaking for terror the while.
 He is as white as the bright snow,
 On his head are horns of silver.
 The water is boiling beneath him,
 30 With the thunder-fire from his nostrils.
 Sea-horses around him are crowding, thick
 As the grass beside a pool.
 Hold thou fast, hold thou fast, sea-horse!
 Strike on his head, strike thou well, strike!
 35 The naked feet are slipping in the blood.
 Harder yet! strike thou! harder yet!
 I behold the blood like a rivulet.
 Strike thou well! strike thou! harder yet!
 I behold the blood up to his knee.
 40 I behold the blood like a pool.
 Harder yet! strike thou! harder yet!
 On the morrow thou shalt have repose.
 Strike thou well, strike thou well, sea-horse!
 Strike on his head, strike thou well, strike!
- 45 When I was softly slumbering in my cold tomb,
 I heard the eagle calling in the night.
 Upon his eaglets he called
 And upon all the birds of heaven.
 He said to them as he called them,
 50 "Rise ye speedily upon your wings!
 Not the rotten flesh of dogs or sheep,
 But flesh of Christians we want to have."
 Aged sea-raven¹ (or cormorant) tell me,
 What thing holdest thou here?
 55 I hold the front of the chief of the host,
 I will have his two red eyes.
 I scratch his two eyes clean out,
 Because he has torn out thine.

¹ MORVIAN.

- And thou, O fox, say unto me,
 60 What thing holdest thou here ?
 His heart it is that I hold,
 Which was as void of truth as mine ;
 It has desired to slay thee,
 It has been slaying thee long since.
 65 And thou say to me, O toad,¹
 What doest thou there at the corner of his mouth ?
 I have posted myself here
 To wait for his soul that is coming;
 In me shall it be, whilst I live,
 70 For a grievous ruing of his offence
 Against the Bard, who dwelt erewhile
 Between Rochallaz and Porzgwenn.

There is not the slightest probability of this ferocious poem having been the production of a pagan. The tradition of his hostility to the Christian clergy implies no such thing. For the hatred of the Beirdd Beli not only raged against the Catholic priests (whom alone the people of Brittany recognize) but was, at times, no less violently directed against the Culdees, or monk priests of the leaven of Sulpicius Severus and Germanus. We may learn that tradition did not really mean him for a pagan, from her making him date the spurious works she ascribed to him by the Christian year of grace. The inference drawn from vs. 51, 2, is contrary to that which they furnish ; for "flesh of Christians," when set in opposition to that "of dogs or sheep," simply means human flesh. He held the great heresy of

¹ The black toad, the salmon,
 With a hundred claws on him,
 The crested spotted snake,
 Are a hundred souls through sin,
 Who shall be punished in the flesh.

Britanny and the British Islands in its fiercest and most undisguised form, that of the Bards of Beli; but he was as much a Christian as Aneurin or Merlin.

In the second of those three parts, into which the editor has judiciously divided his poem, the Bard presents to us a vivid *proso-popœia* of the slaughter of his enemy and (I apprehend) of all his family. Yet it does not appear clearly to me, that his words (which are all *verba de præsentis*) purport to be a prediction of that event, previous to its occurrence.

But the third part of it describes him as recumbent in what he calls his tomb, and dreaming *dæmoniacal* visions. I suspect the notion of his having ended his days in a dungeon to be formed on a misconception of those words. I understand them of a *cistvaen*, or dreaming cell, in which he lay for the express purpose of divining by dreams, and which had the form^k of a stone sepulchre or coffin. It was a Druidistic imitation of the old Druidical method of dreaming in places of sepulture.

There are two other great points of Bardic doctrine in the poem of *Gwinc'hlan*. The first is the doctrine of the three worlds or cycles of existence through which every human soul is destined to pass,

Need is, that every man die thrice,
Before he can have final repose.

And the second is the metempsychosis into a toad. These two beliefs are often confounded together, but they are distinct affairs. The cycles are three, but the metempsychoses are of unlimited number; and each^l cycle of a man's existence must be composed of numerous

^k See Fenton's *Pembrokeshire*, p. 414.

^l The many changes described in the metrical *Hanes T.* are evidently not in cycle *Abred*, but in cycle *Gwynvyd*.

minor transformations. For the Cad Godden boasts of not less than eighteen such, and the Anghar C. of twelve. It is impossible to elicit the doctrine of *three deaths* from that of the three cycles of existence, without the doctrine of emanation from and re-absorption into God; which we may, therefore, consider as implied by Guinc'hlan.

CHAP. V.

EMIGRATION OF BACHARIUS.—MOCHTEUS OF LOWTH.—HIS LEGEND.—
PORCINE TITLES AND MYSTERIES PECULIAR TO THE BRITISH ISLANDS.
—MOCHTEUS AND BACHARIUS BOTH HAD PORCINE TITLES.—THEIR
IDENTITY.—REMARKS ON MURATORI.—TRANSLATION OF THE APOLOGY
OF BACHARIUS.—ITS LAMENESS.—BRITANNIA HIS COUNTRY.

ΗΑΡ ΠΑΚΥΑΟΝ ΒΑΔΑΝΟΝ Τ' ΕΒΑΑΕΝ ΚΑΠΗΟΝ ΤΕ ΚΡΑΝΕΙΗΣ
'ΕΔΜΕΝΑΙ, 'ΟΙΑ ΣΥΕΣ ΧΑΜΑΙΕΥΝΑΔΕΣ 'ΑΙΕΝ 'ΕΔΟΥΣΙΝ.

§ 1. THE next head of historical evidence to an apostatic heresy is the Apology of Bacharius. This author (otherwise, but not correctly, styled Bachiarus) is mentioned by ^mGennadius of Marseilles, who flourished about A.D. 490. He speaks of him in these terms; of which we shall see the inaccuracy. “Bacharius, a man of Christian philosophy, wishing to devote his leisure to God naked and unincumbered, chose even to go abroad from his country in order to preserve the integrity of his life. He is said to have published agreeable little works. But I have only read one of them, the *Libellus de Fide*, in which he satisfies the pontiff of the City, against fault-finders and the defamers of his peregrination; and indicates that he undertook it not from the fear of men, but of God, in order that, coming forth from his

^m De Viris Illustribus, c. 34.

land, he might become a co-heir of Abraham the patriarch." The publication of his *Fides* or *Apologia* in Muratori's *"Anecdota Bibliothecæ Ambrosianæ"* enables us to pronounce, that Gennadius had read it with very little attention. For he no where gives any account whatever of his reasons for abandoning his country; nor explains whether it arose^a from fear of men, or any other cause. It is likewise totally false, that he wrote in answer to any persons who had condemned his peregrination. He wrote in reply to those who said, (as he represents them) that no man, coming from such a country as produced him, could be free from taint and entitled to confidence. From which sentiment it would result, that he was very right to leave his country, and the sooner the better; but that, even when thus left, its infamy must always cleave to him. A widely different proposition from that stated by Gennadius. His apology for himself appears to have been accepted; for we find him, in another^b extant treatise, his *Epistola ad Januarium de Recipiendis Lapsis* or *de Reparatione Lapsi*, interceding for the re-admission to communion of an incontinent but penitent monk, in a manner which seems to imply that his own ground was then made good. And the honourable mention made of him by Gennadius, as well as the preservation of his writings in the church, serve to evince the same.

Though all his apology hinges on the state of his country, strange to say, he never names it. He abandons its cause entirely, and load-

^a Vol. ii. p. 9—26. This learned work was published by that extraordinary scholar in his 25th year, and was his first introduction to the European public.

^b The *Acta Eruditorum*, Lips. 1699, cited by Oudin *Script. Eccl.* i. 1176, state that he emigrated ut doctior exinde sacreque religioni addictior evaderet; another sheer fiction.

^c In *Bibl. Patrum*, iii. 560. Paris, 1589. Cited also, by Fulbert of Chartres *Epist.* 81, in *Bibl. Max. Patr.* tom. xviii.

it with such a weight of odious comparisons, as his enemies could not have outdone. But he seems studiously to avoid, as a name almost unutterable, that of his native land. Yet we find it stated in several modern writers, that he was a Briton, and the very same man who was employed in Ireland, under the pretended Saint Patricius, by the name of Mochteus. Bale^a mispells that name Macceus, to which others have added the epithet of bard or prophet, Macceus Vates. And he states, that after various studies of learning in the college of Caerleon, Bacharius devoted his youth entirely to mathematical pursuits. But afterwards, having arrived at advanced years, and wishing by Christian philosophy to devote his leisure to God, he undertook a peregrination to preserve the integrity to which he had attained. He adds, that he wrote a little book, addressed to Pope Leo, as it is said, in answer to fault-finders who defamed his peregrination; and that he flourished, as an old man, in the year 460, while Vortigern was reigning in Britain. He wrote (according to Bale) three treatises, *de Fructu Pœnitentiæ*, *de Fide Perseverante*, and the *Prognostica Nativitatum*; of which the two former are the same, under different titles, that I have already mentioned. The same statement is copied^c by Pitts, and has the sanction^d of Nicholas Harpsfield; and is mentioned doubtfully by^e Alford, but with this variation, that he flourished in 443, being the 4th year of pope Leo, and the 6th of Vortigern. The Benedictine Dom Bernard Pez, in his notes upon^f the *Anonymus Mellicensis*, says "An. Chr. 440;" which would make it doubtful, whether Sixtus III. or Leo the Great was in the chair, for Sixtus died in March

^a Bale cent. 1. n°. 46.

^c *Illust. Brit. Script.* p. 88.

^b *Hist. Eccles. Angl. sæc. 1. c. 22. p. 35.*

^d *Annal. Eccl. Brit. ann. 443. Leodil. 1065.*

^e *Apud Fabricii Bibl. Eccles. p. 151.*

440, and Leo was chosen in September. But I am not aware of the grounds upon which these several years are suggested. We must understand the date of his *flourishing* under pope Leo to mean the date of his *Apologia* or *Liber de Fide*; which was certainly addressed to some Roman primate, and, as it is asserted, to St. Leo the Great.

These details concerning our author have not been traced any higher, than to the ex-Carmelite John Bale, bishop of Ossory; a writer whose authority ranks^v deservedly low. Father Colgan^w very fairly remarks, that he is not acquainted with any authority for these statements, which identify our author with Saint Mochteus; but, that he cannot conceive any other origin for the opinion, than either there having existed a positive statement to that effect in some manuscripts, or different copies of the same work having been found, sometimes with one name, and sometimes with the other. In that state the case, as regarding the author, would remain; did I not feel myself in a position to argue that the name Bacharius is nearly an equivalent in signification to the name Mochteus, and through those means to establish the truth of the above premises.

§ 2. Mochteus or Mochta (miscalled Mocchæus^x by Jocelyn) was a native of Britannia, who went over to Ireland, and received from St. Patrick the bishoprick of Ludha, or Lugmagh, now Lowth; where he became the teacher of 100 bishops and 300 priests. The chronicle termed *Annales Ultoniæ* (which is not highly ancient, as it comes down to A.D. 1131) affirms that he died in December, A.D. 534, being fully 100 years after the time of his first meeting with the pretended Patricius. But other legends say, that he offended Patricius by doubt-

^v Entire justice cannot be done him, till the work of Boston of Bury, to which he professes himself indebted, is given to the public.

^w *Acta Sanctorum Hiberniæ*, p. 735.

^x *Vita S. Patr.* c. 134.

ing the longevity of the patriarchs, and expressing his disbelief that any man had ever lived 300 years; for which St. Patrick condemned him to live 300 years. Mochteus was consequently obliged to live thus long. From this it may be suspected, that Ireland contained no genuine record of his death. Another Irish^a bishop, who left the island never to return, was also said to live 300 years. The same Ulster Annals quote an Epistle ascribed to him, beginning *Macutenus* peccator, presbyter, Sancti Patricii discipulus, in Domino salutem; for which Usher puts *Mochthæus*, and Ware *Maucteus*. Its authenticity was probably equal to that of the prophecy concerning Columba, which Cumin Abbot of Iona ascribes to him, as Sanctissimus Moctæus Lugmadensis Episcopus, and the Second Preface of (the spurious?) Adamnanus, as proeelytus Brito, homo sanctus, S. Patricii Episcopi discipulus, Mauctaneus nomine. The words of it exhibit a forgery unusually coarse and clumsy.

Mochteus^b was persecuted in his infancy by the magician Hoan, but in after years converted him to Christianity. The magician at the time of his conversion was betrothed to a certain Bridget, but died presently afterwards. Bridget was instructed by St. Mochteus to found a cell or hermitage near a tree, under which aper ferocissimus mitis jacet, qui cellem tibi construentibus in escam parabitur. This is said to be another and contemporary Bridget, not the famous virgin of Kildare.

^a Vide Martyrol. Dungall. ap. A. S. Hib. p. 732. xxiv March.

^b He became bishop of Lowth in 443. O'Connor Suppl. Tigernach. Even if he were then only 30, he was born in 413; and consequently died in 713. It follows, that the legend of his longevity can have nothing to do with the history of Mochteus Magister of Armagh, who died in 889. Colgan A. S. Hib. p. 732. It is mentioned in an ancient Erse poem, which some have ascribed to Saint Columba himself.

^c St. Kieran or Piran. See *Alcmand Monasteres d'Irlande*, p. 20.

^d Colgan A. S. Hib. p. 729, 30.

Yet the ancient metrical hymn in praise of the latter records, that a fierce wild boar voluntarily joined her herd of swine.

In the language of the Neo-Druidic Heresy, its members were swine and the inferior members little pigs. *It is a symbol or metaphor entirely peculiar to the defection from the true faith, wrought in this island, and spread in Ireland; and one in which these islands stand distinguished from every other country in which gnostical and habba-*

^c It is my belief, that three ideas are combined in the mystic porcinity of Britain. 1. The first is that of the Homeric Circe. Orpheus Argonauticus seems to have been a poet of the 5th century. And he places the island of Circe in the Oceanus, near to Ierne, and to the Isle of Ceres (one of the Monas, vide Neo-Dr. Her. l. p. 12. l. 12.), and terms it Leuknaia, which is a mere Orwelism of the Latin Albion.

Α[ε]νᾶιον ποτὶ χίρσον ἀλιστίφιας τε θεράπνας.

v. 1213.

Britain was then become the Isle of Circe, as she was also become the mystical Creta, Makaron-nesos, and Sacred Isle of the West. See Neodr. Her. p. 144-7. Circe, tuneless daughter of the Sun and the Ocean Nymph, was this island's goddess Ceridwen, the Gogyrven of the Bards. Circe's enchanting goblet was the cauldron of Ceridwen flowing with "the stream of Gwion." And the sanctuaries, dedicated (whether openly or secretly) to such uses, were Circean sties to receive the transformed and twice-born. This relates to the true and Homeric Circe, who practised no other transformation than into swine. Some may take offence at this intrusion of pure paganism into the mysteries of heresy. But the Greek Sibylla was a Pseudo-Christian writer, of uncertain sect and origin; and she declared, that some people would erroneously call her the daughter of *Gnostus* and Circe. Ὅτι δὲ μὲ Κίρκης

Μητρός, καὶ Γνώστοιο πατρός, φήσουσι Σύβυλλαν.

L. 3. p. 483.

Which proves that impious deceivers, conversant with the *Gnosis* in some of its forms, did actually make use of the legend of Circe.

2. The second idea is the omnivorous nature of swine. For the Hermetical adepts (to whose number the Mithriacal Druids certainly belong) are *essentially*, though in a peculiar sense connected with their philosophy, omnivorous. This is rather a development of the preceding idea, than a distinct one.

3. The third is that of Troy. Troja vulgò Italicè Latinèque scropha vel sus dicitur. Pseudo-Messala de Aug. Prog. Gallicè, une truie. Æneas (whom our Brutus of Troy repeats) brought a white sow to Italy, and founded Latio-Lavinium where she littered,

Alba, solo recubans, albi circum ubera nati.

The same tale recurs in the British legends of Bangor-Wydrin and Moch-Rhos.

listical mysteries have been cherished. It is likewise one, that belonged in common to the Ecclesiastical and Bardic forms of that defection, and was equally affected in both of those rival methods. In my Neo-Druidic Heresy several ^d pages are given to this striking characteristic.

The solar deity was a boar. Ceridwen was an old white sow, Hen-wen. Swine were sent from Hades, or the regions of Annwvn, to Britain, and propagated by the dæmon Gwydion ap Don. Pryderi, Coll, and Trystan, mighty men of the days of Arthur, were the three puissant swineherds. The bard Merlin used to address all those, who were initiated in his mysteries, as pigs and little pigs; and so, it would seem, in a later age did Llywarch ap Llewelyn. The place upon the coast of Pictland to which the monk Regulus conveyed the bones of St. Andrew, and which now bears the name of that apostle, was previously ^e Muc-Ros, i. e. Nemus Porcorum. That is the same appellation, though in a different dialect, which figures in the following story. Saint Dyvrig Peneurog, (said to have been primate of Caerleon during Arthur's reign, and to have placed the crown on his head) was engaged for many years in teaching a variety of eminent scholars at a place on the Wye in Gwent, which he named 'Moch-rhos, i. e. the Field of Pigs. It is said in the *Liber^g Landavensis*, that he settled there in

This idea, again, is not fundamentally distinct from the two former. For it is not true that the Trojan legend is a mere historical mythus, rejected by the Sect. See *Hanes Taliesin*, p. 20. *Awdyl Vraith*, p. 94. *Davydd ap Gwilym*, p. 106. Nay, that legend is not mytho-historical, but mytho-heretical; exhibiting, as primitive origins, the Post-Roman machinations at the port of Totness and in Britain generally. See above, p. 88.

If readers are not willing to accept the remarks above offered, the mystical peculiarity of these islands must remain an unexplained but peculiar characteristic.

^d Part I. p. 118—124.

^e See Fordun, 2. c. 48. and a ms. cit. Usher Brit. Eccl. p. 341.

^f Benedict. Claudiocestr. Vita Dubricii ap. Wharton Anglia Sacra, 2. p. 655.

^g *Lectioes de S. Dubr.* c. 3. p. 77. Rhos is properly a moor or moorish place. *ibid.* p. 325.

obedience to a dream which had warned him to build an habitation and oratory, where he should find a white sow with her little pigs. That is just the legend of Ynys Avallon or Glaston. But the real pigs were the pupils at the college of Moch-rhos, and the original monks of the Saint Greal at Avallon. This pig-teaching prelate was (we are told) consecrated by Germanus and Lupus at the request of Aurelius Ambrosius, and performed the first obsequies of the slain Britons in the Stonehenge, as soon as it was built. The same Germanus elevated the ^h swineherd of Vortigern to the principality of Powys.

But no part of the school of Germanus was more impregnated with the porcine mystery, than the Palladio-Patrician, seated in Ireland. Patricius himself was for six years the swine-herd of king Milcho, whose pigs multiplied vastly under his care. The new form of clerical tonsu rewas introduced into Ireland by the swineherd of king Leogaire; and, as Leogaire was the king whom (so runs the fable) Patricius converted, that swineherd is nearly identical with himself. The mysterious¹ Brigida, his companion in life and death, had the herd of swine with the tame wild boar, and the fat pig whom the wolves pursued in vain, for he found an asylum at Huachter Gab. Macmaic Glas Macglais,² a giant thirty feet high, whom Patricius raised up from the dead, was the swineherd of a certain king Ricrote. Among his successors wonderful things were done, in the porcine way. St. Kieran³ (his precursor, as well as successor) brought a dead pig to life again; and by miracle created a sow and twelve pigs for the use of his monastery. St. Florentinus,⁴ a beatified prince of the Scoti, fed

^h Legend. S. Germ. ap. Usher Brit. Eccl. p. 180.

¹ S. Brogan Hymn. in Brigid. st. 29.

² Probi Vita Patric. p. 58. Vita Tertia, p. 26. ap. Colgan Trias.

³ Colgan A. S. III. p. 305. p. 459.

⁴ *ibid.* p. 157.

pigs during no less than thirty-two years. St. Tressan^u of Ireland was a swineherd. The legend of St. Aid bishop of Briccium is particularly deserving of notice. A pagan magician^o had lent some pigs to a Christian, and demanded repayment in an equal number and value of swine. The man applied to St. Aid to intercede with the creditor, who proved inexorable. Therefore St. Aid undertook to discharge the debt himself, and gave the magician as many pigs as he required. The latter went home, and locked them up carefully in his sty. But the next morning, when he went to feed them, he found no pigs at all; and thus he learnt that magic was useless against Christianity. It does not appear from this moral tale, whether the bishop had deceived the pagan by a mere prestige or optical appearance of pigs, or whether he gave him real pigs and then spirited them away.

The word *moch* signifies a swine in the British tongue; and agrees to the word *muc* for the same in Gaelic. But *moch* is, of all their synonymes, the term peculiarly applicable to swine, when they are named allegorically, to represent persons admitted to the ineffable mysteries. For that word (saith the *ⁱ*Mabinogi) was invented by Gwydion ap Don, to describe the swine that had been sent by Arawn king of the Infernal Regions. That word or its derivatives are of continual occurrence in the history of Patricius and his disciples. St. Moch,^q son of Conis, was that apostle's nephew; but as Colgan says, "Moch, rectius Rioch," we will pass him over. St. Mochua^r or Mochæus, was found by St. Patrick keeping swine near Breattan, and was instructed by him in the elements of learning. After sometime he

^u Colgan A. S. Hib. p. 271.

^o Ibid. p. 420.

^q That of Math ap Mathonwy.

^r Jocelyn Patric. c. 50. Colgan A. S. p. 259.

^s Jocelyn, c. 37. Patr. Vita 2^{da}. c. 32 ap. Colg. Trias.

returned, and again met with Mochæus; and while they were conversing upon holy things, a staff fell from heaven of which the head rested on the bosom of Patricius, and the point on that of Mochæus. Warned by this miracle, Patricius raised him to the successive degrees of the ministry, and placed him as bishop over the church of Antrim. Having been raised by him from a swineherd to a bishop, he promised to the apostle the annual tribute of a pig; which tribute used to be faithfully paid by the church of Antrim to that of Down. St. Mochoe-moch, whose name seems to redouble the word, distinguished^a himself by the miraculous discovery of a herd of lost swine. Mochta (of whom we treat) founded St. Bridget's sanctuary where a boar lay under a tree; just as Bangor Wydrin in Avallonia (the Saint Greal sanctuary, which claims St. Patrick for its abbot) was built where the sow lay under the tree.

Bishop^b Ængus or Æneas the Culdee, who died in the 9th^c century, assures us that Ireland enjoyed no less than thirty-four saints of the name of Mochume, and fifty-eight of the name of Mochuan. To these may be added the Mochelloca, Mochallan, Mochtean, and the female saints of the name of Mochanna. I cannot doubt of their formation from the British word moch, a pig. The conversion of Ireland to a pretended Christianity, was mainly effected from Britain; and her far-famed Patricius was himself a missionary from Britain. Moch was the word chosen by Gwydion son of Don (or Dominus) to describe the swine of the occult regions. He was manifestly a Dæmon or demi-god, the Mercury of their^d Hermetic arcana. Yet we find, in the Pedigree of Saints, that St. Patrick himself^e was a lineal descendant

^a Colgan A. SS. Hib. xi. Martii, p. 591.

^b Angus Keledeus clt. Monast. Hibern. in Introduction.

^c In 819, 824, or 830. Colgan A. SS. Hib. p. 582.

^d See above, p. 56.

^e See Bonedd y Saint, p. 50.

from Gwydion ap Don. He is there styled Sant Padric ap Alvryd ap Goronwy ap Gwdion (or Gwydion) ap Don. Therefore we need not wonder, to meet with such perpetual *mochs* among the disciples of the swineherd Patricius. *Names in moch were peculiar to saints or religious persons.* Father Colgan's third index, which is confined to such persons, furnishes no less than thirty-nine such names, from Mochaibeo to Mocufer. But his fourth index, which is of the names of laymen, gives only one such name, that of Mochtigern, father of St. Lactan. That evinces the secret of these names to be a religious one. Indeed there are some traces of these names in *moch* being agnomina, and not the parties' own true names. For the real name of the Mochoemoch above alluded to (many had that appellation) seems to have^x been Pulcherius. Another^y was S. Mochoemocus Cruthnech sive Camber, the Pict or Cambrian. St. Cronan son of Barra was otherwise^z called Mochua. Mochuda was the surname of^a St. Carthagus. St. Servan, disciple of Palladius, called St. Kentigern^b Mochohe. I know not, whether it will be contended that all this deluge of *moch* flows from the adverb *moch*, *early in the morning*. But if it is, I shall disbelieve it.

I do believe, not only that St. Mochta derived that title from the same British word as all the rest of this Irish hierarchy, but that the name under which he is said to have introduced himself at Rome, Bacharius, is an equivalent appellation, expressing in the Erse tongue

^x Britannia Sancta, l. p. 172.

^y Colg. A. S. Hib. p. 130.

^z Colg. A. S. Hib. p. 89.

^a See Usher Brit. Eccl. p. 472. 476.

^b J. Tinmouth. cit. Cressy Church Hist. p. 231. Rouen, 1668. He says, that, in his country's language, it signified "my beloved child." But what language that is, I cannot say. For the same John of Tinmouth (if I rightly understand Usher) described Servan as the son of a Canaanite by an Arabian mother. Usher Brit. Eccl. p. 363.

the same sense as the other was intended to express in the British. *Bachar*^c signifies, in its primary intention, the mast of oaks or beech trees, being the pannage of swine; and, in the second intention, *any sort of pig's meat*. Consequently *Bacharius* is a name formed from the Irish language, to express a man who tends pigs as they feed in the woods, or who otherwise feeds swine.

. Tardi venere subulci,
Uvidus hibernâ venit de glande Menalcaa.

His name is spelt thus, and not *Bacharius*, in two ancient^d mss. of Gennadius; and in the Milan and Caius^e College mss. of the *Epistola ad Januarium*, consulted by Muratori and Pitseus. It is certain that Bale was entirely ignorant of these matters, and could neither spell nor construe his appellations. By these means it is confirmed that he spoke upon some grounds, as Colgan had supposed; and furthermore that he had not been incorrectly informed. We are led to acknowledge that the stranger *Bacharius*, who emigrated to Rome, was the Briton Mochteus who had previously officiated in Ireland.

In illustration of which position we may observe two points; that he addresses the patriarch of Rome by the style of *Brother*, which in 'Muratori's judgment only bishops did; and that, besides being entitled

^c See Begby's Irish Dict. in vocabulo.

^d Codices Martiniensis et Corbelianus.

^e The Caius ms. begins and ends, *Incepit, and Explicit, Liber Sancti Bacharii*. It is still preserved in the library of that College.

^f His reason for retaining some doubt as to the rank of *Bacharius* is one, which rather seems to me a confirmation, viz. his saying *neque enim tam stulti sumus, ut quibus capita pro sanctificatione submittimus, his corda nostra humillare nolumus*. This, he thinks, bespeaks him *episcopis subjectum*. But is not every bishop *episcopis subjectus*, unless he deny the Church and her synods or councils? Nor does he explain what he would understand by *sanctificatio*. It is Episcopal Consecration by imposition of hands. The same word is used for the consecration of the Eucharist.

in the Milan ms. Sanctus Bacharius Monachus, there are (in the same^c editor's opinion) other indications of his monastic profession. But Mochteus was both a bishop and a regular.

§ 3. Muratori has argued that he was not a Briton, because Britain laboured under no such taint of heterodoxy and impiety, as both he himself and his accusers impute to his country. Alas! he was too little aware of the then state of our island, and had forgotten his Gildas. We know enough to judge, whether the character of Britain was such as, of itself, to rebut the British origin of this adventurer. Moreover he makes no attempt to surmise whence he did come, or to shew any other country to which those imputations were more applicable. Bacharius himself makes use of certain expressions descriptive of the political position of his country, which are as nearly as possible decisive of the question. But it will be time to comment upon them, when the reader has been placed in possession of the text of his Apology. But Muratori was so prepossessed with the idea of Britannia being an untainted and Catholic island, that he would not see their plain application, and went out of his way to seek a most harsh and strained interpretation.

§ 4. The surmised date of his apologetic epistle, viz. at some time in the pontificate of St. Leo, is also impugned by ^b Muratori with that want of clear acumen, which occasionally disfigures a little his vast and ever illustrious labours. Si pro culpâ unius totius provinciæ anathemanda generatio est, damnetur (saith Bacharius) et illa beatissima discipula, hoc est Roma, de quâ nunc non una, sed duæ, vel tres, aut eo amplius, hæreses pullulârunt, sed tamen nulla earum cathedram

^c Et in hanc rem quædam ejus verba prorsus expendenda supersunt. Anecd. Ambros. 2. p. 7. But I do not perceive that he has anywhere done so.

^b Anecd. Ambros. tom. 2. p. 4.

Petri, hoc est sedem fidei, aut tenere potuit, aut movere. Muratori construes *nunc* to signify the time of these events; and then replies, that no new heresies did arise at Rome while St. Leo was bishop, and therefore flings back the date of the passage to the earlier epoch when Helvidius and Jovinian flourished. But I should have thought nothing was clearer to the reader of this passage, than that *nunc* is not the time of the events themselves, but the point of time down to which the series of events is computed. "Three, or more than three, heresies may now be enumerated as having arisen in Rome, without impairing her faith and sanctity." Rome was the scene of the disputations of Marcion, Valentinus, Theodotus, Artemon, Novatian, Jovinian. Helvidius (of which last Bacharius makes express mention), and no doubt of divers others. Muratori, on the other hand, neglects entirely to explain, in what sense Helvidius and Jovinian (the assumed cotemporaries of his *nunc*) were three or more than three. They appear to be less. We may, I think, dismiss this rather captious piece of criticism without further ceremony.

§ 5. Considering the author of this apology to be now made out, and his date likewise in a general and sufficient manner, I will proceed to lay before the reader such testimony as he bears to the character and condition of this his native island, while Leo was looked up to as the moderator of western Christianity. Tedious and ineloquent as this production is, its high importance in illustrating the lapse of the British church and people renders superfluous any apology for its insertion at full length. I have deemed it correct, to accept in the singular sense, and translate accordingly, the plural pronoun which he generally makes use of. Because it is, in several instances, applied to matters or sentiments evidently personal to the writer alone; and no grounds exist for imagining that he was attended by any companions in his emigration.

THE FIDES OR APOLOGIA OF BACHARIUS.

Whatever hath been is the same which shall be, and there is no new thing under the sun. And again the Apostle¹ saith, "all these things were our examples," which in effect is proved at present, since the sacraments of the gospel mystery which were performed of old are celebrated and renewed afresh in the times of our age. Lo! now, so far as I understand, Christ is asking water of the Samaritan woman, when your Beatitude asks for the faith at my hands. So far as I see, it is not my discourse, but my country, that makes me suspected; and though I do not blush for my faith, I am put to confusion for my province. But far be it, oh most blessed! that in the eyes of holy men the stain of the earth on which I was born should seem to defile me. Though after the flesh I have known my native country, now I know her not; and, desiring to become a son of Abraham, I have rejected my country and my connexions. But I say this, because, as the Jews mistrusted the Samaritans, so do some mistrust me; in as much as a certain heresy has brought reproach on my original land. So I am judged in the opinion of certain² dignitaries, as though I could not be free from the deception of error. In like manner it was formerly said by unbelievers, "Can any thing good come out of Nazareth?"

I ask, were the merits of the apostles diminished by the perfidy and avarice of one of them; though he came, I say not from the same country, but from their very side? Did the fault of the brothers [of Joseph?] disturb the life of the patriarchs? Did the fictions of the false prophets falsify the oracles of the prophets? When Corah the

¹ 1 Cor. x. 6.

² Præsidentum quorundam.

Levite fell into heresy, did his other connexions descending from that family contract a stain from his relationship? When the sons of the high priest offered a strange fire, their brothers performed the sacerdotal office, and by the honour of their ministry showed themselves untainted with the fault of their brethren. When Nicolas the Deacon fell into heresy, the glorious works of the collected brethren shone in the miracles of God.

My country is imputed to me as a crime. Let whoever says this read, that Christ was^k a Samaritan; in which province was not only heresy, but they were devoted to the sins of idolatry. In the house of Ahab was found Obadiah a servant of the Lord, who was thought worthy to be joined with the bodies of the prophets. A faithful widow was found in Sarepta of Sidonia among the most wicked nation of Canaanites, and was chosen to entertain the prophets. Balaam, a master of idolatry and head of heresy, was admitted to preach Christ. Job was descended from the stock of profane and unbelieving Esau. Ruth, a kinswoman of the family of Christ, is described as a Moabitess, whose origin is forbidden from the doors of the church. Abraham the head of our faith was descended from the race of the Chaldees, to whom the impiety of the magic art is vernacular and natural. The ancient disgrace of their errors is no longer imputed to the Magi, who adored Christ. The spirit of prophecy was permitted by grace to Moses, who was learned in the arts of the Egyptians.

Now, then, shall the error of their earthly province be ascribed to men regenerated in Christ? If I acknowledge my country, yet I blush for her fault. For that city, unto which I am renewed, hath become

^k See John viii. 48. This language, though inexact in rabbinical geography, which distinguished Galilee from Samaria, was not so in respect of the ancient kingdom of Israel.

to me both country and native land. Let no earthly affinities be ascribed to me, since I am aware that I have renounced them all. Whoever it is that esteems me an infidel for my connexion with my province, let him know that he is himself an infidel, for he has either forgotten, or considers uncertain, what he must know that he confessed in Baptism. For surely he can not have relinquished his own earthly connexions, who condemns me for my country's error. It is true, that according to rules of human institution the father gives the fatherland. But how can I be said to have a country upon earth, who am forbidden by the heavenly precept to call any land my country or to have any? Do you, who blame me for the error of my country, wish that I should prove this to you by evident examples? Did not the Novatians, who differed from the Catholics in this sense, contract the leprosy of a shameful heresy by their perverse judgment, *eo quod anteactam culpam¹ seriem crediderunt etiam posteris adscribendam, et non tam hæresim odere, quam plebem?* If a generation is to be anathematized for the fault of *one entire province*, then let Rome, that most blessed disciple be also condemned, from which now not one, but two, or three, or more heresies have sprung up, and yet none of them has been able either to possess or to move the chair of Peter which is the seat of the faith. And lastly, let all the provinces be condemned, from which the various rivulets of error have flowed.

That vessel of election and teacher of the Gentiles, when Euticus^m

¹ Being unable to elicit from these words any just account of the Novatian heresy, and supposing (with Muratori) that the passage is corrupted, I do not attempt to translate it.

^m Acts xx. 9. If we judged of the Origenistic method from this specimen, we might doubt whether its followers really believed any *matters of fact* in sacred history. However Bacharus elsewhere explains, that when he writes this sort of stuff he does not intend to impugn the facts.

fell from the third loft (erring, I believe, in somewhat that regards the Trinity), renewed in him the warmth of faith, and restored life to him, that is, indulged him with pardon. But I am condemned by too severe judges while still sitting in the window, that is, in the way of light and the brightness of faith; and that, not upon discussion, but upon suspicion. Not considering, that "with what judgment they judge, they shall be judged," and that "he who saith *racha* to his brother shall be in danger of hell fire." For *racha* is interpreted *empty*. And who is empty, but he whose inward parts lack the truth of faith, and who is "like sounding brass and a tinkling cymbal?" He who had only seen Christ one night said to his countrymen, "doth our law judge^a any man, before it hear him, and know what he doeth?" And do these, who for so many years are followers of the Lord, pass judgment, before they hear and know the case they are to judge? If sentence may be passed before cognizance taken, why did the law-giver prescribe, *ne antequam introeat sacerdos, et videat domum quæ cariosæ vel tinnientis^o lepra hæresis scindatur, immunda judicetur?*

I beseech you, most holy brother, not to think ill of the province. For it does not escape your penetration, that when, at the arrival of the ark of the Lord the head of Dagon with both his feet was broken into a hundred parts, his back-bone is described to have remained entire. *For I consider those members of the world, the East and the West, to be the head and feet of Dagon, in which parts the perversity of all errors was crushed by the presence of the law. Let it be yours to know, what is the half [consisting] of the spine, in which the dissolved frame of the joints [of Dagon] still remains entire.*

^a John vii. 51.

^o Not comprehending, I do not attempt to translate. Compare Levit. xiv. 44.

To what purpose, I ask, is my country enquired into? "I am a stranger as all my fathers were." But if it be so much enquired where I was born, let my confession be accepted, which I gave in answer at my baptismal birth. For my country did not give me the confession, but the confession gave me my country, for I believed, and received it. Nor let my Samaritan condition cast a shade over me, for being interrogated at the well I believed on Christ, and purified from the leprosy of infidelity I acknowledged him. But the laws of Apostolic teaching admonish me,^p that I should "give an answer to every man that asketh me, a reason of the faith and hope that is in me." And I will not delay to exhibit to your Blessedness, who art the artificer^q of the work itself, the rule of my faith.

I believe that God is. What he has been, he was. What he was, he will be. He is never other, alway the same, God the Father, God the Son, God the Holy Ghost; one God, and one Son of the Father, the Holy Ghost of the Father^r and Son. That is the substance of One Trinity, and those three have one will. He who communicates is not greater, nor is he who receives lesser. Neither is any second from the first, nor third from the second, for so the prophetic institutes have taught us, saying, "you shall not go up by steps to my altar." For we regard as a certain basis of faith that altar, from which the aliments of living food are partaken of. Because an altar by the etymology of its name is nothing else than a high knowledge of sublime things. For the word *altaris*, when divided into syllables, and beginning with

^p See 1 Peter iii. 15.

^q This does not imply, that the patriarch of Rome, whom he is addressing, had himself drawn up and appointed a symbol like that which follows. But it merely signifies that it was accounted the province of that bishop, as apostolical primate of the West, to superintend and watch carefully the purity of its creed.

^r This was the ancient mode of expressing the double origin of the Third Person.

the last, signifies, and sounds like, *alta res*. To this faith we ought not to ascend by steps, nor by entertaining unequal sentiments to pass from an inferior to a superior; but rather to enter with an even step of our heart, so as to regard the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, as of one substance, one power, and one virtue. For the Father is the principal name of Godhead, because he is believed in by himself, and because he is called God the Father. God the Son is of the Father, not from himself, but of the Father. But the Father is not the same [person] *who* the Son is, but the Father is believed to be the same thing *which* the Son is. And the Holy Ghost is not the unbegotten Father, but the Spirit of the unbegotten Father. The begotten Son is not the Spirit begotten, but that very Son upon whom the Spirit was sent by the Father. Therefore as the Father, of whom is the Spirit, is unbegotten, it seems incautious to call the Holy Ghost unbegotten, lest the infidels should think there are two unbegottens or two Fathers. The Son of the Father begotten by the Father before the ages cannot have another begotten his fellow; that he may be thought only-begotten, and that two may not be called begotten. For there is one unbegotten Father, one begotten Son, the Holy Ghost proceeding* from the Father, co-eternal with the Father and the Son; since there is one work and one operation of the will in the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost. The Father is unbegotten, the Son begotten, the Holy Ghost proceeding from the Father, co-eternal with the Father and Son; but the former is born, the latter proceeds, as we read in the Gospel of St. John, "the Spirit, who proceeds from the Father, he shall tell you all things."

* This was an orthodox formula in his days. For the *Filioque* was not then inserted into the creed. And he had previously expressed himself to the same effect, in the language which his age considered sufficient; as is observed in the preceding note.

So let the Holy Ghost be esteemed to be neither the unbegotten Father, nor the begotten Son, but the Holy Ghost who proceeds from the Father. But that which proceeds is not different from that whence it proceeds. If the person is enquired, it is God. This conjunction thus tripartite, and division thus conjoined, both excludes union in the persons, and obtains unity in the distinction of persons. And so I believe the most Holy Trinity, which is of one nature, of one Godhead, of one and the same virtue and substance, so that there is no diversity between the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, except that *that* is Father, and *this* Son, and *that* Holy Ghost, a trinity in subsisting persons, but an unity in nature and substance. Also I believe that the Son was born of the Virgin and the Holy Ghost in the latter days, and took upon him the flesh and soul of human nature. In which flesh I believe that he suffered, and was buried, and rose again from the dead, and after his resurrection ascended into heaven in that same flesh in which he lay in the sepulchre, from whence I expect that he shall come to judge the quick and the dead. And [I believe] that the Virgin, of whom we know he was born, was a virgin both before his birth and after it, that I may not be thought a partaker of the Helvidian error. And I confess¹ the entire and perfect resurrection of this flesh in which we live in the present life, and are either governed by good habits, or are guilty of evil works; so that, in it, we may either suffer the tortures of punishment for things evil, or receive for good works the recompense of things good. Nor do I say, as some most absurdly say, that another flesh will rise instead of this, but that this flesh will; without any member of it being amputated, or any part of the body relinquished.

This is the treasure of my faith, which I keep, sealed with the

¹ This is directed against the heresies of Origen and John of Jerusalem.

Symbol of the Church, which I received in baptism. Thus do I believe before God in my heart, thus do I confess with my lips before men; that the knowledge of Him may make faith in men, and that his image may bear testimony of God. This is the staff of my defence, with which I will smite the mouths of those who murmur against me, and who, as I pursue my path through this life, bark at me, not with the care of reason, but under the force of habit. This is the shield of my faith with which I repel and avoid the envenomed darts of reproachful words and suspicions; lest my enemy's discourse should find in me any member, exposed and denuded of the protection of faith, and serving as a mark to aim at. But I will say no more of this, because the care I have now in hand is not to retaliate upon my enemy, but to avoid his attack.

But if that is further enquired of me, how I think concerning the soul, I believe that it is made, as we read^a in Jeremy the prophet by the speech of king Zedekiah, "as the Lord liveth, that made me this soul." But if it be enquired, whence it is made, I own that I know not, for I am not aware that I have any where read it, and do not therefore blush for my ignorance, because I am not taught by reading. Nor, because I do not assume the things which I do not read, am I under any apprehension, lest I should be found a transgressor of the prophetic precepts, which command that blood should not be eaten, adding "because the blood is the anima of all flesh." For what is to eat blood, unless it be to dispute about the soul? And therefore we may say that the flesh, which was founded for us in Adam, was composed of the qualities of the world, God being the artificer and author of its substance; but let us pour the blood at the foot of the altar, that is to say, let us leave him who created it to know whence he created it.

^a Jeremiah xxxviii. 10.

For the foot of the altar is as it were a certain root of profundity, to the secret of which we may also join the principle of the soul upon which we cannot dispute. And therefore I do not call the soul a part of God, as some assert; because God is indivisible, undivided, and impassible; but the soul is subject to various passions, as daily experience proves. Nor do I say that it is made of any creature, lest I should make it more vile than other creatures, over which (if it have done well) it is appointed mistress; but that it is formed by God's will only, to whose power materials out of which to form what he willeth are unnecessary, but his very will is the material of those things which he commandeth to be made or to be. Nor do I give in to that assertion with which some are more than enough delighted, that souls are generated by transfusion, because the blessed David contradicts this suspicion, by saying, "Know ye the Lord that he is God, it is he that hath made us and not we ourselves," and elsewhere, "who fashioned our hearts one by one." How shall this transfusion find place, when our hearts are fashioned one by one, or when it is said, "it is he that hath made us and not we ourselves?" They who say that souls are generated by transfusion, are said to maintain it on the ground that we make ourselves. But the prophetic wisdom rebukes this by saying, "it is he that hath made us, and not we ourselves."

Therefore I believe and confess that every thing that is governed, actuated, or moved, in heaven, earth, or sea, except only the Trinity, is a creature. I do not think that the Devil was so made as he is the Devil, or had a proper kind of his nature, so as to be born the Devil; and [I think] that his own deserts, and not God, gave him that title. And that he is not increate, for he is not God; and that he was

* Psalm xxxii. 15. Vulgat.

not made the Devil, for God does not make evil; but that he was made a good angel, as Scripture shews, saying, "by good^w was all concupiscence wrought in me." For I believe that he was a bad angel, as the apostle says, "there^x was given to me a thorn in the flesh, the Angel of Satan to buffet me." And elsewhere; "except there come^y the Renegade and a falling away." Therefore he who is now the Renegade was once in the sight of the Creator, and in that degree of elevation which is described by the Prophets, saying, "thou wert the sealing^z of [My] likeness and the crown of beauty," and what follows. And elsewhere, "how is Lucifer fallen from heaven who rose in the morning!" Now I say that he received from his Maker a nature capable of good and evil, that he was surrounded with the glory and honour of immortality, and received also the dignity of knowledge; but, being elated with pride, he thought that his own which was not, since he did not regard Him who had made him. "I am (he said), and beside me there is none other." Then was he doomed to the earth and to ashes, as it is^a written; "what are the proud? earth and ashes," and, "the beginning of sin is pride;" being doomed to Tartarus and perpetual fire, and having eternal punishment, not everlasting life.

I believe that every creature of God, which is given by the Creator for the use of food, is good, as it was made good, "and God saw that they are very good." But I feel that it is useful to abstain from them for a time, not from any superstition of religion or abomination of God's creature, but for continency of the flesh according to the advice of the Apostle, who says, "it is good not to eat flesh or drink wine;"

^w A garbled and otherwise false quotation of Rom. vii. 8.

^x 2 Cor. xii. 7.

^y 2 Thess. ii. 3. quoted not according to the Vulgate.

^z For Ezek. xxviii. 12.

^a Eccles. x. 9. 15.

and I think it is in the power of man, when he desires to use of them and it would please him, to abstain from them.

I approve marriages; which are conceded by God's authority. I commend continency in them. I exalt and admire virginity, as an excellent shoot proceeding from the effete root of the trunk.

I believe that the difference of the righteous and sinners arises from no disposition of the Creator, but from the freedom of the will. I acknowledge the repentance of sins with the fullest faith, and look up to it as to a second grace, as the Apostle says to the ^b Corinthians, 'I was minded to come among you, that ye might have a second grace.'

I receive the Old and New Testament in equal scales of faith; and with active meditation I weigh the recorded facts, as in the balance of a weight running through the signs of the numbers; and, lest I should annul the faith of the History, I believe all the facts to have occurred, as we read them; but, according to the apostolic doctrine, I seek in them, as far as God hath enabled me, the spiritual sense, so however that such sense shall be typical of Christ and the Church, or profitable for the improvement and correction of manners. And this I do, according to what the Apostle says, "all these ^c things happened for a type of us," and elsewhere St. Peter, "every^d word has need of interpretation." I not only do not receive any such Scripture as does not agree and coincide with the Church Canon, but condemn it as alien to the verity of the faith.

I do not readily lend my assent to strange and unknown fables concerning the contents of the Scriptures, nor does a new doctrine find speedy entry to the cavity of my ears. For I read of another new ^e virgin in a secret place, which I suspect to mean either an

^b 2 Cor. i. 15.

^c 1 Cor. x. 11.

^d 2 Pet. i. 20, incorrectly cited.

^e Perhaps in Proverbs xi. 16.

ignorant or a secret doctrine, which we are forbidden to look upon, lest she should deceive men's hearts by the beauty and suavity of her discourses under a spurious show of truth. The Virgin is that doctrine which is known to no Churchman or Catholic, but hath always grown up among women, that is, souls, which (always learning) with credulous facility unite themselves to every spirit of deception, having no care by whom they conceive; whereas the Lord in the Law hath commanded, that she should only be joined in marriage unto one of her own tribe, that is to say, unto that understanding of faith, which descends from the seed (that is, the doctrine) of the Fathers, and is ennobled by the pedigree and line of Abraham, who was the first believer of the uncircumcision. *The Virgin is that doctrine which delights only in secrecy, and blushes to come forth in public. From her, being such, I not only fly, but also condemn her publicly with my voice, thinking it foolish to believe that which I either cannot myself defend, or which ought not to come to the public ear.*

I keep fasts somewhat strict, according to the church rule and discipline, so that "three times¹ in the year my man-child (that is, the work of virtue which excels other works) may appear." And if ever [special?] fasts are enjoined to the Church, then I wish to fast not only in the customary way, but from conversation, gossipings, and salutations which introduce ² gossipings.

Whilst, God being my witness, I write as I think, I do not however so flatter myself of my rectitude, that, if peradventure the Bishops

¹ Exod. xxxiv. 23. Muratori has devoted an entire dissertation to this obscure passage; and explains it of the three Quadragesimæ kept first by the Montanists, before the Nativity, Easter, and Pentecost, and afterwards (as St. Jerome says) observed by the orthodox. Their observance is also ordained in the Capitulars of Charlemagne.

² Fabulas.

or Teachers, who are the heads of the people and pillars of the churches, should approve a part of my profession and at the same time say something better, I would be slow to pass over to their opinion. And I remember the precept^b which is written "Ask of your fathers and they will tell you." Nor am I so foolish as to disdain to humiliate my heart to those, to whom I submit my head for sanctification. There is a Shepherd. Whither he calls me, I will follow, upon what he says, I will ruminate, because he knows that he hath an account to render of my safe keeping. These are the points, upon which for the time present I have been able to make answer. If there be any thing, which I should be thought to have intentionally passed over, or which may still disquiet you, deign to interrogate me without scruple, in order that I may promptly answer you, and be either corrected of my error, or confirmed in my faith.

I declare to whoso reads the words of this profession, that, if any man take away ought from them, [I pray] may God also take away his part in the book of life; *and especially* [etenim] he who shall think that I say one thing with my lips, and hold another in my heart. As I before said, God can see into my heart. Unto him I have opened my lips in confession. Concerning those things of which men can judge, I have given satisfaction. And so every word of mine^c will stand by two witnesses, namely, by God, whose judgment if I am deceiving you I imprecate, and by men, whose suspicions I set right by my confession, lest they should any longer sin against me by thinking amiss of me. But whoso, having heard these things, shall persevere in his unbelief or withhold from me the assent of his belief, I doubt not but that, in the day of judgment, he will

^b Joshua iv. 6. ?

^c Matth. xviii. 16.

have his lot either among the unbelieving people or among false witnesses, and (according to the judgment of the Mosaic law) will receive the same injury he meditated against his brother. But I, although I be a sinner, yet ought I not, considering those three hundred golden^k shields which Solomon made, to fabricate brazen ones. For a shield is the type of faith, according to the Apostle, who says, "taking the shield of faith." And he makes brazen ones for golden, who (truth being the substance of faith) by a base confession yields only a tinkling sound, and while he is found^l devout in respect of the number [of shields], is yet found guilty as to the vow [of dedication], by confessing what he does not believe. Concerning whom indeed the holy apostle may be suspected to have said, "having a^m form of godliness, but denying the power thereof." Think you not that the power may be understood by the gold, and the form by the brass? But I wish to observe the scriptural assertion, so as to place my shields before the feet of the king'sⁿ horses; for who are they but our Bishops and Teachers whose feet are swift upon the mountains, preaching the gospel of the peace of our faith? The three hundred golden shields mean either the faith of the Holy Trinity, or the formation of all creatures, heaven, earth, and sea. And we must suppose that the runners, who place them before the feet of the horses, are they who have been able to say, "I have finished my race." By the institute of which law may I be able to preserve them to the end, so that Juracim^o king of Egypt, that is, the Devil, may

^k 1 Kings x. 17.; xiv. 26.

^l Et cum devotus videatur in numero, tamen reus invenitur ex voto, id quod non credit confitendo.

^m 2 Tim. iii. 5.

ⁿ The Vulgate has nothing about *horses* or *feet*.

^o The Septuagint has Susacim, and the Vulgate Sesac. Sheshac is ascertained from the hieroglyphics to be his name.

not snatch them from the temple of my heart. May the friendly voice of your prayers keep watch [for me] before our Lord Jesus Christ, unto whom be glory for ever and ever.

§ 6. On the perusal of this remarkable Apology of Bacharius many reflections will present themselves to the reader's mind. It all has reference to the land of his birth. But that is a land of mystery. Gennadius, at no very remote age from his own, seems to have been unacquainted with it, and could only describe it as "*terra sua*." He himself never calls it by its name, or makes use of any phrases intended to designate it. As he was evidently deterred by shame or by discretion from naming it, so was he equally afraid to attempt any vindication of it. He renounces his country and all his countrymen, not merely as an emigrant leaving it for ever, or as an ascetic renouncing all things secular, but as a Christian casting behind him the abominable things of Satan. To him it was become as Ur of Chaldæa, Samaria, and Egypt, as the Congregation of Corah, as the House of Ahab, as the Church of Judas Iscariot among the apostolic Churches, as a land of Canaanites, Edomites, Moabites, and Magi.

While Bacharius withholds from us the name of his country, he likewise keeps entirely concealed the nature, name, and designation of that moral and religious taint, which had defamed his country and, by consequence, thrown obloquy upon him. "A certain heresy had brought reproach on his original land." We often hear of her *culpa* and *error*, but we never approach to any definition of them. Consequently his defence offers no direct refutation of the charges adduced against him; for no charge is described or stated. But the course he adopts is to publish a laboured profession of his entire faith and practice, in matters great and small; in which he, virtually and by affirmation of the contrary, disclaims many heresies, expressly disclaims

others, but names no sect except those of Novatian and Helvidius. In this manner he excludes the heresies of the Arians, Sabellians, Macedonians, and various points of Gnosticism and Manicheism, together with the errors of Origen and John of Jerusalem, those of the Predestinati, and those imputed to Jovinian and Helvidius. It is impossible to collect from this verbose confession, what it is that he would especially deny, or of what he had been accused. It was customary for persons thus maligned, and anxious to clear themselves, to disavow by name, that precise heresy which was imputed to them, together with a solemn repetition of the Holy Church's anathema upon it and its hæresiarch or author. "*Ego Felix, qui Manichæo credideram, nunc anathematizo eum et doctrinam ipsius,*" and so forth. But in Bacharius we entirely desiderate both the charge and the avoidance of it. Yet it must have been alleged against him in some form of words; and he himself styles it *quædam hæresis*.

There is no sentence in his *Fides* which bears against Pelagianism. And his silence^p on all the points of it leads me to think that he was, at the time he wrote it, inclinable to its tenets. To which opinion I am the more disposed, by his declining to adopt St. Augustine's doctrine of the generation of the soul, or traduction of it from the souls of the parents; which was then generally looked upon as essential to that of original sin. But it is perfectly clear, that the Pelagian heresy could not have been the matter laid at his door. Because it would be absurd, to publish an anxious and an angry defence, without once

^p His silence concerning the Greek heresies upon the Incarnation and Hypostatic Union is quite a different matter. The condemnation of Eutyches did not occur till A. D. 448, being five years subsequent to Michael Alford's date of this writer. That of Nestorius in A. D. 430 was more than twenty years subsequent to the separation of Britain, and had probably attracted little notice in a country so distracted and changed.

alluding to the imputed error. Not to repeat, that indirectly he was lending it some aid.

§ 7. Does then the *Fides* of Bacharius contain any expressions so far peculiar and remarkable, as to excite our suspicion that they relate to his own affair? I have marked with italic letters (p. 128.) some lines which I suspect contain the pith of this Apology. It is the passage in which he disavows "the new virgin," or that heresy which delights only in secrecy, and seduces the souls of men with unheard of doctrines, that are not intended to meet the public ear. By these words he appears to denote that secret, nameless, general, and apostatic heresy which had pervaded the Churches of Britain. Name it had none¹ at that time, and it has none to this day. It was essentially formed out of the *Sacra Mithriaca*, but did not (so far as appears) adopt the name of *Mithras*. And I have named it the *Neo-Druidic Heresy* upon sufficient grounds, though aware that its degree of connexion with *Druidism* is liable to be exaggerated. Perhaps no other ancient confession of true faith, and abnegation of errors, will be found to contain a clause analogous to this. It makes secrecy the characteristic; but leaves the nature of the guilty secret unexplained. Though sects of the *Gnostic* heaven kept secret some of their worse practices, their doctrines were in the main pretty well understood; and I never saw them handled in such phraseology as this. The absence of any more formal disclaimer and anathematism points towards some mischief ill understood and ascertained, and to some heresy without any fixed name, and not proceeding from any known heresiarch. I perceive that, in repudiating the *Secret Virgin*, Bacharius adopted a mode that occurs in none other of his disavowals.

¹ Unless you will find one in Ausonius's "*Apollinares Mystici*."

Hanc talem non solum *fugimus*, verum etiam publicâ voce damnamus. Considering that he was an emigrant lately arrived from his unnameable country, and that the burthen of his song is "*Nos patriam fugimus*," I doubt but this verb points out to us the Secret Virgin as being that unnamed evil, out of which he was come forth like Abraham out of Ur of the Chaldees.

Another passage of Bacharius, also printed in italics, p. 120, furnishes the one indirect indication of his country, that he has suffered to escape him. But that is an important one. It childishly compares Dagon to heresy in general; the extremities of Dagon (which were broken in pieces) to those two countries, viz.: the Eastern and Western Empires, in which heresy was broken down by authority; and the trunk or torso of Dagon (which remained entire) to his native country, in which heresy was free from restraint. And it clearly results from the passage, that his country was no longer a portion of the bipartite Roman Empire, of "those members of the world, the East and the West," and was no longer kept within bounds, "by the presence of the law." I need not add that it once had belonged to the Empire; for that and Christendom were much about co-extensive, and he calls his country *Provincia*. What province may this have been? So mysteriously does he address the Primate in conclusion, that we must conclude it was not generally known from what place he came; though known, of course, to those *Præsidentes* who reproached him with it. "*Let it be yours to know what is the*" country^r typified by Dagon's torso. It need not be said, how apt and true a description of the once flourishing province Britannia this was.

^r He goes on to say, *ut quid quaeritur provincia mea? Peregrinus ego sum sicut omnes patres mei. Verumtamen si magnopere quaeritur, ubi natus sim, accipiatur confessio mea quam in baptismi nativitate respondi.* The church was his birth-place, because therein he received the sacramental new-birth.

§ 8. Having recognized the perfect aptitude which this case presents to the country of Mochteus, the next step is to remark that history furnishes no other province to which it can be referred. The Western Half-Empire or "member of the world," was still in existence. Let us enquire, from which other of its dismembered provinces this refugee could have come. Barbarians of the Arian creed, Burgundians, Visigoths, and Vandals, had possessed themselves of parts of Gaul and Spain; by whose influence the Christian Church was depressed, but neither abolished nor severely persecuted.

In Africa the kingdom of the Vandals was established in the last years of the expiring Western Empire, and the Catholic clergy and people were exposed to persecution from the conquering heretics. But there is nothing in the circumstances of that province resembling those of the country of Bacharius. He was condemned as impious by reason of his country. No good, it was said, *could* come from thence. The crime of his province was transferred to himself, and he was esteemed a reprobate for his connexion with it. To all this he has no reply to offer, but the professions of his own individual purity. It might be presumed, that a whole province would contain some few righteous souls besides himself. But if it did so, he felt it not to be wise and prudent rhetoric, to plead for his country even the lowest of Abraham's pleas for Sodom, "peradventure ten shall be found there;" and he owns that he was cast under this cloud of reproach by the *unius totius Provinciæ culpa*. The ill fame which he does not seek to avert from his country, but joins in heaping upon her, is entirely her own and that of her people; it is not the sin of a foreign invader, or of the natives under his coercion; nor does it appear that any foreign conquest had taken place, but the contrary may be inferred. The condition of the province of Africa was in all respects different. Its

numerous population had fallen into the hands of some fifty thousand Germans, whose tyranny during a succession of reigns did not exhaust the perseverance and constancy of its Church. Her odour was fragrant and her glory exceeding bright through all Christendom; and no presumption could be so absurd, as that a refugee from Genseric was an Arian. Add to which, the Arian heresy was of such ancient standing and notoriety, and the disclaimer of it so customary, that it is utterly incredible any one should set himself to repel that charge, by a farrago of mixt theological professions, with no direct anathematism.

The impropriety of referring these allusions to those Roman countries, which armies of Teutonic Arians had occupied, would be such, that I would scarce have dwelt thus long on it, but for observing another point connected with the new kingdom of Genseric. One circumstance only could make an ecclesiastical refugee from Africa to Rome appear other than an honourable confessor of Christ, and expose him to sinister reflections. Africa had long contained a number of those impure sectaries (scarce in any sense Christian) called Manichees. And Genseric conducted himself towards them with as much severity, as towards Catholics. Insomuch that many of that sect sought refuge in Rome, where they pretended to be orthodox refugees. But in course of time they were detected by St. Leo; who in A. D. 444 held a Synod at Rome to correct that influx of impiety.

Could Bacharius have been an African emigrant labouring under suspicion of Manicheism? We may confidently answer, he could not. That would have been a personal charge against the man, and to such manner of charge we see he was not exposed. It would not have been (as this was) a charge against his Province in general, thence transferred to himself. For Africa was Arian as to the horde of barbarians who formed its government, and Catholic as to the bulk of its popula-

tion; and its name was held in honour among the faithful. To call Manicheism the culpa totius Provinciæ would be altogether absurd. Moreover if he were accused thereof, the Bishop of Rome would not listen to him on any other terms, or admit him to clear himself of it by any other means, than a direct and verbal anathematism of Manes and his sect. Thus much we learn expressly from the writings of St. Leo himself. Whereas his Apology but incidentally glances at one or two points of that Eastern superstition.

§ 9. Since Mosheim^a seems to intimate that a writer with whom I am unacquainted, Angelo Calogera, has suggested a still more improbable opinion, I will briefly advert to it. That opinion is, that Bacharius was a Priscillianist of Spain. *It is entirely false*, that the whole province of Spain was addicted to that heresy, so that it could not be vindicated, or even named, to orthodox ears, and so as to cast slur and suspicion upon every native of it. Spain and the Church of Spain were catholic; and silenced the faction of Priscillian in their councils of Toledo and Gallicia. A Spaniard must have been mad, to speak of his country as this man speaks of his. *It is false*, that Spain was then separated from the Western Member of the World, either formally, or by an actual annihilation and overthrow of the coercive power. For the power and influence of St. Leo nowhere showed themselves more effective in repressing schism; and a Spaniard, professing Catholicity, would have been wanting in the common courtesies of gratitude, not to acknowledge his services in crushing Dagon. *It is incredible*, that the affairs of a reputed Priscillianist from Spain should be thus handled. It was a notorious heresy, with which the see of Rome was busily and openly engaged. No man could impute it but in

^a Inst. Hist. Eccl. sæc. iv. p. 171, note. Calog. Opusc. Scient. tom. xxvii. cit. ibid.

plain and set words. No man could disclaim it, but in terms equally peremptory and with anathematism. No one coming from the Roman province, in which St. Leo had convoked his solemn councils of Toledo and Braga, could speak of it as a nameless land, to be conjectured from mysterious allegorical descriptions, and labouring under a nameless and undefined imputation. Such an hypothesis (if, as I understand, it has been broached) appears to me more untenable than the African. It has every absurdity incident to that opinion, and wants the circumstances which gave it colour, viz. : the entire separation of the country from Rome, and the national establishment of heresy, so far as the conqueror's government could make it national.

Since I can discover no other country to which, according to his account of it, it is possible for him to have belonged, I feel entitled to conclude, that he has been correctly described as a native of the dismembered province Britannia.

§ 10. The personal merits of Bacharius are quite unimportant to the general question. But they are not equally so, as concerns his identity with Mochteus. For the latter was a hearer of the Secret Virgin, was in the paschal schism of the Martinists, and wore the badge of the schismatic tonsure. He was annexed to the congregation of Garmon of Auxerre, and to the church of his creatures and Hibernian emissaries Palladius and (if a real man) Patricius. Named out of the porcine vocabulary invented by Gwydion ap Don, he was the disciple of Milcho's royal swincherd ; he was a pastor, who led forth his grunnient flock to the *bachar* which dropped from ancient oaks ; and the exordium of his preaching was *Oianau Borchellan!* If I am correct in these ideas, Mochteus, visiting Rome, would have justly and without prejudice incurred the suspicion of the orthodox. Let us therefore see how the case of Bacharius seems to stand.

He was considered as a heretic for no other reason than his coming from Britain. Against this attack he has to defend himself; and the method he adopts is as follows. He expressly acknowledges the universality of his country's guilt, avows its magnitude by a series of the most odious comparisons, and then proceeds to his own personal compurgation. In that view he puts forth a confession upon numerous points of faith, all in the present tense, and simply avouching that he, Bacharius, did then at the time present and there at Rome hold and believe so and so. But whether he had held such faith a month, a year, or his whole life, cannot be learnt from him. Of his past life, actions, and principles, he says not one word; or if one, it is that most ambiguous word *fugimus*. In the total defection of his country, if he kept himself unspotted from her, he was almost the only man who did so. Such resistance to the prevailing power could not have been attempted in this troublous island with impunity; and (in such case as I have supposed) he must have escaped from his Ur of Chaldæa, a suffering confessor of the Christian faith. But, in this exigency of his reputation, Bacharius neither hazards any boast of merits, nor any declaration of past innocence, nor even any extenuations of past contamination. He was so situated, that the laws of sound rhetoric taught him to confine himself strictly to an assertion of his present orthodoxy. From which, in my judgment, it results, that he had nothing favourable to say of his British life, and that the suspicions entertained of him were as just in regard of the time past, as he says they were unjust at the time present. Such are the inferences from his limited and cautious apology; and, if I err not altogether, the very appellation under which he appeared at Rome, Bacharius, signified, in the language of the Hibernian Scoti, among whom he had been a bishop, a teacher of the occult doctrines. Notwithstanding that circumstance, the fact of

his renouncing the islands forbids our refusing him all credit for having sincerely renounced their evil things. However, other and personal causes, arising out of their disturbed and dangerous state, might render his continuance in them unsafe, and induce him to visit the western metropolis (as the African Manichees did) with orthodox professions in his mouth. To read the heart of man is not ours.

§ 11. Professing actual and present orthodoxy (which is all he attempted to profess) he would not, of course, in the very confession of his faith, show the cloven foot of heresy; even supposing that his cloak concealed it. Yet a little of the old mischief is perhaps visible in his style. The Neo-Druidic heresy was allied to Origenism. It differed from the sects properly and strictly Gnostical in this great point; that instead of rejecting one half of Scripture as the work of the visible world's Evil Creator, it retained as divine, but explained away *ad libitum*, the entire text of both Testaments. In the use of this method it was allied to Origenism and Priscillianism, and took in Essenism; nor were its machinations widely remote from those of Boehmen and Swedenborg. The habitual use of the most outrageous figurative¹ constructions, devoid of all taste and verisimilitude, appears in his pages. The golden shields, Dagon, and the steps of the altar, are bad enough. But in his allusion to Eutyclus,² it is hard to say, whether he would explain his falling from the third loft to

¹ It is remarkable, that so timid and unhandsome an apologist of himself should reappear, as the author of a warm remonstrance with one Januarius, for not restoring to communion a penitent monk who had been guilty of incontinence with a nun. Considering his peculiar style, I could not but suspect that he himself was the penitent monk, and that the nun (with whom he had gone astray) was the new or secret virgin of his *Apologia*; in short, that his *Epistole de Reparatione Lapae* concerned his own lapse and his own restoration. However the wording of that *Epistole* is not altogether confirmatory of the surmise.

² See Acts xx. 9.

mean his denying the Three Persons; or whether he would have it, that Eutychus denied the Three Persons, and therefore was punished by falling from the third loft. In like manner, it is not explained, whether St. Paul's bringing him to life *means* his converting him to the right faith; or whether St. Paul both resuscitated him and converted him. Taken either way, the whole passage is one of such audacious perversity as to bespeak (I think) a man familiarized to the abuse of the sacred text, and resorting to it, habitually and unconsciously, even when compelled to be most upon his guard. It illustrates the character of the Origenians of the extreme West.

Never, in the course of these obscure enquiries, have I found a firmer resting-place for the foot than this Apology affords. The Bardic remains might seem to be the effusions of an old Druidizing party, local to the western mountains of the island, mere wild eagles of Snowdon, with whose actions or principles the bulk of the *Insula Romana* had no concern or fellowship; and so the megalithic structures might continue to be ascribed to the Titans, the Helio-Arkites, the Gomerians, and other such folk. Inferences, drawn from the suspicious but colourable Hagiographia of the islands, might be long disputed. The schism of the islands, manifested in the paschal observance and in the tonsure, and happening at or near upon their time of political separation, might be very little accounted of in an age and country, in which men make a boast of doing what is good in their own sight. But we have in Bacharius an ancient British bishop nearly of the age of Germanus and Palladius; before Britannia was become either Saxon or Welsh. To the disclosures imparted by Celtic minstrelsy we are enabled to join those of a Latin divine, a Father of the *Secret Church*. We hear his own accounts of himself and his country; of himself, nothing very good, and of his country, all that the worst inferences could require for their confirmation.

CHAP. VI.

BRITANNIA DISAPPEARS.—IS REPUTED TO BE HADES.—INDICATIONS OF
CHANGE.—SAINT JOHN.—RELIGION A PALLADIUM.—DUNAWD AP
PABO.—SAINT PIRAN IN SABULO.—THE APOSTOLIC NUMBER TWELVE.

*Est quædam Oceani insula dicta PERDITA, amœnitate et fertilitate omnium
rerum præ ceteris terris longè præstantissima, hominibus incognita. Quæ aliquo casu
inventa postea non est reperta, et ided dicitur PERDITA.*

HONORIUS AUGUSTODUNENSIS.

§ 1. MEANWHILE, that external darkness which surrounds this Province from the hour of its ceasing to be properly Roman, and to give tyrant emperors to the West, continues unremoved; and the nature of the evil is still to be sought from internal sources. Bacharius, a man of tropes and unpractised in plain speech, told us much of Ur and Egypt, Edom and Moab, Corah and Judas Iscariot; but wound up with insinuating somewhat of a mighty secret, that shuns the gaze and hearing of men, and may avoid them until doomsday, for aught that he has explained. Gildas withdrew himself to Armorica, and with great sound and fury denounced the existence of an *infatuated apostasy*, and an essential, though not avowed, relapse into the worship of the heathen gods. But if these few words escaped him, his system

was to condemn without explaining. Both of these men were emigrant islanders. Of history external to the nation we have next to none.

Britannia, revealed to civilized Europe by Cæsar, was lost again when his successor Honorius ceased to rule over her. If a Prosper or Constantius Monachus bestow a few syllables upon her, we may count it for great gain. Any author becomes important to us, who, for the space of two or three centuries, so much as mentions her name. She seems (in a manner) to have returned into the bosom of that ultramundane Oceanus, in which she had lain "quite divided from the whole world," until the arms of Claudius dragged her into Europe;

Oceanusque tuas ultra se respicit aras;
Qui finis mundo est, non erit imperio.

Ultima cesserunt adoperto claustra profundo,
Et jam Romano cingimur Oceano.

Though the Gaulish Romans, and the Franks settled among them, continue to furnish us with some authors, we are chiefly indebted to their mention of the British colony in Armorica, that the name of *Britain* meets our ears. We do indeed possess one curious account of this island, extracted by the brothers Tzetzes* from some unknown source, but it relates to a time subsequent to the full establishment of the Franks. In the Ocean is the island Britannia, between that Britannia (Ireland?) which lies to the West, and Thule which is towards the East. They say that the souls of the dead are transported thither. For upon the shore of the Ocean which surrounds this same island Britannia there dwell certain fishermen, subjects of the Franks; but who pay no tribute to them, because, as they say, they ferry over

* See above, p. 93, *istius mundi*.

• In their Comments on Lycophron, v. 1204.

the souls of the dead. In the evening these people go home and fall asleep. Ere long they hear a knocking at their doors, and hear a voice summoning them to their work. They, rising up, go to the sea-beach, not knowing what necessity compels them. There they behold boats equipped, but not their own boats, and with no men in them. They get into them and row; but see no passengers, although they can feel the weight as of many. And with one shake of the oars they arrive at the island Britannia, though, when they used their own vessels, they could scarcely do so in a day and a night. When arrived there, they in like manner see nobody, but they can hear people receiving their passengers, numbering them, and calling each of them by his parentage, rank, profession, and name. The same persons, on their homeward voyage, return to their own country with a single stroke of the oar and with the boats lighter.

It is curious to observe, how the Armorican fishermen made dupes of the unsuspecting Franks. But this passage is more important, as shewing how completely Britannia was lost to the continent, even to its next neighbour France. Procopius, no later than in the days of Justinian, was in such ignorance of it as to express himself to the following² effect. Brittain (North-Britain or Caledonia) is *an island* between Britannia and Thule. It contains Angles, Frisians, and Britons. There are no horses in it. It was formerly divided by a³ wall into two parts. The eastern portion is salubrious and pleasant; but the western is so pestilent that no one can live half an hour in it, and is full of fierce and poisonous beasts. The souls of the dead are transported thither in boats by night. The rowers see nobody, but the vessels are loaded to the water's edge. When they reach the shore

² In his Gothic War, iv. c. 20.

³ The Vallum of Antoninus.

they are unloaded, and then have only the keel under water. The voices of the souls are heard calling upon one another.

If Belisarius and the armaments of Justinian had found their way to this island (to the lately fair and rich province of Constantine the Great, Constans,^a Theodosius, and Maximus) they would not indeed have been discoverers, as Columbus and his comrades were. They would have reached a country previously known to them *by name*, and of whose situation they had some rude idea. It was come to that. The land in which the Constantian family first put on the purple was reputed to be Hell itself, or the kingdom of Hades.

This state of affairs does not savour of any religious and church communion with the rest of Christendom; an argument, however, from which deduction must be made on the score of the Saxon conquests. But it fully accounts for the paucity of direct historical evidence narrating the remarkable events that occurred, and works that were executed, in the Post-Roman Britannia. Before I take my leave of the subject, I will point out a few characteristics (from among many) indicating the *existence* of that evil change, the *occurrence* of which is thus unrecorded.

§ 2. The preference given to the Gospel of St. John is a strong mark of uncatholicity. There is probably in the universal Church no parallel for it. Were it even true, that Britain deduced the origin of her Church from that apostle, it would afford no excuse compatible with the spirit of catholicity. Such preferences were always signs of heresy; as when the Gnostics preferred the history of Luke and the Epistles of Paul, and Luther (in his days of error) spoke against the apostle James. The writings of St. Mark were not more extolled or valued at

^a I believe Constans was the last reigning emperor, not being a tyrannus, who was in this island.

Alexandria, nor those of St. Peter at Rome, than they were in any other Christian churches.

There does not, however, exist any tradition of the British churches deriving their origin from St. John. Nor is there any probability of such having been the case, otherwise than in so far as the Gallican church received her founders Pothinus and Irenæus from the East. But it is well known, that the Gallican church was, nevertheless, a Latin church in respect of the Paschal observance, and in all other respects; and it certainly set no particular store by the beloved evangelist and his writings. The only reference made by British divines to the churches of John that can be adduced, occurs in the Paschal controversy at Whitby. And that reference shews plainly, that no connexion was traced, or even pretended, between the Scottic and Joannean churches. "I received (said Abbot Colman) the Easter that I solemnize from my seniors, who sent me hither as a bishop; which same all our forefathers, godly men, are known to have celebrated in like manner. And, lest you should think it contemptible or scandalous, it is the same which, *as^a we read*, the blessed evangelist John, the Lord's especially beloved disciple, with all the churches over which he presided, was accustomed to celebrate." Upon such grounds as these Mr. Roberts pretended, that "Colman^b asserts the doctrines he held were received from St. John." An ingenious way of eliciting evidence from a witness, not even indifferent, but completely adverse. Colman knew nothing of St. John's Easter, but by reading the general history of the Church; and how ill he had read it, it needs not to say.

But, although the quartodeciman schism was distinct from the Asiatic Easter, and the British church unconnected with the apostle

^a Beda, 3. c. 25.

^b Disc. on British Church in Coll. Camb. p. 294.

John, we certainly find indications of an affected Joannean Christianity in Britain. In the Triads of Dyvnwal Moelmud, the three following forms of Christian oath are mentioned, that on the ten commandments, that *on the Gospel of St. John*, and that on the cross. That an Apocalypse of Saint John, either spurious or strangely interpolated, existed among the Britons, appears from two passages; one in which the Chief-bard of Britain says, "John^d the Divine hath called me Merddin;" and another^e in which he says, "Eli the cherishing Concealed God shall say, *there are three days before the judgment-day for Enoch to be sovereign, that I may declare to all flesh of men upon earth, how its spirit hath caused woe upon the blood-stained earth, as John maketh mention in the holy scripture.*" These Revelations were no doubt in the native language. Perhaps that Gospel of St. John which was separately used as a jurament, was also in the Cymmraeg. If so, who knows what change it may have undergone in the translating? At all events, it is certain, that the British selected the writings of St. John in the view of eliciting therefrom a certain peculiar doctrine. So much is clearly signified by^f Llewelyn Vardd in his Hymn to Cadvan, the saint who was thought to preside over war and battles.

I will praise the warrior whom the Bards of the World praise,
A warrior and a youth grievous to all the weak,
Bountiful and perfect from the four^g quarters,
Giving us the indubitable ordinances of John;
And, while he shall be in heaven in the luminous chair
At the head of lofty speech in the bright cauldron,
Guarded is the repository of the sanctuary, my theme of praise.
In God's keeping is the valour-skilled dominion of Cadvan.

^c Dyvnwal Triad, 219.

^d Hanes Taliesin, st. 2.

^e Armes Dydd Brawd. p. 91.

^f Canu y Gadvan, p. 302.

^g or, from that which is extended in four directions, i. e. the cross.

From this production it appears, that the Bardic system in all its terrors was regarded as the doctrine of John the Evangelist, and was referred to his writings, or to such as bore his name. The peculiar and awful mystery with which the sacrament of the altar or Lord's table (the hidden Manna) is invested in the writings of St. John was (as I conjecture) one source of preference for that Evangelist and Prophet. For the Neo-Druidical and Bardic fanaticism was eminently, and essentially, sacramental.

This Joannean will-worship was the sign of an inward working, heretical, and full of guile; for the Church is entirely unacquainted with such preferences. That working was in truth, and in one word, Magic. So Jacob Boehmen, who professedly resolves Christianity into Magic, calls his "true servants of Christ" the *Johannites*^b from John the Evangelist. Magic became formally Christian; and the inner Christian faith resolved itself into Magic.

§ 3. Hence its faith and its sacred things became to them as a talisman; and the Great Cauldron was the palladium of their island and the Pair Prydain. Thence it followed, that to impart the word of power and salvation to hostile ears was an evulcation of national mysteries, and an *evocatio* of their Gwledig or Deus Incola. Beda relates that Augustin required three things of 'Dunawd ap Pabo, abbot of Bangor is y Coed in Maelor; conformity in Easter, and in the form of baptism, and "that together with us ye should preach

^b *Signatura Rerum*, c. xi. s. 57.

¹ This abbot Dunawd was also a warrior surnamed Fur or the Cunning, and Post Cad or Pillar of Battle, who bore arms against the children of the murdered Urien Rheged. See Llywarch Hen M. Urien, p. 33. Henaint, p. 147. ed. Owen. His magical pilgrimage into Pictland with Cynvelyn Door-of-the-Furnace, to visit the pyre of Gwenddoleu ap Ceidio, is related in Neo-Druidic Heresy, 1. p. 110. See Beda, Hist. 2. cap. 3. He was, in truth, a sanguinary wizard.

God's word to the English nation." They declined all the three. And Augustin warned them, that "if they were unwilling to preach the way of life to the English nation, they would suffer vengeance of death by the hands of that nation;" which prophecy, Beda says, was fulfilled upon the head of Dunawd and his monks some years after Augustin's death, at the massacre of Bangor by king Ethelfrid. So far it might seem, as if Dunawd's party declined co-operation with Augustin for fear of compromising their independence of him. But the true character of their refusal is revealed in the Brut Tysilio, and all the other copies of the Chronicle of Kings. Augustin^j sent to Dunawd to ask him to preach to the Saxons, to try to bring them to the faith. But Dunawd sent answer to him, "that it would not be worthy of him to preach to a cruel people, who had come from foreign lands by fraud and treachery, and slain their forefathers and despoiled them of their just rights." Another text of the ^kChronicle, says, that Dnnawd answered "that the race of Saxons had taken from them the habitation of their fathers. And on that account there was an extreme hatred between them, and they would give to them no portion of their faith, nor co-operate with them in any thing, no more than with a dog." This is not Christianity. It is not either the unchristian feeling of a bad man's temper. But it is *Anti-Christian doctrine*; never met with among Ecclesiastics good or bad, because its principle militates against the first fundamentals, rejects the apostolic office, and is positively apostatical. These impieties have their root in the talismanic or palladium scheme of religion. According to that, it was a great calamity to Britain that the Saxons were ever baptized. Such is the sentiment conveyed in the 82nd Triad. "Three things caused the conquest of

^j Brut Tys. p. 365. Roberts, p. 178.

^k Br Gr. ap A. p. 364. Brut B. 305, note.

Lloegria and its being taken away from the Cymnry, viz. : the admission of strangers, the setting free of prisoners, and *the gift of the bald man.*" This has been generally understood to signify Augustin, a priest of the coronal tonsure. And his gift is clearly that of baptism to the Saxons. Nay, indeed, if I do not misconceive the bard Merddin in his Hoianau, it was a subject of hope to his sect, that Christianity would not take root among the Saxons, but that they would ultimately adhere to the dæmons of their forefathers.

Give ear little pig, and blessed pig !¹

When the Saxons shall sit down (acquiesce) in their Serpent-God,
And there is a resorting from the distant western castle,²
Again shall our apparel be gay and our ³ *appearance* bright.

This thing was not that, which was once delivered to the saints, which the world refuses yet retains, and of which the sound was essentially the same, whether it came from worthy or unworthy lips. Whatever thing it was, it differed from Christianity.

§ 4. Some interest is taken in the discovery of the ancient Cornubian church of Saint Piran. It is said to have been originally erected over the remains of that personage ; and to have been buried under a mound of drifted sand for the 700 years that have elapsed since the reign of Henry the First. A controversial history of the British and English churches by the Rev. C. T. Collins is entitled *Peranzabuloe* (i. e. St. Piran's in the sand) from that church, and contains some notice of it. Piran, otherwise Kieran, was one of those saints who are said to have taught in Ireland, anterior to the date of Patricius ; and

¹ Hoianam st. 13. This belongs to the original part of that interpolated poem.

² And the court of king Maelgwn (now estranged from Bardisn) shall again resort to our mysteries from Castle Deganwy.

³ Dullin. But qu. whether dilyn ?

consequently was one of those "Scoti in Christum credentes" to whom Palladius, first bishop, received his credentials from Celestine. He is stated to have been an Hibernian born in ° A.D. 352, and bred up in an island named Clera or Fiontraght Cleire, where he spent thirty years in abstinence and good works; but unbaptized, inasmuch as the Irish were then pagans. Truly they were so. For he was born 27 years before the reign of Niall the Great, whose subjects ravaged the British and Gaulish coasts in their coracles, their visages covered with hair, and their bodies obscenely naked, spreading havoc and desolation wherever they went. He must have adorned Cleire with his sanctity, about the time when St. Jerome saw his countrymen feasting upon human flesh in Gaul. At length in 382 he bethought himself of baptism, and "hearing that Rome was famous^p for Christianity," he went thither, to receive that sacrament. He might have obtained it from any priest, if not from any deacon, either in Britain or Gaul; and the Romish tale is too gross to be credited, though Mr. Collins seems to think otherwise. Once got to Rome, he staid there twenty years studying divinity. There he made acquaintance with St. Patrick, who sent him to Ireland, and promised to follow him thither in thirty years. Accordingly St. Kieran returned thither in A.D. 402; and converted the whole of his native sept or clan, the Ossorians. In 432 St. Patrick made his appearance (according to promise) and Kieran, now eighty years old, "showed^q him all concord, and subjection, and discipleship." In process of time he became so annoyed by the number of visitors who flocked to see him in Ireland, and witness his miracles,

^p Rod. O'Flaherty Ogygia, 2. p. 273. English edit. Usher Brit. Eccl. Index Chronologicus.

^q Vita Kiarani cit. Usher Br. Eccl. p. 412.

^r Britannia Sancta, p. 154 cit. Peranz. p. 8.

that he sailed over to Cornwall in order to prepare for his latter end by a more perfect retirement. Here his name was 'changed to Piran; under which name a chapel was also dedicated to him at 'Cardiff in Wales. He settled at a place called Fenton Beran or Piran's Fountain, where he taught the Cornish men the art of smelting ores. At last, he bethought himself he should die. So he summoned his friends around him and preached them a sermon, the substance of which, and many of its words, Mr. Collins¹ has detailed; upon what authority I know not. Piran's having delivered it is quite incredible. Then "Piran" calmly commanded his grave to be dug, and, with a resolute step "descending into it, he kneeled down; there with clasped hands and "uplifted eyes, he meekly surrendered his soul into the hands of his "Creator." Upon the spot where he had performed this unusual exit from life, his followers presently erected the church in question. Dr. Ledwich,² on the authority of the Annals of Ulster and Innisfail, says that he died in A. D. 520; by which account he lived only 168 years. But Alemand³ says, that he lived 300 years. These statements in themselves seem fabulous; and agree but indifferently with the tradition that his mother (by some called Wingella of Ossory, and by others Liadain of Munster) accompanied him to Cornwall and lies buried with him.

The "Lost Church Found" is a very curious specimen of rude architecture. But the characteristics of *the Lost Church-yard* are still more curious. Bodies have been found interred both within and without the church of St. Piran. On removing⁴ the stone altar there were

¹ By a change of letters usual in the language of the Britons. Brit. Sanct. *ibid.* Sed qu. ? Where else is such a mutation to be met with ?

² Giraldi Cambrensis *Hibernia Exp.* c. 39. p. 779. Itin. Cambr. L. 1. c. 6. p. 839.

³ Peranzab. p. 11—13.

⁴ Antiquities, p. 67. 2nd edit.

⁵ Monasteries d'Irlande, p. 26.

⁶ Peranzab. p. 29.

found three skeletons, that of a man of lofty stature, another of moderate size, and the third esteemed to be that of a woman. The tall man is supposed to be Piran himself, and the woman to be his mother. However that may be, we cannot doubt that one of the men is Piran. For it was an established rule to place the altar immediately over the body of the Saint, to whose remains the church was dedicated. Mr. Collins observes, that it is "very remarkable,* the skulls of all three were deposited between the legs of the female." The Cornwall Royal Gazette further mentions, that on removing the sand about a foot outside of the church, a skeleton was found with the body laid out East and West, and with its skull placed between its legs. It looks as if the Church of Cornwall, "as yet unpolluted by human invention," had a custom of decapitating people (let us hope, when they were dead) and putting their heads between their legs or between those of their female relations. This reminds me of an anecdote or two. After Germanus' and Lupus were gone home, St. Patrick sent over St. Fingar, son of Clito, to help the British Churches. Fingar first went to Armorica, the prince of which country built a church for him. At the warning of an angel, he returned to Ireland; from whence Patrick sent him over to Cornwall, attended by seven bishops, and seventy seven other persons. There Fingar planted his staff in the ground, and thus produced a fountain in the midst of a wood. Theodoric tyrant of Cornwall came and cut his head off. Fingar carried it in his hands to the top of a hill, and from thence to the fountain, in which he washed it, and then again to a third place; where he ordered a person

* Peranzab. p. 279. The body ascribed to Piran was six feet long without the head.

† Vide Ph. O'Sullivan Decas Patritiana, fol. 67, a.

of the name of Gur to bury him. Decuman,^a a British saint of the South-West, who lived in the 7th century, had his head slyly cut off by an enemy, who stole behind him. But he calmly took it up, and, previous to its interment, washed it in the fountain, wherein he was wont to bathe. I cannot help conjecturing of Decuman as well as Fingar, that, when he arrived at his burial place, he "descended into it with a resolute step," and put his head between his legs. If the graves of the Bard-Saints in Bardsey or Enlli have had the like fortune to be undisturbed, the earlier of them would well be worth examining.

The case of St. Piran may be compared with that of Bacharius. For both were of these islands, and about contemporaries. If we rightly esteem that Bacharius was otherwise Mochta or Mochteus, they had yet a closer connexion and acquaintance. For the Hibernian Piran and the Briton Mochta were both militant together under the mighty swineherd, of whose many names the name Patricius has prevailed; and both were finally emigrants from the island in which they had possessed bishopricks. As Mochta Bachar was, by virtue of his names, a man of swine and pig's-meat, so also did St. Piran deal some little in that line. For part of his "great miracles," which "his chroniclers assert that God was pleased to work by his hands," (and which Mr. Collins only touches thus generally) lay in the creation and resuscitation of pigs.^a Their cases are so far similar. But Bacharius migrated out of the magic circle, and was (no doubt) buried with his head on.

The early extinction of Bardism, and the loss of its literature, in

^a From a ms. in the parish of St. Decombe, Somerset, shewn to the author by a resident there.

^a Colgan Acta SS. *suprà*.

Cernyw or Cornubia, left us with fewer indications of its ancient state than other districts afforded. We are indebted to St. Piranus in Sabulo, for unfolding to us the strange and wayward secrets of the Cornubian grave. It does not surprise me to find the heads detached from the bodies; for reasons, that would enter too much at length^b into the Mithriac Neo-Druidism. But I have yet to learn the secret of their inter-femoral deposition.^c

§ 5. One other point is serious enough to merit brief observation, ere I close. It is the notion of twelve apostles. The imitation of Christ, in regard of his perfections, is the one great and laudable pursuit. But the mimicry of our Lord, or imitation of him *as a Power*, is rather the work of an Anti-Christos or Personator of Christ. Such is the idea of a college of twelve; for of such (after the Apostles) we hear nothing in the catholic church. But Manes indeed, who is scarcely counted as a heretic, for he came not from out of the Church, and who styled himself both Christ and Paraclete, appointed twelve apostles, and the discipline was perpetuated in his sect.

That notion, however, was rife in these islands. Joseph of Arimathea came to Britain with the twelve^d disciples of St. Philip, to whom

^b The reader may however refer to the *Oscilla* in p. 83.

^c It is notable, that just three heads, a woman's and two men's, were found under the altar, and all three between the woman's legs; and that the church doorway is adorned with three heads, a cat's or tiger's, and two of men, the former of which is in the centre of the round arch, and the two latter where it rests on the jambs. No other sculpture or decoration adorns this strange pile of unhewn, sharply-projecting, and nearly uncemented stones. The elegance of the doorway persuades me that the style of the building is of purpose, and not of incapacity. I am much inclined to regard the doorway and its *oscilla*, as a title-page to the ominous contents within. The *cat's head* is an important *oscillum* in the mysteries connected with the Gwydylredd. See Neo.-Dr. HæR. 1. p. 108. v. 12. The *cath palug*, or glossy-coated cat, was one of the types of the Fery Ceridwen. See *ibid.* p. 121, 2. And may here be thought to represent the decapitated hag beneath the altar.

^d Usher saw but the outside of the British Church *in and after the fifth century*.

twelve portions of land were allotted at Bangor Wydrin or Ynys Avallon. To this legend also belong St. Joseph's twelve nephews, sons* of Bron, who came with him from Judæa, and the youngest of whom, Helain, was appointed to be St. Joseph's vicar in the service of the Saint Greal, and after his decease its supreme guardian. Cynedda's twelve sons, the youngest of whom founded Bangor Wydrin, where he found his sow suckling her pigs, are another version of Bron's twelve sons. Twelve knights of the St. Greal had their seats about the Seat Perilous in the Round Mundane Table. Sangrealism was essentially duodenal. In it the twelve apostles of Christ and the twelve signs of Abraxas or Mithras unite with the twelve tribes of Israel. Its twelve knights were the twelve† Gwyr Israel, and the twelve‡ "rulers of the land;" and the same were the twelve Magi who formed Vortigern's council, but, being found to deceive him, were slain by him.

I have not read, that Saint Garmon had twelve disciples. But his friend Palladius^a or St. Paldy, being the first apostle Patricius, is traditionally said to have carried over twelve coadjutors. Succath of Nemthor, the second and greater apostle Patricius, had^b the like number; forming, with his 365 bishops, both Zodiack and Abraxas. It

Or he would not have supposed the Arimathean and Glastonian fables to be Anglo-Norman. Philip's disciples here signify champions of the Quartodeciman Paschal; for that Asiatic apostle is cited, with John, as founding churches of the Jewish observance.

* Tristan de Leonis, p. 2. Bron, *breast*, does here (I believe) denote the divine *Presence*, according to the force of the phrase *ger-bron*,

Ger-bron yr Iesu,

In the presence of Jesus.

† See Neodr. Her. part 1. p. 137.

‡ See above, p. 7.

^a Evini Vita Patricii, c. 38. Keating Hist. Ireland, p. 312.

^b Colgan Trias, p. 373. John of Timmouth Vita S. Kierani.

was he who (dreadful to say) wrought all manner of portents with the *baculum Jenu*. The same saint presided as abbot over the twelve monks of Ynys Wydrin. St. Columb or Iona^k went on his mission to the Picts with twelve chosen disciples, whose names are on record. St. Columban went to the continent with the like retinue. And it is remarkable, that the peculiar secrecy, distinguishing the interior^l arrangements of his convent from the other cœnobias of that country, excited the mistrust of Guntram king of Burgundy. Every cœnobium^m of Columba and the early Culdees did indeed consist of an abbot and twelve brethren. Saints Finnan, Maidoc, Barreus, and the fabulous Rupert of Salisbury, (said to have been descended from the kings of the Franks and dukes of Ireland and baptized by St. Patrick) went forth to preach each at the head of twelve elect disciples. Father Colganⁿ terms it *consuetudo verè Apostolica*, nostræ Scotorum sive Hibernorum genti ante omnes alias familiaris. It was "truly Apostolic" by aping the number^o of the Apostles; but in no other respect.

W. Malmsh. Eccl. Glaston. p. 300.

^k Lealmus Rossensis de Orig. Scot. p. 145.

^l Cur a comprovincialibus moribus discesserit, et intra septa secretiora omnibus Christianis aditus non pateret. Fredegarus Appx. in Greg. Turon. c. 36.

^m Smith's Life of Columba, p. 162.

ⁿ Colgan Trias, p. 373.

^o That the twelve apostles of the Crist Celi were themselves *celi* or hidden under other numbers bardically equivalent, appears from what I have shewn elsewhere. Neo-Druidic Heresy, part 1. p. 42—4. Those 12 are the 7140 saints who surrounded David at Llanddewi Brevi. It is certain that the number 12 and its bardic equivalents were affected in various ways, which seem to us mere idle jargon. Probably also the equivalent numbers were sometimes really selected, where the number 12 was too small. Therefore when we read of the 363 canwyr or bards slaughtered at the Gododin feast, and of the 12 magi slain by Vortigern, we are by no means to conclude that the carnage was thus limited, and that no great synod of 363 had existence. But, on the other hand, we are tempted to doubt whether the college of 363, founded by Asaph at Llan Elwy in the Arthurian days, was really different from the Patrician, Columban, or Columbanian colleges of 12; and the 1200 monks of Bangor in Macler may shrink into the like dimensions by the loss of their zeros.

For if the twelve are thus assimilated to Christ's twelve, their captain becomes assimilated to Him, not as "the ensample of godly life," but on some unexplained principle. From his next remark the *Britannorum gens* should not be excluded, and then it may be true, that no other *nation* of Christendom had this characteristic, though the *sect* of Manichees had.

THE END.

AN ESSAY
ON THE
NEODRUIDIC HERESY
IN
BRITANNIA.

PART THE FIRST.

BY THE
AUTHOR OF BRITANNIA AFTER THE ROMANS.

Alfred Perceval Graves

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IN pursuing his endeavours, the author is desirous to approach this subject without the contemptuous incredulity of some of our northern critics, but at the same time to see it cleared of the illusions with which enthusiasm and vanity have surrounded it. It has become desirable that some scrutiny should be applied. The crudest speculations of Celtic antiquaries have actually found their way into more than one of those amiable and useful little volumes, that are composed for the improvement of children. One of them teaches its juvenile readers, that "the Druids were directly descended" from the worshippers of one Bali; that the Stonehenge, being unroofed, must have been built by a colony who arrived before the days of Zoroaster, because it was he "who first covered in the Persian temples;" that dree and gaur in old British, and bahk in Irish, mean an oak-tree; that druis means a doctor or learned man in Celtic; and even, that "the ancient Britons had a tradition of their being descended from an Eastern tribe called Sacca." It would be lost trouble to enquire on what pillow these strange words and things were dreamt of. Many such are in circulation among a class of readers. But, when we find them entering the nursery and the school-room, and becoming as it were elements of catechetical instruction, it is surely time to examine the system to which they belong and endeavour to arrive at something more like reality. This imperfect attempt may encourage others to do more.

AN ESSAY

ON THE

NEODRUIDIC HERESY.

DRUIDISM, ITS TRUE DATE AND ORIGIN.—THE TITLE OF OVATE.—NEO-
DRUIDISM.—APOLLINAR MYSTICS.—THE MITHRIAC HERESY.—BARD-
ISM.—ITS ARTIFICES OF CONCEALMENT.—ATHEISTICAL PHILOSOPHY.
—BARDDAS.—ASTROLOGY.—THE OLEINIAU.—METEMPSYCHOSIS.—
EXTREME FEROCITY.—BEIRDD BELI.—BELI AP DENLLI GAWR.—
ENIGAT THE GREAT.—DRUNKENNESS.—DATE AND ORGANIZATION
OF BARDISM PROPER.—CIAN, TALHAIRN, AND GILDAS AP CAW.—
ITS POLYTHEISM AND IDOLATRY DISSEMBLED.—ITS NOMENCLATURE.
—FIRE-WORSHIP, AND SACRED HORSES.—SACRED KINE.—THE CORA-
CINA SACRA.—SACRED SWINE.—JUDAISM OF THE CYNVEIRDD.—
AFFAIRS OF THE JEWS.

"Nullum negotium est patefacere omnia in rebus humanis dubia, incerta, suspensa, magisque omnia verisimilia quam vera. Quo minus mirum est nonnullos, tadio investigandæ penitus veritatis, cuilibet opinioni temerè potius succumbere, quam in explorando pertinaci diligentia perseverare."—MINUCIUS FELIX.

1. THE indolence of mind described by the good Minucius is sometimes glad to seek refuge in vaguely remote and unascertained antiquity. It appears to some, as if things not easy to account for became easier by removing them to a great distance from ourselves. Whereas the chief thing gained is, to render our inability to expound

them less humiliating to our own conceit ; and the only real facility obtained is that of filling up to our own liking and with our “*quælibet opiniones*” a canvas which we are so fortunate as to find nearly blank. In this way a moderate degree of success has fallen to the lot of some bulky but loose and indiscriminate compilations, in which it is endeavoured closely to connect the Druidical system in these islands, as well as other works far more recent than that, with the times and persons of the early post-diluvium patriarchs. And perhaps the general temper of those who allude to the subject is to evade it, by flinging it back out of the reach of all historical reasonings and calculations. However, that system was not one of the more ancient pagan systems of Europe, as I propose to shew in the following observations.

The civil institutes of our Celtic predecessors were rude and very similar to the North-Scottish clans and clan-chiefs of more modern times. That part of their system which contained elements of civility and method was the hierarchical.

The language of the Gauls was nearly the same as that of the Britons. Their religion was one system ; not even so far divided as the Episcopal Church in England and Ireland is, but in active connection together. There is even reason to think that they were not early divided into two nations ; inasmuch as we know, that a Gaulish chief or king was eligible to the unbennaeth Prydain, or monarchy of Britain, as well as a British one. Therefore what is true of the Gauls, anterior to their becoming part of the Roman dominion, will with few^a exceptions be true of the Britons.

The people of Gaul (says^b Cæsar) were deprived of political rights,

^a Painting or tattooing was disused even in Pictavia when the Romans conquered it, and *essedarii* were no longer common in war. The two countries disagreed in their matrimonial usages.

^b B. G. vi. c. 13—15.

oppressed, and very little better than slaves, under the power of two superior orders, druids, and knights; a body of priests and one of nobles.

Their Druids presided over divine things, superintended public and private sacrifices, interpreted omens, and other superstitions, were the sole instructors of youth, and the judges without appeal in every matter of dispute or litigation. These privileges in themselves nearly amount to an omnipotence *de jure*: but, in fact, they were armed with yet more formidable powers. Whosoever did not obey their mandates was liable to be by them interdicted from the sacrifices; and the person so proscribed was an outlaw, esteemed impious and abominable, and his society shunned by all men. This order were exempt from military service and payment of taxes. One arch-druid presided over them; whose vacancy was supplied by the next in dignity, or if two had equal claims, by the suffrages of the college of Druids. They used to meet once a year in a consecrated place in the region of the Carnutes, which was thought to be the centre of all Gaul.

The knights were devoted to war, and a year never passed without the country being disturbed by the civil conflicts of those violent men. The common people, in order to seek some refuge from their intolerable evils, used to devote themselves to the service of one or other of those chieftains, whose vassals (*clientes*) they became, and by whom they were led about (*ambacti*) wheresoever they went, forming what the modern Celts call their tail. The sole power and influence (*una gratia potentia-que*) of the knights consisted in the length of these followings. Indeed, after the lion's share of power already allotted to the druids, we scarcely needed to be told so. The formation of the horrible system of clanship, by which civil war becomes a part of the very polity and constitution of a state, is thus historically deduced, by a statesman

who saw the process in operation, from the sources to which abstract reason refers it.

Cæsar speaks of the druids in a collective sense, as we popularly speak of *priests*, including therein the bishop, the priest, and even the deacon. But others have described the subdivisions and degrees of the hierarchy, which were three in number, and were usually enumerated in the inverted order of their dignities. The Gauls (saith^c Diodorus) have poets who compose songs, and who eulogize some people and revile others, to the music of instruments resembling lyres. They have also certain philosophers and theologians whom they honour beyond all others, and whom they call Saronids. And they also make use of prophets, whom they esteem much, and who foretell the future by augury and by the sacrifices of victims. Here the inversion is imperfect, and runs 3, 1, 2.

The functions of the ancient bard were the lowest, and had no other point of contact with the druidical religion, as such, than the hymns with which they used to propitiate their deities. But the second in the order of Diodorus were the highest of all, and the Druids proper, to whom that name, which Cæsar used generally, belonged in strictness.

If *derwydd* were at all deriveable from *dar* and *gwydd*, it would be from *dâr* pl. *deri*, an oak, and from *gwydd*, trees, or a grove, and not from *dar*, before, and *gwydd*, presence, the almost unintelligible etymology which Dr. Owen (in the true spirit of his philology) has offered. But *derwydd* is the plainest of all British nouns, being formed of *derw*, an oak, and *ydd* "a termination^d of masculine nouns." It is therefore to be regretted that so much "ingenuity (as Mr. Higgins^e

^c Bibl. 5. 31.

^d Owen Dict. in Ydd.

^e The same writer intimated, that Tallesin derives the word from *dar*, superior, and *gwydd*, a priest; but I would fain know where *gwydd* was ever used for priest,

termed some empty speculations, not worth repeating here) has been bestowed upon the origin of the word druid." For that origin is not only as palpable as the origin of *dryas* in Greek, *quercinus* in Latin, *oaken* in English, or any secondary noun formed on a primary one; it may not only be inferred from their entire devotion to that tree of Jove; but it is actually derived by Taliesin in one of the most ancient and curious of British poems, his *Battle of the Trees*, from the word *derw*,

' The rapid oak-tree,
(Derw buanawr)
Before him heaven and earth quake;
Stout door-keeper against the foe,
In every land his name is mine;
Ei enw ym peulawr;

that is to say, I style myself a *derwydd* from the name of the tree *derw*. His early date and intimate acquaintance with the language and superstitions of this island would make it presumptuous to contradict his so probable testimony. Moreover the poets of the same age not only use the style of *derwydd*, but that of *mael-derw*, which title (seemingly confined to one person, the arch-druid) signifies the efficient man, the proficient, or adept, of the oak-tree. The same truth may be proved from their synonyme^s of *Saronides*. For that was an antique and afterwards obsolete Greek^b appellation for an oak, and the use of it was retained by two authors who affected old words;

When Rhea felt for Jove a mother's throes
By deep Iacon's stream the tall *saronides* rose.

Callim. Jov. 22.

or where Taliesin says any such thing. He, as I am about to observe, says very differently. And Mr. Higgins, who took these matters but at second hand, was deceived by some one.

^c Cad Godden, 124—7.

^s Diod. MS. Clermont 2. *Saronides* in marg. *ibid.*

^b Pliny, iv. c. 5.

She to the stiff saronid's branch applied
Her zone, and in the noose her neck she tied.

Ap. Rhod. ap. Parthen. 11.

Saron had the same force ; for the Sinus Saronicus (says Pliny) signified the Bay of Oaks, and that word is formed upon Saron, and not upon Saronis. There is, therefore, nothing to distinguish in point of analogy, between the titles druid and saronid ; and their etymology affords no pretext for raising a discussion.

The geographer Strabo sets the three classes in the regular inverse order, and explains to us better who those were, whom the authorities of the compiler Diodorus described as prophets and soothsayers. The Gauls, he says, had three learned orders, the bards, the ouates or whates, and the druids. The bards were poets and used to sing hymns. The ouates sacrificed to the gods, and studied physics. The druids super-added the study of ethics to that of physics, administered justice, and arbitrated in all controversies and even in wars. Lastly, Ammianus details, that there were bards, euhages, and druids ; of whom, the bards used to sing the actions of brave men, the euhages attempted to unfold the course of nature and her sublime truths, while the druids being of a loftier genius raised their minds to the most occult and transcending questions, and, despising human affairs, pronounced the souls of men to be immortal.

2. The names of the second or middle class have never been clearly explained, and cannot be so now. That in Strabo lies open to strong suspicion of being no British or Gaulish word at all. Because it is the literal expression of the Latin word *vates* in Greek characters, which Latin word translates the word *μῆτις*, and *μῆτις* is their title in Diodorus. *Vates* can be written no otherwise in good Greek than *ὄναρις*, as Strabo has written this word. The name, as spelt in the MSS.

of Ammianus, differs considerably, and has not any apparent meaning. A production of no authority (the Institutional Triads of Bardism, which Mr. E. Williams, styled president of the bards of Glamorgan, printed in 1794, but of which the writer is unknown) terms this middle order ovydd. The forgery, called Laws of Dyvnwal Moelmud, and palmed upon the moderns for the same book which Gildas translated, doth the like. Dr. Owen derived ovydd from ov which means *rare* or *crude*, and, as he asserted, *elementary*, and so interprets it "one who is initiated into first principles or *elements*." I firmly believe the whole to be a modern Welsh device. Ovydd is used by the Cynveirdd for the supreme deity; as by Taliesin, "if ye be the chief bards of that faith which is the work of God *the ovydd*," etc. But the Druidical system had three degrees, and the *óvarnc* stood only second in the triple gradation of the mysteries. How, then, could God be, or be assimilated to, an ovate? I suspect, however, that we are close upon the heels of our game. Dovydd, the trainer up, or educator, is a perpetual epithet of God, derived from dovi, to tame, train up, ¹ etc. *mansuefacere*. The verb dovi (in Armorican donvi) is a mutation (v for m, as usual) of the Latin verb domo. That it is so, may be shewn thus. Domare to tame, means to domesticate, or habituate to your domus, any creature; and the Welsh tongue retains that etymon, dovyr being explained domesticity, and dovri, to domiciliate. Dovydd, when following another word, frequently drops its initial, so that (as Owen observes in *Dovydd*) you may either say rheg Dovydd or rheg Ovydd for "gift of God." His dictionary (with its reckless inconsistency) again ² cites the same words, rheg Ovydd, as meaning "the blessing of the Great *Artificer*," i. e. *Ovate*. The truth is, that there is not, and never was, any such word as ovydd

¹ Apprivoiser, doeua, donvi. Rostrenen Dict. Armoric.

² Dict. in *Ovydd*.

in existence. It is merely ¹ Dovydd, idiomatically truncate, in syntax or in composition. The *vau* of the Romans being written *v* and not (according to its power in our alphabet) *w* or *wh*, caused us to mispronounce *ouate* as *ovate* in English; and *dovydd* in its truncate form of *ovydd* was a convenient word enough, to tally with that sound, and fill up the hiatus in the Glamorganshire triad. When Dr. Owen edited *D. ap Gwilym* he had not yet made these discoveries. "Ovydd, (said he and his co-editor) Ovid the poet. Also a Welsh bard of that name. A price or ransom, *cedwyn cad ovydd*. *Cynddelw*." Of the various ^m passages in which David uses the word, some appear to signify the amatory poet ⁿ Ovid, and in others it is *dovydd*, the Deity; as in this,

Gwervyl fair as the dawn of day,
Helen, and Eve in the garden of God,
• Elen, Eva llân Ovydd.

He also uses *dovyddiaeth* for theology, *heb ^p ovyddiaeth fydd*, "without faith in theology." *Cadwyn cad dovydd*, tamer of the chains of war, is a fair periphrasis for a ransom. The editors of David were quite correct in thinking that his works did not contain a syllable about ovates. *Trystan* and two others are styled *tri galovydd*, in *Triad* 32 p. 63 and *Tr.* 24 p. 5. That word may signify either God of war or tamer of hostility, the senses that would result from compounding *gal* with *dovydd*; but the latter meaning best agrees with the explanation subjoined, "for they had the privilege of going wherever they wished in the isle of Britain without opposition, unless they went unlawfully."

¹ A writer in the *Mirror of Literature* observes that "ovydd seems to have adopted *gwydd* into its composition," iv. p. 52. A strange specimen of philology.

^m pp. 9. 10. 31. 285. 397. 436. 541.

ⁿ As that of L. Glyn Cothi certainly does, poem xxxvi. line 24.

• p. 337.

^p p. 259.

And such is the undoubted meaning in another instance, where the ill-fated Llewelyn is styled gelyn galovydd,¹ tamer of the hostility of the foe. One MS. of the Triads substitutes glewvryd (resolute-minded) for galovydd. Mr. Probert² adopts the former word, and rejects the latter in toto as “seeming inexplicable;” and then he proceeds to translate the text, *resolute-minded Ouate!* He makes the compound galovydd a synonyme to ovydd, translates it after declaring it inexplicable, and inserts it after expunging it! This baffles all comprehension. Another compound is Callovydd, i. e. the trainer or institutor, *dovydd*, of *call*, i. e. cunning, artifice, discretion,

When the spread of song is extended,³
 When night's gloom shall truly arrive,
 Gloom closely concealing from day-light,
 The bardic art knoweth
 What conceals the Callovydd;

in this passage the sun or solar deity may be the personage so called.

If *obarnes* was a British word at all, analogy should direct us to such words as gwad or gwaed. But it is almost idle to seek for Celtic etymologies, in the face of such a preponderating probability, that Strabo took his account of Gallia Belgica from a Latin author who had enumerated bardos,⁴ *vates*, et druidas, and that he retained the Latin word, because of its equivocal sense. Such I believe to have been the case; and that, as to the ovydd of Glamorganshire, there is no such a word. The *euhares* of Ammian is inexplicable, and probably a barbarism of his transcribers, by whom his text has been greatly maltreated.

¹ Arch. 1. p. 344.

² Triads by Probert, p. 387.

³ Can y Cwrwf, 52-6.

⁴ If so, the original phrase may have been *brudiwr*, the only word I can find for *vates*, which is free from the suspicion of Latin derivation.

The office of the bardus was compatible with the laws that extirpated Druidism. Its music and poetry might be indulged as an innocent and lawful pursuit both under the Roman paganism and under Christianity, and no doubt was so under the former as well as under the latter. The name of Druid was too great to be forgotten, and was at last in a manner revived. But the intermediate title, whatever it had been, was not sufficiently splendid to secure it from oblivion. The second was, perhaps, also less distinct, than the third order was, from the higher rank of Druid; for the druids proper were but elect ouates and taken from "*inter hos*. Thus it perished in the ruins of the system, and its title never appears to have been revived, except in the apocryphal records of the modern Glamorganshire bardism.

3. There remains one other appellation preserved by Diogenes. The philosophers of Gaul (he says) are those who are called both Druids and Semnothei. This word, if taken in the writer's language, means *Venerable Deities*. Colonel Vallancey² imagined an Irish god Saman, because All-Hallows day is called *Le Samhna* and November *Mi Saman*; but this resembles his other effusions, and the name of the god worshipped at that season was, by his own shewing, *Crom Cruaith*. *Samb*, rest, repose from labour, is the etymon of those words; which consequently relate to the holiday or festival, and not to the personage in whose honour it was held. The bare occurrence of the word *Semnothei* in such an author as Diogenes is rather a thing to mention than to argue upon.

The Celtic nations admitted women as well as men into the

¹ Amm. loc. cit. Lucan distinguishes the *Bardi* as panegyric poets, and the *Druids* as cruel priests and profound philosophers, but is silent as to an intermediate order.

² Collect. 3. p. 457.

ministry of their superstition. In the isle of Sena, off the coast of Armorica, there resided nine consecrated virgins called (as Mela says) Gallicenæ, who could raise up storms and tempests by their songs, cure all diseases, predict the future, and transform themselves into all shapes of animals. Mr. E. Davies⁷ asserts that these nine virgins were the Gwyllion of the bards; but without adducing a single instance of the existence of that title, unless it be the compound word Gwyllionwy. The nine magic maidens were prominent agents in the devilry of the 5th and 6th centuries. Morgen or Morgana presided over them in the isle of Avallon, and had the faculty of transforming herself into all shapes,

Ars quoque nota sibi quâ scit mutare figuram,

and especially into the form of a Bristi, a Carnoti, or a Papiæ. These words, which seem to be used as^a nominatives and not genitives, are puzzling specimens of Geoffrey's British. His second word is probably carnwyd a horse, or a variation of that word in the Cumbrian or Pictish. According to the printed text his "nine sisters" amount to just eight, viz. Morgen herself,

Moronoe, Mazoe, Gliten, Glitonia, Gliton,^a
Tyronoe, Thiten, citharâ notissima Thiten,

but the last name must be *Thiton*, as just above we read *Gliten* and *Gliton*. Those names may exercise the British scholar. Morgen, Song of the Sea, Morgeneu and Tireneu, Mouth of the Sea and Mouth of the Earth, Maswy, Sportive or Wanton, may be thought satisfactory; but I cannot attempt to meddle with the three cognate names or with Thiten and Thiton.

⁷ Myth. Druids, p. 31—74.

^a That is to say, as undeclinables. So Walter in his *Tysilio* speaks of a temple dedicated "to Jani Bifrontis."

^a Gaufr. Monum. Merlin p. 42.

Another island, near the mouths of the Loire, contained the wives of certain men, whom Strabo^b calls Samnites and the poet Dionysius Amnites, being the same word truncated in syntax, and who resided on the opposite continent. These ladies were Bacchanalians, and once every year, in their frantic orgies, one of their number was torn piecemeal by the rest of the fanatical sisterhood. The words Semnothean and Samnite were compared by the etymologist Menage.

When Paulinus Suetonius took Anglesea by his daring passage of the Menai, he found^c among the ranks of the Britons certain women attired like Furies, with black robes, dishevelled hair, and brandishing lighted torches, while the Druids stood by, with uplifted hands, uttering curses. The orgies of Ceres and Proserpine, which were celebrated in an ^d island adjacent to Britannia, as they were in Samothrace, may be recognized in the torch-bearing Erinnyes of Mona.

4. The barbarous nations (meaning those, who partook not of the arts and policy of Southern Asia, Greece, Italy, and Ægypt) were warlike, pastoral, and venatic; and so irregularly^e agricultural, as scarcely to give rise to the sanctions of private property. Their polity extended no farther than was indispensable for keeping up the rudest of societies, of which the wealth consisted in not wanting rather than in having, and the security of life in utter contempt of death and almost daily self-defence, the happiness of Diogenes, and the safety of Ishmael. Of all these races, there did not exist one more fierce, capricious, and untameable than the Celtic. Yet we find with much sur-

^b Geogr. 4. p. 277. ^c Tacit. Ann. 14. 30. ^d Artemid. cit. Strab. ibid.

^e "The lands are occupied collectively by each tribe according to the number of its husbandmen, and they divide them again among themselves according to their dignity. The extent of their lands renders the partition easy. They change the land every year, and they have more than they can use." Tacit. Germ. c. 26.

prise, in two great portions of the ancient Celtica, Gallia or Galatia and Alouion or Alwion, a complicated system of government, exhibiting the morbid ingenuity and corrupt fraud of pagan civilization, and savouring of the stench of Chaldæa, Ægypt, and Etruria, rather than the austere bitterness of the nomadic and purely martial system. Yet the countries in which we find it were not civilized in any considerable degree, and continued to rank with barbarians, some of them tattooing their bodies, and all of them exercising a fierce anarchy, furious in their excitement, supinely indolent in their quiet, boisterous in debauchery, and inflamed by the irrational impulses of music and song. The famous Druidism seems as though it had been organized on a sudden, as a sort of civilization hath among the Cherokees, in Otaheite, and in Sandwich; and by the strange union of knavish urbanity and philosophical trumpery with wild atrociousness, it seems to have made a compound worse than either of the discordant elements by itself, a monster hideous and ridiculous. If the methods, arts, and impostures of paganism in its civil and settled state, not martial or nomadic, had grown up with time and as new wants and propensities were unfolded, either the system would have been less advanced or the people more so. We have observed that the word *Gaul* (cultivator or settled inhabitant) distinguished the half-reclaimed tribes from those who were still *Celts* or woodlanders. And we know the change took place at no very remote period; for Pausanias was aware that they had all been Celtic before any of them became Gaulish, and says that the latter term came late into vogue. His important remark was pointed out in Brit. A. R. p. lxxix. And, seeing that Druidism was not one element of Celtic civility, but constituted the entirety and sole element thereof, that was in effect saying that the Druidical method came late into vogue.

Society in Gaul and Britain was divided into the nobility, the hierarchy, and a degraded commonalty. The nobles, or equites, had the civil power ostensibly in their hands; and of that order many were called kings in various districts. But monarchy was of a very unsettled kind among them. In Gaul some one nation, either the Bituriges, the Arverni, the Ædui, or the Sequani, as each was for the time preponderant, enjoyed what the Grecians in their imperfect confederacy termed the *hegemonia*, and their king or ruler¹ was for all common and federal purposes king of all Gaul. In Britain it was the like; there were kings in the various tribes, and one ruler was appointed to conduct the more arduous² affairs of the whole nation. Within Cæsar's memory, as he³ says, Divitiacus king of Soissons and Rheims was not only the most powerful of the Gaulish kings, but also enjoyed the monarchy of Britannia. In almost every war¹ between the Romans and the Gauls assistance was sent over to the latter from Britannia. We may hence infer that the Gauls and Britons were not entirely regarded as different nations. In one of the principal tribes of Gaul, the Ædui, it was customary to elect a king for one⁴ year only. It is evident, that as the civil power became thus weakened the Druidical must have been more absolute. The latter was so constituted as to realize the tyranny, both mental, and positive, which the Romish church in its ascendant never completely achieved, and which forms the long-cherished dream both of Jesuits and Illuminati.

The Druidical organization and attainments exceeded any thing that the savageness of the Celtæ is likely to have struck out by the mere energy of their sylvan meditations, or than Teutonic, Hunnish, or

¹ Celtillus Arvernus . . . principatum totius Gallie obtinuerat. Cæsar. 7. 4.

² Summa imperii permissa Cassivelauno. Cæsar. 5. 11.

³ Cæsar. 2. 4.

⁴ Cæsar. 4. 20.

⁵ Cæsar. 7. 32.

Sarmatic barbarism ever, in fact, did excogitate, from its origin down to its invasion of the falling Western Empire. And as it surpassed them in method and profundity, so it differed from them in the temper of its immorality, by adding more fraud and speciousness to violence.

5. From these two data ; that the system was not one of barbarism, but of a superadded civilization ; and that the partial change in question fell within historical memory ; we may solve the problem. Celtica was first colonized (so far as we know) by civilized inhabitants, when the Ionian Greeks of Phocæa came from Asia Minor and settled at Marseilles ; which took place in the reign of Cyrus the Great. They obtained by their skill in arms and superior knowledge an ascendancy over the Celtiaid or men of the woods. "A part of the "Phocæans founded Massylia," (saith Ammianus) "and afterwards, "as their numbers increased, divers other towns which I will not "enumerate to avoid being tedious. When the people in that neighbourhood had been gradually civilized, the laudable studies of "learning flourished, being commenced by the bards, euhages, and "druids." Here is a plain and probable assestion, by an exact and honest writer. "Sometime ago (Strabo¹ writes) the city of Marseilles "was like a school opened for the education of the barbarians, and by "means of it the Gauls became such lovers of every thing Greek, that "they even write their accounts and private contracts in Greek." Justin observes,^m that "the Gauls learnt from the Massylian Greeks "under Protis the use of more civilized manners, laid aside and "mitigated their barbarity, and began to cultivate their lands and "wall in their towns. They learnt also to live by law and not by war, "to prune the vine, and to plant the olive ; and so greatly embellished

¹ Geogr. 4. p. 248.

^m Hist. 43. c. 4.

“ were the people and their concerns, that Gaul seemed to have travelled into Greece, not Greece into Gaul.” Here the abbreviator of Trogus distinctly tells us *when* those manners came into vogue which Pausanias had intimated came *late* into vogue. The Celts had no letters but Greek ones, and were previously as ignorant of letters themselves as the other clans of barbarians were 800 years later. They acquired the use of the Greek alphabet from the Massylians. Cæsar visiting Gaul, in the 6th century after the foundation of Marseilles, found its people lettered; and that, not only upon the neighbouring coast, but among the Helvetian Gauls, whose intercepted documents were written in the Greek alphabet. But the use of the alphabet does not at all imply a knowledge of the language, which latter it positively appears they did not possess. For Cæsar, wishing to communicate privately with Quintus Cicero, and knowing that Latin was not wholly unknown among his enemies, wrote his epistles in Greek that no Gaul might be able to ^a understand them; and in Hadrian’s time the learned Favorinus boasted of three wonderful peculiarities, that he was a Gaul and yet understood Greek, that he was an enemy to the emperor and yet was alive, and another which need not be mentioned. The druids (Cæsar says) forbade their religion and philosophy to be committed to writing, lest their secrets should be disseminated among the vulgar: but in all their ordinary transactions whether private or public they made use of Greek letters. And as he had just before stated that Britannia was the grand seat of the druidical discipline, to which the druids of Gaul resorted for instruction, it must be understood that Greek writing was the only writing known to the learned in either territory.

^a Cæsar, 5. 48.

It is a hard thing for any persons, admitting this truth, that the only letters known to the °Gauls and Britons were the Greek, to persist in refusing a Greek origin to their literature and philosophy. And in making that observation we may introduce another. Religion, philosophy, and polity could not be modelled, and an alphabet taught, by persons of that nation, without also adding words to the imperfect vocabulary of barbarism. Therefore, when verbal conformities^p appear between the Greek and Gallo-British tongues, critics will not be straightway justified in deducing schemes concerning the primeval Celts or Pelasgi, or, as Vallancey has it, “their Pelasgian and Magogian ancestors.” For it may chance, that Pelasgus and Magog are no more concerned in it than the kings of Lavinium and Alba Longa are with the Latinity which has overrun our insular Celtic. Ov, raw or crude, exhibits the word ὤμος with the mutation that usually indicates a borrowed word; the Celts received it from the foreign Orpheus who deterred them cædibus et victu fœdo; and it does not lie at the mercy of the Pezrons, Gebelins, Vallanceys, or other quodlibetarians.

Some ten or twenty years after the founding of Marseilles, a most extraordinary and ambitious sect of united philosophers appeared in the Greek colonies of Italy, called Pythagoreans, from the name or title of their master, who pretended to be an incarnation of the god

* The authenticity of the coelbren y beirdd is now openly renounced, not a particle of evidence being brought to support it. See Poems of Glyn Cothi, p. 260, note. Were it an authentic document, it would make no difference; it would rank with Druidistic, not with Druidic, remains.

^p Some are pointed out by Lhuyd and others, as morv, μυρμηξ, golvan, γολμης, heddychu, ἡσυχιω, haul, ἄλιος, digon, ἱκανος, mer, μέρος, achlud, ἀχλὺς, pwyll, pwyllaw, βουλη, βουλευνω, garan, γερανος, dagr, dagru, δακρυ, δακρυω, cylch, κυκλος, holl, ὅλος, medd, meddw, meddwl, μεθυ, μεθυω, etc. However, a portion of Owen's Greek and Welsh vocabulary is frivolous and fantastic.

Apollo. They not only¹ obtained such power in their own cities as to render it necessary to overturn them by force, but obtained great credit and celebrity among the barbarous nations. Some of those who escaped from the destruction of their college became (say² the Philosophumena) the instructors of the Celtic druids. A channel was opened to them through Marseilles for organizing in Gaul and Britain the philosophical tyranny, to which they could not render the Greeks obedient. The testimony of Ammianus is sufficiently express to the point; "the druids who were of a loftier genius, were bound together in unions of sodality, as the authority of *Pythagoras*³ decreed." The Pythagoreans are most likely to have turned their steps towards Marseilles after the violent dissolution of their establishments in Italy, that is to say, after the 3d year of the 67th Olympiad or the 510th before our æra.

The testimony of Ammianus and the Philosophumena is confirmed by the striking similitude of the organic Druidism to Pythagorism; a similitude distinct in its character and degree from that resemblance which all heathen institutes bear to one another, and which enables systematists to derive any one from any other. Its alphabet was Greek and so was the Pythagorean. Its three orders or ranks tally with the three orders of Pythagorics, Pythagoreans, and Pythagorists. The members of the higher order in both systems were united in the strictest free-masonry, and aspired by means of it to engross all power; which attempt, failing among a more enlightened people, as it was successful among uncultivated barbarians, was the ruin of the philosophical confederates in Magna Græcia. The multifarious studies of theosophy, metaphysics, ethics, physics, "the magnitude and form of the earth

¹ See Justin. 20. c. 4. Appian. Mithrid. c. 28. ² Pseud-Origenes Philos. p. 46.

³ Compare Diodorus L. 5. p. 309, line 10. Blpont.

and *the world*, and the motions of heaven and the stars," medicine, magic, and "the secret counsels of the Gods," were pursuits aliene from the occupation and ideas of the barbarian nomades (except some rude endeavours at divination or sortilege) and moreover were most of them uncultivated by the civil and literary commonwealths of Europe, till the Pythagoreans brought them forward, and first introduced the phrase "the world." The druidical rule of concealing philosophy, committing it to the custody of the memory, and forbidding¹ it to be written down, was that which Pythagoras enjoined, and which was observed by his disciples until after the destruction of his college. One tenet of the Druids (and only that one, as Mela declares) transpired and was publicly known; and that one was the doctrine of metempsychosis, stolen by Pythagoras from Egypt, and (considered as a European doctrine) exclusively Pythagorean. It not only *does* belong to Pythagoras, but it did *not* belong to the bards of the Celtiaid, so far as we can judge. They seem to have had a rude and simple notion, though fashioned so as to give themselves importance and power. By those of Erin or the Gaelic Caledonia we are repeatedly told, that the shadowy and disembodied ghost wandered in the air, either hovering in low mists and vapour, or riding on the winds of heaven. "Ghosts fly on clouds and ride on winds, said Connall's voice of wisdom." But without the song of the Bard, the airy ghost remained entangled in fogs. "*He shall hear the song of*

¹ This prominent feature of Druidism suffices to overturn the story of the Coelbren, as applied to those times.

² We must regard those ideas, as being adopted from the ancient popular minstrelsy; whatever person may have vamped up any given Ossianic poem. The subject is full of obscurity. The Gaelic poems would tend to discredit the importation of Druidism into Ireland. But perhaps it would be nearest the truth to say that the Belgians introduced it, but could not bring over the Gael to its views.

bards, Cairbar shall rejoice on his winds." Oak-worship or the belief that those trees were gods or oracles, unknown to all the world beside, was cherished in one famous sanctuary of Greece, and the mystery of the misletoe (the *ramus aureus*) in Italy. The golden verses of the Pythagoreans were hexameters. That metre was the invention of the god Apollo when he had slain Python, and his own peculiar rhythm when he sung to the Gods or gave oracles to men. It was therefore of necessity the verse of Pythagoras, inasmuch as that aspiring knave passed for Apollo himself. But Ammianus informs us, that "the bards used to chaunt the brave deeds of illustrious men, *composed in heroic verses*, and accompanied with the sweet modulations of the lyre." If it be true that *heroicis composita versibus* may anywhere signify verses in praise of heroes and not in heroic metre, which I do not believe, still the frame of the above sentence precludes such an interpretation. It assures us, that the Druidical Bardi had acquired the use of the spondaic and dactylic rhythm, which was exclusively named heroic, and was sometimes pentameter or tetrameter, but generally speaking hexameter. When Mr. Edw. Williams said, that Taliesin first introduced the hexameter* and pentameter verse, unknown to every other modern tongue, he shewed the inadequacy of his researches and, at the same time, the nullity of that uninterrupted Bardic tradition which he imagined that he in conjunction with Mr. Evan of Aberdar had received from the ages of antiquity. Owen's dictionary introduces without remark the two following extraordinary glosses; *pythagoras*, explanation of the universe, cosmogony, and *pythagori*, to explain the system of the universe. He derives them from *pyth*, period of time,

* Poems, etc. vol. 2. I should wish to gratify the reader with a specimen of those verses, but do not understand the British metres enough to distinguish which they are.

and agori, to open. No authority, or even apology for one (such as *Barddas*), is subjoined to these glosses. The instances to prove the existence and meaning of the words are entirely omitted. To satisfy sceptical minds, it would be well if the authorities for these words were produced with accurate references. Dr. Owen's literary friends⁷ must know whence he had them and will come forward to supply his omission. Meanwhile, I will just observe that Pythagoras of Samos and many other Greeks of the same name bore a purely Greek appellation, signifying Pythius concionator, speaking like Apollo Pythius. It is scarcely doubted among the learned that Zoroaster and Pythagoras borrowed some of their learning from the Jews, which connects itself with the abstinence of the Druids from the hare, the hen, and the goose. That could be no article of discipline among venatic and martial Celtiaid, barbarians of the woods, for such people can not afford to restrain their ill-supplied appetites, by inventing a fanciful class of unclean beasts. That Britannia was for the most part peopled by Gauls who passed over the narrow sea, was the prevalent opinion⁸ in the time

⁷ The death of this author was announced in the public journals, with an encomium on him by a writer using the title of Bardd Alaw, and whose real name is doubtless known in his own country. "He was (says Alaw) ever ready to impart information from his rich stores of literary lore." What was in him a merit is to us an advantage, for it entitles us to look for explanations of the various and curious things which the deceased advanced, but omitted to substantiate in his lifetime. The inscription mentioned in the last edition of the Dict. art. Gwynedd should certainly be produced, if it has not been so already.

⁸ Tacit. Agr. c. 11. This island was named Alouion or Alwion; and Tzetzes quoting from one Dionysius (not Periegetes) makes Aloubion of it. Chll. 8. 719. Not only was it so named for reasons unconnected with the Latin colour *albus* of its Kentish cliffs, or with the mountains which formed no conspicuous feature of its surface, "being for the most part champaign and woody, but with many small hills." (Strabo. iv. 219); but that appellation was not, I believe, anciently confined to this portion of Celtica. By anciently, I mean before any part of Celtica was *Galatized*. Celt was a descriptive or epithetic name, and not a mere name nominative. That

of Agricola. Yet Cæsar^a says, "the discipline of the Druids is considered to have been invented in Britannia, and brought over from thence into Gaul, and even now those Gauls who desire to study it with

name (equivalent to Gaidheal, or in contraction Gael) was once used by the Gauls to describe all the midland tribes of Europe, western and eastern, Cis-Rhenane and German, even to the Riphean mountains; (See Dion. Hal. 14. c. 1, 2, 3. ed. Maio) and rightly so used: for then they all were *Sylvestres*, and far removed from the ways of civil life. And it is not to be taken as though, because they all were such, they all called it by that name, and consequently spoke the language to which that name belongs. In fact, when all were in the Celt condition none would have so styled themselves; unless in the Cisalpine country, where they came close to civilized states. People never will begin to go right on these points, until they make it their care to distinguish names epithetic from names absolute. See the remarks in Br. A. R. p. lii. lii. iv. *Galatæ* or *Galli*, names of the opposite meaning, are more distinctly recorded to be of modern origin; but their very opposition or correlation renders it probable that neither style was common till the other was. There is reason to believe, that the great country from which this island was chiefly peopled was also, and previously, *Alwion*; and that that name (national in its purport, and not topographical) was co-extensive with the territories of the now-called *Cymmræg* tongue. On the plains between Marseilles and the mouths of the Rhone Hercules gained an important victory over *Albion* and *Bergios* otherwise *Dercynus*. See Pomp. Mela 2. c. 5. and the author bearing the name of Apollodorus, 2. p. 188. Since nearly all other authors depose that the *Ligyæ*, *Ligyti*, or (in Latin) *Ligures*, were opposed to him in that battle; and since only three nations are known to have ever flourished in, or close to, that corner of Europe, viz. the Celto-Galatian natives, their *Ligyan* neighbours, and the Phocæan Greeks; we are led to conclude that *Bergios* represents the *Ligyetic* people, whose language is unknown. And so he does, in fact; for the scholiast of Dionysius terms the two champions, *Albion* (spelt by him *Aleblon*), and *Ligyis* founder of the *Ligyan* state. In *Perieg.* v. 76. Tzet. in *Lycophr.* 1312. In the war waged by Hercules on the fields of Crau against *Albion* and *Bergios* *Ligyis*, the *Massylian* poets seem to have mythologized the early struggles which are known to have occurred, between the intruding Greeks and the united *Ligyæ* and *Segobrigian* *Alwionians*, in the plains which adjoined the new city; "magna cum *Liguribus*, magna cum *Gallis* bella." See Justin. 43. cc. 4, 5. Before *Druidism* or *Galatism*, before improved husbandry, and before any literature at all, had entered this country of sought-for name, it was, as well as our country, *Alouion*; and perhaps the desired name is found. Ingenious must he be, who can bring the white cliffs of Kent to the delta of the Rhone, to fight against the Greeks conjointly with the savages of

^a Cæsar. 6. 13.

great care go over to Britain for the sake of learning." But if the course of druidism was generally *reputed* to have been the exact inverse to the course of population, it seems to follow that it was *notoriously* an

the Maritime Alps. The western exploits of Hercules in Brythea, Tartessus, Gaul, etc. seem to relate to the voyages of the Phœnicians and Massyllans. This story belongs more naturally to the affairs of the latter. But it is immaterial to which.

The field Albion beyond the Tiber derives its name (says Pompeius Festus) from the grove of the Albionæ, where a white ox was sacrificed. Here we have the usual Latin spelling, and the association of *albus*. But that hurts me less, than this curious passage helps me. The Cisalpines crossed the Alps about B.C. 000, that is, long before they were Druidized, before Marseilles was built, and before the habits of agriculture were advanced among them. How that was, appears not from Justin only but from the name of the chief city they built, Medi-o-lân, "the harvest of the tilth" or "cultured land." Those who practised husbandry were still compelled to hoard its produce in their fortified towns: Medi-o-lân in Merioneth and fortresses of the same name in Transalpine Gaul and in Belgica shew not only similar manners, but exact identity of language from Wales and Ardennes to the Po. The Cisalpines were dangerous neighbours to old Tuscany and young Rome. Not only from vicinity and intercourse, but on the principles of placation, averruncation, or evocation, their *sacra* are likely to have been cultivated by the Tuscan wizards. The Jupiter Viminalis or wicker-work Jove of Mount Viminal was borrowed from the horrid rites of the Gauls. A Gaul was annually sacrificed as a victim at Rome. And this field was a sacred glebe attached to the grove of the Albionæ, the goddesses of Alwion. The profound silence of all antiquity beside, and the sacrificabatur of Festus, argues the obsolescence of those rites. The Alwionesæ therefore could not be goddesses of that remote island which the Romans knew not personally till Cæsar's time, nor even from the study of Greek books till about a century before. They were rather goddesses whose altars were on the Rubicon, and whose sorceresses had howled their war-song at the foot of the besieged Capitolium. When the Phœnicians first issued from their new-built walls they met the warriors of Alwion; and Alwion was the nation whose hostile genti the Etruscan augurs deprecated.

The Gauls and Britons had one language, one system of religion, and were united in one alliance so strict, that they had no separate unbennaeth, and a king of the Rhemi, Suessones, etc. could wear the insular crown as well as a king of the Iceni or Ordovices. They certainly had been one political body, one state and nation. Therefore they ought to have had one name. And the name is before the reader. It may be taken the other way. Since they possessed this ancient name in common, they ought to have been one state or nation, and not two as vulgarly supposed. And we see that they had been so. The whole hangs together.

introduced and not an aboriginal system. At first sight, the origin of the system being referred to Britain rather than Gaul may not seem to square with Strabo's and Justin's assurances that all cultivation whatsoever came to the Celts through Marseilles, and those of Ammianus, that the triple organization of druidism did so. But Ammianus says, and reason shews, that it could not be the work of a day. And it probably is true as stated, that in this island the system was first completed and its chief seat established. The security of its insular position would combine with the prevalent superstition of the *Hesperia* or sacred isle in the west to recommend it for that purpose. Thus it may have actually been the earliest seat of the Druids as an organized college. But one Celtic word expresses both *first in rank* and *first in time*.

Not a single author extols the antiquity of these institutions. But, on the contrary, Strabo says, that Marseilles imparted her learning to the barbarians only "a little before" the Romans frequented that city: Ammian places "the *gradual* culture" of the neighbouring Celts as a process *intermediate between* the landing of the Phocæans and the inchoation of the druidical studies. It appears from Cæsar's account of what he observed, that the imperfect though complicated social system of the Gauls worked so ill for the people, that the latter were converting themselves into the clans or followings of powerful knights in order to escape the oppression and cruelty of the great, and the change

Conjecture may make what it will, or the best it can, of the old word *Alouion*. At any rate, it is effectually disconnected from the local peculiarities of Britannia. It is a name once used and revered by the great Celto-Galatian body of mankind, even to their utmost southern habitations. I should cling less to the opinion I propounded, were it not for the entirely lost and obsolete etymology of *Gwion*. For a name without an imaginable etymon or meaning is rare, and for ought I know quite unique, in the mystical or superstitious nomenclature of that language. See Br. A. R. p. lxi—viii.

was in actual process when he came and imposed the pacifying yoke of Rome upon them. This argues their system to have been as old, as a vicious system requires, in order first to establish itself, and then to be falling into confusion and decay, and not older. If any one takes upon him to affirm, that either Gaul or Druid had been heard of more than about four centuries B. C., he has no sort of authority, and moreover but little probability, on his side. Ireland has a tradition (how preserved I know not, but modest^c in itself, and militating against Celtic chimeras) that the Druids first^d set foot there 700 years before Patrick or about 270 B. C. It surprises me, that theorists should have assumed and imagined so much concerning the remote and almost Diluvian antiquity of druidism; not only in the face of Strabo, Justin, Pausanias, Pseud-Origenes, Ammianus, and the Irish, some of whom assert, and the others seem to imply, the contrary; but also (as I believe) without so much as the vague epithet *ancient* being applied to it in prose or verse.

It is further observable that the * Celts of Iberia, occupying Lower Arragon and Old Castile, and having no communication with Gaul or with the sea, were a race of savages without learning or Druids, and of whose religion nothing could be ascertained except that they danced at the full moon. It was scarcely possible for them to possess the learning borrowed from Marseilles; and, on the other hand, their instance proves that the Celts did not inherit the Druidical institutes from a patriarchal antiquity.

The origin, authors, and comparative recency of the system are sufficiently shewn, to make us proof against any vague and fanciful boasting about the patriarchs, the Titans, or the Corybantes. The

^c But see above, p. 19, note ^a.

^d Beauford in Collect. Hibern. 2. p. 208.

^e See Strabo, 3. p. 225.

Grecian philosophers found, however, among the savage Celts one element of intellectual culture, the same which is so simple, natural, and independent of letters, that scarce any tribe possessing the use of language has been found entirely to want it, and by which those nations are most influenced which are least improved. Tacitus^f says of the Germans, "they have songs at the rehearsal of which, called *barritus*, they inflame their courage, and augur the fortune of the approaching fight from the song itself." The Pythagoreans retained what they found, not only because it was a thing difficult to abolish, but as being one so peculiarly suited to their scheme, that had they not found it they would have formed it. "They thought that the first appeal was to be made^h to the senses of men, and therefore they began their teaching with music and the use of song and *rhythmus*." In this manner *the Bard*, part fanatic and priest, part poet, and part buffoon and parasite, became the third degree of dignity and the first of admission in their system. That name and office became of greater importance long afterwards, when the destroyed system made an effort to revive itself, without the formal restoration of the two higher orders.

6. The principle of toleration among men may be resolved into compatibility, although their passions will sometimes hurry them away from it on lighter grounds. God is intolerant and a jealous God, because all worship but that of him is at variance with his unapproachable supremacy. So men will not tolerate that, which would destroy what they uphold. The necessity or propriety of upholding our system must regulate the justice or injustice of intolerance in each case. But positive compatibility is apt to govern the practice of

^f Germ. c. 3.

^g See Ammian. xvi. 12. 43. xxxi. 7. 11. Vegetius, iii. 18.

^h Jambl. Pythagorica Vita, c. 15.

politicians. Slight variations in the names and idle ceremonies of polytheism did not so much affect the constitutions of the pagan kingdoms and republics, as to make their professors very violent against each other. But Druidism was unlike the religions of the other heathen countries which Rome subjugated. It was not mere paganism. It was not a mere formality which gave subsistence to a certain number of priests, and validity to laws, oaths, marriages, etc. But it was a combination similar enough to Carbonarism, or any other active and ambitious species of free-masonry; and the monopoly of power and entire preponderance in the social system which the members of it enjoyed were such, that they could never be brought sincerely to tolerate any effective *civil* power, foreign or domestic, and such as an imperious conqueror like the Roman never could permit to exist. Pythagorism was incompatible with the social polity of the Magna-Græcian commonwealths, and consequently its association was violently broken up. It was of equal and stronger necessity, that the Romans should extirpate Druidism, if they would peaceably retain the Gauls and Britain, and convert them into harmonious parts of their general and magnificent system. And the necessity was more urgent, rather than less so, if their acquisition of those countries was tainted with injustice. Augustus Cæsar went no farther than to prohibit Roman citizens from obtaining initiation into Druidism. Tiberius made an effort to destroy it. "The magical art (says ¹ Pliny) had possession of the Gauls even to within our memory. For Tiberius Cæsar when he was emperor cut off (or took away, *sustulit*) their Druids, and all that class of prophets and physicians." Suetonius ² relates that "Claudius Cæsar entirely abolished the dreadfully atrocious religion of

¹ Hist. Nat. 30. c. 4.

² Vit. Claud. c. 25. Aur. Vict. in Claud. p. 114. Delph.

the Druids among the Gauls, which Augustus had merely prohibited to Roman citizens." However in the rebellion of the Gaulish tribes which occurred during the struggles of Vitellius and Vespasian, when the Capitol was burnt, "the Druids sang¹ with vain superstition, that the Gauls had anciently taken Rome, but, since the seat of Jove had remained intact, her empire had also remained. Now the Gods had given a sign of their wrath by a fatal conflagration, and portended to the nations north of the Alps the supremacy over human affairs." This fact shews that Claudius had not succeeded entirely in eradicating the inveterate evil; it demanded, and assuredly produced, a more effectual removal thereof. The same Claudius must have had yet stronger reasons to proscribe and hunt Druidism out of his British conquests, when he visited the island in person and "crushed² the parts of Britannia;" for the island being quite³ independent, must have furnished an asylum to the fugitive druids, and so have abounded with them more than ever. And he prosecuted Pomponia Græcina, wife of Plautius whom he had employed in the conquest of Britannia, upon her return from that island, as *externæ*⁴ superstitionis ream. Paulinus and Agricola by the conquest of Mona, the slaughter of the Druids in that island, and "cutting down of the groves that were sacred to their cruel superstitions," struck the fatal blow to their craft. The three centuries and upwards that intervened between Vespasian and Hono-

¹ Tacit. Hist. 4. 54.

² Aur. Vict. p. 115.

³ The non-payment of the tribute imposed by Julius Cæsar should not have been presumed in Br. A. R. p. 2, but distinctly averred. For Strabo discusses the matter, and owns that no tribute was paid or could be extorted without more expence than it was worth. And argues, by way of apology, that the export and import duties levied in Gaul upon the transit of bridles, necklaces, amber, and glass was more profitable. He also speaks of certain dynasts, as sending embassies and presents to Augustus, on the foot of independence. iv. p. 280. Oxon.

⁴ Tacit. Annal. 13. 32.

rius consigned to silence the Druidical system in the Roman provinces of Gaul and Britain; the religion of Rome first, and then that of Christ, being established in them, and the Latin language extensively prevalent.

But in the very height of their Roman civilization, when the vicious empire was tottering, a pagan apostasy crept into Gaul and Britain, which ended in establishing in the latter country that Neo-Druidism to which the fables of Ambrosius and Arthur relate. Gaul was exempted from the complete predominancy of that pest, both by the prolongation of the Roman power therein for about seventy years longer; and also by the permanent Latinization of all its parts, except the continental Britain of Cynan Meriadawg (now called Brittany,) which relapsed into Celticism after the reign of Gratian. Whereas Caledonia, Man, and Ireland were a fomes in which heathenism and barbarism had ever nestled in close contact with the British province. From the isle of Man, Cynedda Wledig came into Wales in the time of Maximus, and his posterity never quitted Britannia. The success of the Bagaudæ, had fortune smiled upon their efforts, might have in some measure assimilated the destinies of Gaul and Britain.

A sort of magical association had grown up in the eastern parts of the Roman dominions, founded upon the doctrines and mysteries of the Persian Magi. These were the Mithriacs, followers of the ineffable orgies of Mithras, concerning which many curious details with illustrative engravings are collected^p in Montfaucon. The earliest account of these magical initia is the practice of them by the formidable^q Cilician pirates, who for some years bade defiance to the power of Rome; and the captive pirates brought home by Pompey first tainted

^p Montf. Ant. Expl. 1. p. 367—84. 2. p. 16—18.

^q Plutarch. Vit. Pomp. p. 631.

the Roman commonwealth with this odious novelty. To what an extent it spread, may be learned from the diligent *Benedictine* above cited. Very early in the Christian æra this pagan sect began in a measure to play the part of heretics, and under their name of *Mithriacs* imitated and parodied the rites of Christianity. They worshipped the sun by his Persian title of *Mithras*, but pretended that it was Christ they worshipped and that Christ was the spirit of the Sun. Thus travestied, the system came to differ in so many of its ceremonies from true Persic magianism, that *Julius Firmicus* enquired of his countrymen why, since they would serve *Mithras*, they did not serve him aright; at *Persarum legibus sequantur*. The *Aurelian* family, devoted from the earliest ages to the worship of the Sun and named from it, seem to have conjoined their ancient domestic sacra with this influx of Orientalism, in their college of the synodites of *Apollo*. The *δια-παιτων* of their *Apollo* would seem to be none other than the trials or torments (80¹ in number) and transformations practised in the *Mithriac* initia. *Commodus* son of *M. Aurelius* "polluted the *Mithriac* rites with² homicide." The obscure fraternity of the *Mithriacs* grew into more importance when their doctrine (both as opposing, and as affecting to sanction, Christianity) had been seated on the Roman throne by the two Syrian priests of the sun *Heliogabalus* and his kinsman *Alexander*. In their days, the *Pythagorean* system and oriental philosophy were revived, both as a matter of doctrine and as a masonic discipline, by *Ammonius Saccas* at *Alexandria*. From him the English free-masons³ seem disposed immediately to derive their own tenets. *Plotinus*, one of

¹ See *Justin Martyr* *Apol.* l. p. 97. et *Dial. cum Tryphone*, p. 289. *Thirlby*. *Tertullian* *Præscript*, c. 40.

² *De Erroribus*, p. 21, ed *Munter*.

³ See *Eudociæ Violarium*, p. 291.

⁴ *Lampridius* in *Comm.* p. 278. ed. 1631.

⁵ See *Dr. Ashe's Masonic Manual*, p. 163.

his successors sworn to secrecy, transmitted the system to a long series of pagan adepts ; and Origen, another⁷ of his disciples, infected many professing Christians with the spirit of it, and made them under a pretence of orthodoxy more than heretics. Ultimately, we shall see some of his followers to all appearance much implicated in the affair of the Neo-Druidic heresy. While Plotinus acknowledges the worship of the Sun, he seems to have avoided publishing (as Plato had) that the sun was the second person in his great triad and his Nôus or Demiurgus. Together with the priests of the sun from Emesa reigning in Rome, and Ammonius presiding over the eclectics or syncretists in Egypt, we find, in an important and triple synchronism, a Persian priest erecting the standard of revolt against the Parthians, setting on foot an active scheme of religious impostures and forgeries, and establishing a new sect or modification of the famous Magi. All these movements bear the impress of one motive principle, one mystery of iniquity working far and wide, with perhaps more of personal connection than we can discern ; and they all contributed to promote the *Mysticism of Solar Worship*, with its apparatus of emanative demonolatry and pantheistic atheism, slightly varied, or faintly disguised.

But there was one particular code of magic which affected the name of Mithras and enjoined peculiar usages. The emperor Julian was by far the most memorable of those who were devoted to that scheme of philosophy religion and magic. And that was the apostacy which, I said, crept into Gaul (under no more probable date and circumstances than the government of that country by Julian,) and which established itself openly and ran riot in Britannia. The descendants of the Druids were well adapted to receive it, on two grounds, their

⁷ For a summary of his doctrine (or so much of it as he suffered to appear) see Brucker Period. 2. part 2. lib. 1. cap. 3.

Pythagorean tenets, and their masonic organization. Ausonius the preceptor of Gratian and cotemporary of Maximus, himself a faintly professing Christian, was intimate with some of the Mithriacal Druidists in Gaul, and introduces us to them. He says to the rhetorician Attius Pateras,

Thou, born at Bayeux, with Druids for thy ancestors
 If report does not deceive our belief,
 Derivest thy sacred race from the temple of Belenus.
 Thence do ye receive your names.
 Thou, that of Pateras; for so their ministers are called
By the Apollinar Mystics.
 Your father and brother had their names from Phœbus,
 And your son, from Delphi.

And, in a similar poem,

Nor will I be silent concerning the old man
 By name Phœbicus
 Who was a *hymner** of Belenus,
 And did not enrich himself thereby.
 But nevertheless, being, as it is agreed,
 Descended from a family of Druids
 Of the Aremorican nation,
 Obtained by aid of his son
 A professor's chair at Bordeaux.

The Mithriacs of Rome had no less than eight* different titles, under one or other of which they received initiation. One of these (perhaps the highest) was that of Pater, or, as Porphyry has it, *ὁ πατήρ*, or, as an inscription, *Patres Dei Solis Invicti*. From them, one course of Mithriac solemnities was called the *Patrica*. Even at Rome they affectedly retained the use of Greek appellations. The eight titles

* *Ædituus*. See Hor. Ep. 2. 1. 230.

* Hieronym. ad *Latam de Inst. Filie*.

Corax, *Niphus* (Montf.^b *Cryphius*,) Miles, Leo, Perses, Helios, Bromius, Pater, are all except Miles Greek words. Patēr (not Patēr) is Πατήρ, and accounts for the prosody of the name Pateras in Ausonius. The use of Greek appellatives such as Phœbicius, Delphidius, etc. points to an eastern not a Gaulish source. And, since the name Pateras was expressive of Attius's rank and office among the Apollinar Mystics, it affords some evidence of their specific (and not merely essential) identity with the Mithriacs. The sect diffused itself over Britannia, and established the worship of the sun under his name of Melen in syntax Velen, i. e. the Yellow, or among the Gaelic tribes, Buidhe, also meaning the Yellow. At Lyons in Gaul the same sect placed an image and inscription Deo Invicto Mithr. Its doctrines, except so far as they may be inferred from similar sects, such as the Orientalizing heretics, the Neo-Platonists of Egypt, and the Neo-Magic Persians, must be collected from the remains, chiefly poetical, of the British islanders who were tainted with that superstition.

7. Those doctrines were introduced into a rich and civilized island in which Christianity had been some time established, and Roman manners still longer. We therefore meet with a frequent dissimulation of that heathenism to which the authors of the system were addicted, a disinclination to call the dæmons of polytheism by their ancient and known titles, or to give them the rank of Gods, and a feeble attempt to conciliate their mysteries with the Christian. Manes, whose followers were a very similar class to the Neo-Druids, pursued the same course and honoured the name of Christ, but meant the sun by that name. No more can be understood by the Crist Gwledig^c of the bards. Their

^b Sed qu: annon *Xiphius*? vel *Gryphus* aut *Gryphius*?

^c Which may stand for *Aurelius* Christus. For Gwledig was, conventionally, an equivalent for the title Aurelius.

Trindawd is the triad^d of Pythagorean cabalism or theological arithmetic ; and should be rendered Supreme Trias and not Trinity, to express the mind of the Primary Bards. Some have carelessly, some perhaps affectedly, confounded together the druidism of the times before the Romans, with this modified revival of it in an heretical form. I have studied to keep them distinct, by terming the professors of the latter, Druidists, and Neo-Druids.

The circumstances under which the system was revived produced many differences between it and the more ancient Druidism.

The College of Druids was not re-established by name. The votaries of Belenus in Gaul, as we have seen, referred to the druids as to an extinct race from whom some of them affected on uncertain grounds to be descendants. In Britain, that order which was lowest and least important, and which alone was either tolerable to the Romans or compatible with Christianity, viz. the order of bards, was the only one that flourished. Every thing was referred to Bardism, and all the functions of priest, prophet, and magician, all the learning of the country and the right of teaching it and inventing it was claimed by that order of minstrels.

When the Druidical title is assumed by them, it is done by way of assimilation, and so as to disprove rather than prove its formal restoration and legal existence at the time. The pateræ of the God Belenus, who lived in Gaul during the 4th and 5th centuries, were not Druids, but only boasted to be "descendants from Druids, *if a false report did not impose upon men's belief.*" The higher lore of the

^d See Ausonius, Gryphus Numeri Ternarii.

bards is sometimes said to be that of Derwyddon,* of the Druids; and it is so styled not only in the dark period of the apostasy, but by bards of the 12th and later centuries, such as Cynddelw and Llywarch of the Pigs. That circumstance shews us that it did not signify a reality, at least, not a public and recognized reality. The rank, if it was in any sense a rank, was not more tangible or legal than that of a Master-Mason in the modern lodges.

I am not apprized, nor do I believe, that the name of ouate or ovate was ever reverted to, even as the druidical was, that is to say, as a name of undefined but lofty import; or, that the Triads of Institution and the pretended laws of Pseudo-Dyvnwal (the forgery of a fiction) have any authority to support them in that use of the word (if there be such a word) ovydd. That is a thing made up in the latter days.

Nothing more plainly convicts of recency the pretended traditional Institutes of Bardism, than the mere fact that they *are* Institutes of Bardism, and give credit to the hymners, panegyrists, and vituperators of ancient Celtica, for all those attributes which belonged to the two superior orders, and not to the Bardi, of old; although they were really assumed and partly exercised by that surviving and tolerated order of musicians, after the Roman governors were withdrawn, and when circumstances were favourable to a revival of those attributes, but not to a formal re-establishment of the entire hierarchy. Both the primary and middle bards are at variance with the Institutes. For

* Taliesin was pleased to say,

I am water, I am a wren,

I am a builder, I am a constant one,

I am a serpent, I am love. *Bearth*, v. 10.

This word dryw, a wren, has been wrenched by Rowlands, E. Davies, and W. Owen into the sense of a Druid, with no reason or analogy to justify such a violence to the language.

they do both employ the term *Derwyddon* when they wish to speak of their art in its highest dignity, and of themselves as *inspired prophets*; and not when they mean to describe the third and lowest degree in the society. They use the word in the same spirit as the old Latin authors did, to express the most awful rank in their hierarchy. The Irish are opposed to them. For their learned men tell us they had two orders, the sacred called *druidhdeigh*, and "the profane" or lowest, denominated *bhardag* or *bardos*."

The religions of paganism were unwritten. But after the diffusion of Christianity had brought into notice the Holy Scriptures both old and new, the heathens were obliged to descend into the same arena. Not only are Manes and other heathenizing heretics examples of it, but the pagans of Ægypt published Greek books which, they pretended, were sacred scriptures by Mercury and Æsculapius. At the same time, or nearly so, the new Magi of Persia brought forward the inspired volumes of *Erdaviraph*, *Ostanes*, etc. from which the existing collection of *Zendavesta* is compiled. It had been the strict rule of the Druids to commit no part of their learning to writing, but to exercise the memories of their disciples by an erudition exclusively oral. The bards who cultivated Neodruidism departed from that rule and committed their notions to writing, in doing which they resorted to various frauds and disguises.

"Bardism (says[†] Dr. Owen) must be attributed to a very early period of the world." It is true. But that bardism was only the rude office of a songster, which even the rudest tribes acknowledge, which preceded the foundation of Marseilles, the first transition of Celta into Galatæ, and the first institution of the tripartite Pythagorical college

[†] W. Beauford in *Collect. Hibern.* 2. p. 234.

[‡] See *Trans. of Llywarch*, p. xxiv.

of Druids in the vicinage of Marseilles. Their later organization, as vaunted by that critic, is nothing but the mongrel produce of Druidism, Mithriac heresy, and modern Free-Masonry, kept up under the name of those people, whose ostensible office was only musical.

It is difficult to account for the opinions offered by some moderns in favour of the Druidic and Neodruidic systems; but if we are able to refute them, we need not account for them. The Druids ruled arbitrarily by means of deception, and practised atrocities at which the imagination revolts. They sacrificed men, and divined by the palpitation of their limbs and entrails, and they filled immense wicker baskets with living men, and burnt them as a holocaust to their Gods. The character of the Neodruids, like their system, was less manifest, because it had barbarous usages to conceal from the eye of civilization and impious follies from that of the Holy Church. But it is plain enough that it was not such as some authors describe.

8. Like their pagan precursors they were bound to strict secrecy, and either their doings were unfit to be known, or they found their emolument in mystifying their neighbours. Their doctrine was imparted to the aspirant amidst horrific and intimidating orgies, and under the sanction of a self-imprecated curse binding him to silence. "The cauldron of the chief of the infernal regions (says Taliesin) will not boil the food of a coward who is *not cursed*." The system upon which they proceeded was styled *cerddⁱ cyvænad*, the *cemented union* (literally *stone-work*) of Bardism, and the art with which their poems were framed was styled *cyvrinach y beirdd*, the mystery or secret of the bards.

These circumstances seem ill to harmonize with their boast of doing

ⁱ Cadeir Teyrnnon, v. 20. Arch. p. 65. Anon. Cynvardd, lb. p. 182.

all things "in the eye of light and in the face of the sun." But in the language of illuminatism, its professors employ the word *light* to signify their own arcane tenets, and *the sun* in whose face their deeds are done is the image of the sun¹ suspended in their place of meeting. Even at this day, the adepts of the Glamorganshire connexion are called by the country folks gwyr cwm y¹ Velyn, *men of the secluded valley of Belenus*. The Triads of Institution published by them (tr. 13) admit that the Beirdd Ynys Prydain had three necessary but reluctant duties to perform, the first of which is, "secrecy for the sake of peace and the public good." Secrecy in the eye of light and in the face of the sun!

Reluctant it was not, but it was indeed a necessary endeavour; lest the veil (which we shall proceed gradually to lift) being suddenly raised should have left them exposed to the full indignation of their neighbours. That fear was continually sharpening their wits, and gave rise to a variety of shifts and contrivances. "A wicked man walketh with a froward mouth, he winketh with his eyes, he speaketh with his feet, he teacheth with his fingers."

Their cyvrinach extended beyond the usual jargon of secret combinations, and was a sort of hieroglyphic. Leaves, sprigs, and branches of divers plants and trees represented to the eye and to the ear things totally different. That cryptography is the subject of two curious productions, the Gorwynion or Shining Sprigs by Llywarch Hen and the Cad Goddeu or Battle of Trees by Taliesin. "The oak-twigs^m entwined us together by the enchantment of the Maelderw," says the latter poet. Again, "I was in" the battle of trees with Leo and

¹ See Dr. Ashe, *Masonic Manual*, p. 113.

¹ Spelt velin (mill) by the ignorance of the uninitiated moderns. See Edw. Williams' *Poems*, etc. 2. p. 161.

^m Cad Goddeu, v. 145.

ⁿ Meib. Llyr in Arch. 1. p. 87.

Gwydion, with him who formed the elementary trees and sedge-leaves." And again, "Are the sprigs of trees^p a falsehood? why murmur they so grumly?" The topic is illustrated copiously, but not accurately, in the Celtic Researches. Ireland had an alphabet^q in which a sprig of yew stood for I, one of furze for O, one of heath for U, etc. etc. and the word *feadha* expressed either *trees* or *letters*. The mode of working this system was multiform. In Gorwynion we find ideas, if not sentiments, to be the antitypes. In Cad Goddeu the types appear to represent men or bodies of men, or divisions of territory, in short political antitypes. While the Irish *feadha* were elementary or alphabetic. But it is doubtful whether botanical draftsmen ever drew for them a picture alphabet. Perhaps the plants themselves were used, as Eastern lovers use the language of flowers; and the mention^r of their names was employed to express letters. O'Flaherty vainly imagined that this invention was of the date of Peleg son of Heber. It was posterior to the influx^s of Latinity; and also (of which hereafter) to that of Christianity. In the Dialogue of Merddin with Yscolan the former ends with saying,

^p *Prif Gyvarch*, v. 32.

^q O'Flaherty *Ogygia*, p. 236. Tacitus in his *Germania*, c. 10. speaks of a full-grown tree from which a branch was severed and afterwards divided into small cuttings, which were marked, and then flung upon a white cloth; and as the sticks fortuitously fell, the diviner interpreted the fates. This rude sortilege of a savage race is the *coel-bren* or omen-stick, as a *lot cast* is called in Welsh. If either *coel-bren* or *pelthynen* be any where used in connexion with the art of writing, such passages (I believe) remain yet to be produced.

^r As though any one (saith O'Flaherty) instead of saying *Christos* in Greek, were to utter the sounds Chi-rho-iota-sigma-tau-omicron-sigma; in which way the learned in ogham conversed, with so much skill and quickness both of speech and apprehension, that others could not understand them. *Ogygia*, p. 237.

^s *Finea-mhuin*, a vine, and *máin*, a vine, or wine, are mutations from *vinca-vini* and *vinum*; and the plant did not belong to the climate of the ancient Hibernians.

Had I adverted to this matter,
 How clearly I had spread the wind over the top sprigs of the trees,
 What I have wrought never would I have done,

of which the meaning is, "had I considered that my jargon was liable to be deciphered, I should have conducted myself differently;" *the mind* thus mentioned is not an accidental metaphor, but a standing type, of which I recollect two or three other such instances. The following triplets from the Red Book of Hergest exemplify both the gloomy spirit of secret-swearers in general and the hierography of trees and sprigs.

1.

The scions of green birch
 Shall release my foot from fetters,
 Commit not thy secret to a youth.

2.

The scions of oak from the grove
 Shall release my foot from the chain,
 Commit not thy secret to a maiden.

3.

The scions of the leafy oak
 Shall release my foot from prison,
 Commit not thy secret to a babbler.

Secrecy and dissimulation were the safeguards of the system. In the *Preiddeu Annwyn*, the author's lore is *gochlywed*, imperfectly heard. Bran, the raven of the mysteries, was son to Llyr surnamed *Llediaith*, i. e. the half-speaker. Mor-vran, the sea raven, whose title is the equivalent of Bran ap Llyr, was son to Ceridwen and *'Tacitus*. The blot of secrecy, of inability to face the day and suffer their boasted

¹ That name is modernized (either for disguise of its meaning, or from disdain of Latin etymologies) into Tegid; but the antique MS. printed in the *Cambr. Qu. Mag.* gives its true form, Tacit.

light to shine before men, is not denied by the early bards or their advocates. The chief-bard of Britannia said, in his *Cadair*,

When I address the kindred bards
With such subtlety as is useful,
The depth of ocean is convenient.

Merlin of Celyddon ^a terms the secret things deposited in his custody "incarcerated words," carcharorion geireu, meaning, as he presently explains it, things not to be imparted to (maon) the many; and we read in the triad ^b of incarcerations that Gair ap Geirion (i. e. Word son of Words, for geireu and geirion are both plurals of gair) lord of ' Geirionydd was shut up with all his princely family in the prison of Oeth and Anoeth (i. e. of severity and incomprehensibility) by the decree of the country and people; and not one of them ever escaped from thence. Here the metaphor used in the Avallenau (to express the law on which the sect depended for its very existence) is wrought up into an allegorical fable. In the middle ages, Llywarch Pr. y Moch exclaimed with solemnity,

Christ son of God! nothing is open to a babler;

and the ideas of concealment and clandestine art are of such continual recurrence, that the multiplying of instances is a superfluous labour.

Numerating by position is an art usually referred by the Europeans to Arabia and India. But the Neo-Platonic adept Boethius (who learnt under Proclus) describes "the points or characters" of the Pythagoreans in a manner not essentially different from modern numeration. They had an apex for *one*, another apex for *two*, and so forth up to *nine*. And these apices derived their denomination without any danger of error from the line under which they were placed, as,

^a Avallenau.

^b Arch. 2. p. 66.

^c Misprinted Ceirionydd in Br. A. R. p. 199.

the line of unity, or the centenary, or the millenary line, etc. From this account it would seem, that the occult philosophy of the West was indebted to Gerbert for little, though the public were indebted to him. It is not very improbable that the art was possessed by the Neo-Druids, as well as by the Neo-Platonists of Greece, Egypt, and Italy ; nor even that the word cypher, used for numeration, for zero, and for cryptography, is derived from *cyfrif, numeration, or cyfrin, secret mystery, rather than from an Arabic root.

That numbers and their cabala entered into the Bardic craft, is certain. Merddin boasts that his patron had given him an orchard of seven and seven score apple-trees. The principal number (seven score) appears to be that of a certain lodge or association ; for Pendragon, in his Dirge, describes himself as the chief of the seven score musicians, Merddin deploras the destruction “ of the seven score generous ones in the forest of Celyddon,” and Taliesin declares that seven score spiritual beings contribute to the bard’s inspiration. The seven score and seven apple-trees of Merddin are continually invoked by him as one apple-tree. Their number, 147, is the square of seven multiplied by three ; but his 140 friends who perished are that number namyn saith, excepting seven. In the overcad or mystic battle between Bran and Matholwc all were slain namyn saith ; and at Camlan likewise all namyn saith. But the Triads say that only three persons (characters most wildly fabulous in their attributes) escaped from Camlan, and according to them it was namyn tri. In the mysterious battle of Gododin all the 363 perished namyn tri. The *Triads*, in their perfect state, are said to have been 300, which combination yields a sum of 900 ; and Taliesin^a writes to this effect, “vigorous the songster by whom

^a The substitution of *v* for *f* was formerly rare, and is not generally adopted even now.

^a Carl Goddeu.

is held the entirety of the nine hundred, of it we have become possessors." And an ^banonymous author says, "on May-day, on every May-day, thrice three hundred tongues search out the egg of discourse, the riches of the Trinity." It is vulgarly said that whoever counts the stones of the Stonehenge will die, and it was also thought an impiety to reckon up those of Stanton Drew. On the other hand, if you omitted to count the pillars in a subterraneous vault in Man it would be your destiny to be imprisoned therein; nor could Taliesin have liberated Elphin, had he not "known the number of the pillars^c in the cavern of the west." We read^d of Arthur's "scriptural (i. e. cabalistic) number;" and of a certain boar (probably Arthur again) we read that

Of the hue of light his numbers
Sprinkle themselves in the fire.

There is one method, by pursuing which it may be possible to ascertain the possession of apices or linear numeration by the Neo-Druids. The apple-trees were 147, the stones in the Stonehenge^e were 129, the royal retinue at Gododin was 363, the consecrated brethren at Llan Elwy in Arthur's days were 363, the years of disquietude^f were 363, the Saxons slain by Eideol were 660, the years of St. David's life were 147, the assembly present at the establishment of his sacred mount was 7140, and 1200 saints were slaughtered at Bangor. Probably research would produce more^g such instances; in all of which the sums of the digits are 12, being the sun's zodiacal and Arthur's,

^b Anon. Cynvardd, p. 182.

^c See Arch. 1. p. 26. p. 34.

^d Cadair Teyrnou, v. 8.

^e See Dr. Smith's calculation, in Conjectures upon Stonehenge, p. 58.

^f Armes Brydain, v. 35.

^g Yn geugant *dieu* is such tautology, that we had better transpose a letter, and read *i deu* dybyddant pum llong a fumeant, which makes the number of mystical ships in Gwawd Lludd 507, of which the digits amount to 12. See Gw. LL v. 15.

rotundi-mensal or Saint-Greal number. Cadwallader is commonly said to have reigned 12 years and a fraction of months. Now, in one of the interpolations of Cyvoesi, it is prophesied that he should reign 363 years and 3 months; and these (adds the prophet) "are the *fleeting* times of his supremacy," thus avowing that the enormous duration really describes the short reign of a prince cut off in his youth. This falls little, if at all, short of demonstration that 363 means 12 in the cyvrinach. But if we were satisfied that imaginary numbers were stated or real numbers selected in reference to the sum of their digits, *at a time anterior* to the public use of such numeration, the inference would be conclusive. If we take 7 from 12 remain 5, if we take the 7 from the 147, the remaining digits make 5; take 3 from 147 there remain 144, or the digits of nine, which = 12 - 3, and take 3 from 363 and the result is precisely the same. Thus the exceptive numbers, *namyn saith* and *tri*, shew the nature of the total, viz. that it is 12 obtained by addition of the digits.

The Basingwerk MS. edition of the Brut of Kings contains, upon a spare page, a table of numbers with this brief preface. "Now we will shew the numerical value of each letter."

A is 500	G is 400	N is 90	T is 160
B „ 300	H „ 200	O „ 15	V „ 5
C „ 100	I „ 1	P „ 300	X „ 10
D „ 500	K „ 140	Q „ 500	Y „ 150
E „ 250	L „ 50	R „ 80	Z „ 2000
F „ 40	M „ 1000	S „ 9	

In this alphabet the letter Q stands for *çw* and X for *CH*. Mr. Roberts well observes, "the only probable conjecture I can form respecting it is, that it was a numerical cypher used for secret writing." But what surprises me most is to see it constructed *namyn saith*, and that

the figure 7 is not in it, though every other figure and the zero occur. It cannot be an accident.

At least four modes of cryptographic discourse were used by the members of the Bardic union; and as, including the aspirants, it seems to have consisted of four degrees, the number seems convenient. Danger was apprehended even in these complicated artifices, and the necessity of resorting to a new disguise was anticipated in the *Gwawd Lludd*,

This is a perfect prophecy,
My wilderness shall be disturbed
And the four-tongued Cymmry
Shall change their speech.

Cynddelw^b says in his address to Owain Gwynedd, "bards shall praise thee, druids of the enclosure of the four languages from the four quarters." And 'Llygad Gwr, "my lord Llewelyn rules the men of four tongues." Since these phrases might reasonably be referred to the existence of four natural dialects in four different parts of Wales, I will state my reasons for explaining them otherwise. The first is, that the Welsh language was notoriously divided not into four but into three^c principal dialects, viz: the *iaith Gwynedd*, *iaith Dyved*, and *iaith Syllwg*; and the second is, that *Gwawd Lludd* is a poem of too remote antiquity to present the kingdom of the Cymmry under any thing like the same limits and subdivisions as it was reduced to in the days of Owain Gwynedd and its last sovereign Llewelyn.

In a portion of the fabulous British history, which undoubtedly shadows forth some of the transactions of Vortigern's reign, and is called the *Tair Gormes*, a curious circumstance is recorded, how the

^b Cyndd. Arch. 1. 205.

^c Llygad Arch. 1. 124.

^d Hughes' *Ancient and Present State of Welsh Language*, p. 27.

secret ways of bardic jargon were countermined by the subtlety of another and opposite faction. These are (as we now¹ read it) called the Coraniaid. The north-east part of the island, near the Humber, is described as their station; and they are said to have come from the land of² Pwyl. By their union with the Saxons, and with the Latin population of Britannia (styled Lloegrians³ and Cæsareans,) they effected the ruin of the kingdom of the Cymmry. Coraniaid might be interpreted Dwarfish-men; did it not appear to be a corruption or disguise of the word Corarianaid, men of the Silver Circle. They possessed so much knowledge, that no discourse met the wind but they were aware of it, and for that reason "all designs to injure them failed." And their image (or similitude) for the wind was a silver circle,

A'u bath wynt oedd *arian cor*.

Hereupon Llevelys the enchanter directed his brother Lludd ap Beli to make a long horn and converse through it, and it so far had success, that the listeners of the Cor Arian could no longer catch any of their discourses, except it were "a harsh discourse." Llevelys, perceiving there was a defect in the horn, caused it to be rinsed with wine, and then all his communications with Lludd became secret. Llevelys then gave some worms to Lludd ap Beli and advised him to summon all the people of his kingdom together, and sprinkle them all with a liquor in which the worms were bruised, adding, that it would be fatal to all the Coraniaid and to no one else. In this manner they were all poisoned. (I need hardly say that the inward man, not the outward, was really moistened at a public convention of the Britons.) Here we see that the

¹ *Tair Gormes* in *Y Greal*, p. 241. *Tysilio*, p. 166.

² i. e. of wit and sagacity; or that of *Annwvn*, the infernal regions, from *Pwyl pen Annwvn*.

³ See *Triads* 7 and 16.

power of the Neo-Druids to injure, and indeed to destroy by wholesale, their adversaries, depended upon the disguises of their speech; and that their adversaries found means, through another association, constantly to penetrate those disguises. Thus we partly understand by what manner of means Vortigern discovered those "hidden dragons" of Lludd and Llevelys, of which he gave Hengist timely notice. It was by the agency of the Cor Arian. My persuasion, founded on the Gododin and other poems, is that fire (not poison) was the hidden dragon prepared for Hengist and his people. But no one can term it a harsh conclusion that the sect were compassing his destruction in that instance, when we perceive the avowal that a similar meeting of national festivity was devoted by them to the poisoning of a whole body of their opponents. Since the *Praise of Lludd* is the poem which mentions the resort of the four-tongued Cymmry to a fifth mode of speech, it seems not improbable that the said mode of speech is the very speaking trumpet by which Lludd contrived to baffle the Coraniaid. The destruction of the Coraniaid ought to follow the violence of Vortigern and Hengist, rather than precede it, since they were so completely destroyed, and yet we know that Vortigern *had* ingress to the secrets of Lludd and Llevelys. But their gormes or encroachment, by equal reason, was anterior to the gormes calanmai and instrumental to it. So that the historians who set the gormes Coraniaid before the Calanmai are more correct than the Triadists who place the latter first; though that gormes and the revenging of it must be taken distributively, one before, and the other after.

It excites astonishment to read, concerning such an artful and dark-spoken community, that the burthen of their discourse at the beginning and end of all their solemnities was "the truth against the world," y gwir yn erbyn y byd. Their great delight in truth was like

the miser's love of gold, and did not consist in speaking it. Their study, or, as their Triads soften it down, their "necessary but reluctant duty," was to retain people in their existing errors, and to conceal among themselves whatever valuable information they possessed. Very curiously are they judged out of the mouths of their countrymen and their own, for in their language a falsehood or lie is *cel-wydd*, *the concealment of knowledge*. The life of a *privardd* was one long acted lie. One precept of their institutes was "observe, conceal, and listen," and a diabolical one it was, analogous to that of Basilides the precursor of Manes, "know all men, but be known to none." Llywarch, who owned at last that he had put his faith in Arthurism too long, came to a right estimate of this matter, as appears from one of his Moral Triplets,

* In All-Hallow-Tide pleasant is a confidant,
Of equal speed are the gale and the tempest,
Concealing a mystery is a lying job,
Gwaith celwydd yw celu rhin.

Besides their *cyvrinach* or secret art, the bards boasted of their *awen* or flow, by which modern poets only mean their genius and vein, but those who lived in the darker ages of the apostasy or inherited of its abominations signified by that word an inspiration above nature. The *cynveirdd* make open and repeated pretensions to the gifts of direct prophecy (the *dysgogan derwyddon* or druidical vaticinations), of astrology, and of *haruspicy*^p or divination by sacrifice. They resorted to the vulgar artifice of obscure and equivocal phrases, which might be explained according to the event. And they were also at one time possessed of such vast power, that they might perform a higher work of their art, viz: first predict an event, and then operate its fulfil-

* Arch. Myvyr. i. 124.

^p See Cad Godden, v. 200.

ment. Another support was derived to impious imposture, by framing a prophecy subsequently to an event, and handing it from mouth to mouth as one previously delivered. Maelgwn Gwynedd died in a church, of that contagious disease which was called by the name of the Mad-Velen (the Yellow Serpent, or, Belenus the Serpent) the most beautiful but the deadliest of beings, corresponding in their superstition with the pestiferous Apollo of Homer's Iliad. It was said of him, in their proverbs, "as bad as the Mad-Velen," and again, in the hyperbole of lovers, "more beautiful than the Mad-Velen." Maelgwn's fate was notorious, and it passed into this proverb, "as long as the sleep as Maelgwn in the church of Rhos." Taliesin had previously become the enemy of Maelgwn. And in two poems⁹ of early date we are presented with the prophetic curse publicly pronounced upon the king by his bard ;

A surprising worm shall come
From the Morva Rhianedd
To avenge iniquity
Upon Maelgwn Gwynedd,
As to his hair, his teeth,
And his eyes, golden.
That, even that, is the end appointed
Unto Maelgwn Gwynedd.

In this instance it is evident that the bards obtained for their sect the credit of prophecy, by contriving after the fact a forgery, calculated to persuade the credulous that their god Belenus had revenged upon Maelgwn his abandonment of their system and opposition to their power.

9. What doctrine it was, that so much ingenuity was used to con-

⁹ Arch. Myvyr. 1. p. 34. p. 26.

ceal and deceptions practised to support, is not susceptible of a direct dogmatic exposition; from the very nature of those artifices, and from the want of any monuments exhibiting the state of Neo-Druidic dogma from the days of Honorius to those of Arthur, and from thence to the schisms of Camlan and Arderydd. Though not absolutely unwritten like the lore of the Druids, that of the Apollinares or Druidists has come down to us only in the disjointed form and obscure phrases of poetical and mythical allusion. Besides such light as they afford, its nature must be collected from the general and analogous nature of mystical and Mithriacal sects, such as the Gnostics, the Manichees, the Ghebers or Neo-magi, the Neo-Platonists, Julian the Mithriac, the Buddhists, the Suffees, to whom may be added the Templars and other masonic and illuminate lodges of modern Europe, and more especially the Bards (so calling themselves, at least) of Glamorgan. Their manual of recent Bardic doctrine styled *Barddas*, (of which Mr. Turner was enabled to publish some portions, but which I believe has never been committed to the press) though the antiquity of its contents is unauthenticated, squares well enough in most respects with the ancient British remains, and with mystical doctrine in general. They may have inherited some traditions of dogma and, as Mr. Turner says, have "derived these notions from their ancestors." But it is clear to my mind that the technical vocabulary of the *Barddas* has been made up in modern times. The circle of the ceugant or absolute certainty (literally, the enclosure of one hundred), that of gwynvyd or beatitude (literally, the white world), and that of abred or hybrid, i. e. transmigration, the gwrth or opposing and cythraul or destroying principle, against both of which man has to contend in his state of abred, the gobryn or merited retribution and the cydvil (i. e. an equivalent beast) to which states bad men are degraded from that of humanity, appear

all to be unknown to the cynveirdd by those names, however conformable the ideas may be to their doctrine. Gwynvyd and even abred may be met with, that is to say *those words* may, but not as terms of fixed and technical meaning; ceugant, gwrth, and gobryn are quite ordinary words, the appropriation of which to a theosophical mystery has no claim to antiquity. The words cydvil and cythraul were not, as I rather suspect, in the ancient cynvardic language at all. On the other hand, such names as that language rejoiced in (Faraon, Gorlasear, Hu, Melen, Bran, Gwydion, etc.) are avoided by the concoctors of the Barddas. The vocabulary of their system seems to have been framed by the authors of the work, of which the professed date is from 1580 to 1616. But, whatever objections may be made to it, it undoubtedly gives a tolerable idea of some of the essentials of Druidism. Either such parts of the Barddas as would make it appear heretical and gnostical were withheld from Mr. Turner; or (as we ought rather to suppose) it is a piece of purely^{*} pagan Pythagorism, rejecting all allusion to the Christian redemption and the other essential tenets of the Holy Church. That circumstance, even more than the peculiarities of its technical vocabulary, would stamp it for the work of modern sophists, and not a thing transmitted (except as to its broad fundamentals) either from the Cynveirdd or from those bards of intermediate antiquity who are termed the Go-gynveirdd. But if these things tend to discredit, there is another which tends entirely to damn the Barddas. That is, the doctrine of equality and of the community of property. These doctrines, which found their way into French jacobinism but were suppressed even there,

^{*} The occasional use and assumption of the title Christian is just nothing. It was habitually used, but used in the sense of the speaker, not in that of the ordinary hearer.

are' modern free-masonry ; and from that source found their way to this spurious bardism. But of these doctrines, vast and all-absorbing as they are, the vestige has not been produced from the early bards, nor can, I believe, be found among them. Much homage is paid by them to greatness, and much encouragement offered to the violent exercise of power, while little if any thing is hinted of political and civil liberty ; much admiration is expressed for wealth and large possessions, with the desire to partake of them by flattering the munificent. The common vulgar feelings upon those subjects seem to prevail throughout, rendered more than usually intense by the turbulent licentiousness and unbridled *πλεονεξία* of their minds. Therefore when the *Essay on Bardism* (prefix to *Llywarch*) gave the following as a "leading article of the system," viz : "A man cannot assume authority over another, "for if he may over one, by the same reason he may rule over a million, or over a world. All men are necessarily equal. The four elements in their natural state, or every thing not manufactured by art, "is the common property of all," its author either fabricated matter of which the institutional volume does not contain a word (which is not to be 'supposed) or else that book is itself a palpable and unskilful fabrication.

In one sense it is often said with truth that there cannot be an atheist, for all people perceive and know that an energy pervades the world. But in that sense in which atheism is not rare, the Druidist bards had said in their hearts there is no God. Their god was not the

* See Henry Vaughan's avowals on that subject, in the dedication of his *Longlicers* to the whole masonic fraternity, written almost immediately before the remodelling of that fraternity and combustion of its secret books.

The mention of "the four elements" in capital letters is more suitable to the year 1580 than to 1792.

creator of the world, distinct from it, and superior to it in no degree but incommensurably; but was a part of it, in so far as he was its animating and vital principle, and the whole of it, as body and soul make one. The former is true theism, and the latter true atheism. Their deity was the Oromazdes of eastern magic, and the Jove of those esoterically taught and atheizing Greeks from one of whom Ennius took his famous lines,

Vides sublime fusum immoderatum æthera,
Qui tenero terram circumjectu amplectitur,
Hunc summum habeto divum, hunc perhibeto Jovem,

and again,

Adspice hoc sublime candens quem invocant omnes Jovem.

This the primary bards expressed, when they made Uthyr Pen-dragon father of the sun Arthur, declare himself to be the æther or azure firmament, Gorlassar; and in the Song of the Macrocosm, saying,

Very high doth God extend
Above the planets.

And the same is boldly avowed and developed in a portion of the Barddas not furnished to Mr. Turner. "There" are five elements (tywarchen) "viz: earth, water, fire, air, and heaven. And of the four "first is all inanimate matter. And of heaven is God, and all life, and "every living thing. And of the union of these five is every thing, "whether animate or inanimate." This sect *had* no God, but they (together with every other living thing) *were* God, and particles of the all-pervading æther clothed in the body as in a garment, to be exchanged successively for a complete series of other such disguises. The chair of Glamorgan in its cydvil or equivalent bestiality alludes only to transmigration into the bodies of beasts. But we see in the

* Cft. Owen Dict. in *New*.

Cynveirdd that there was nothing at all, either in art or nature, through which the cycle of change was not supposed to pass. So much was implied in the *διαστροφή* of the Apollinar Mystics at Rome. After the cycle of change through every state of being has been completed, and the emanation duly purified by going through them, it is finally reabsorbed into the ocean of soul. Being originally composed of heaven, which is God, it returns into heaven, that is not the presence, but the essential substance, of God. As the body turns ² to earth, just so the soul to heaven. This doctrine might be expected to end like Buddhism in personal annihilation. But the Barddas seems to insinuate a separate identity with consciousness. The following words of the Barddas were not submitted to Mr. Turner's consideration, any more than those above cited, "God is the only nothing, and the only God is nothing," *nid dim ond Duw, nid Duw ond dim.*³

² See Owen Dict. in *Tynwarchen*.

³ Barddas cit. Owen D. in *Dim*. This sample of atheo-theism is grosser than those which Plotinus exhibited. *Ennead. 5. B. 5. p. 532. Enn. 6. B. 7. p. 720.* For not only the extreme nullifying phrase *nid dim ond Duw* is absent from his pages, but the phrase *nid Duw ond dim* is one that he avoids. Those words exclude the distinction drawn by Plotinus between non-entity and nothing. The Ammonian school taught that as the deity was above the category of entity, so the anima mundi in its lowest state of emanation, being that of the prima materia, was below it. But neither the hyperuranian nor the hypuran predicament was to be considered as nothing.

All this is unmeaning verbiage, fittest for minds that seek to dwell in a world of dreams and unreal cogitations. *Non secus in jugis*

Exsomnis stupet Evias.

With the category of entity all discourse of reason ends. All propositions affirm it, suppose it, or deny it. In God it is absolute, unoriginal, and self-sufficient, and in His creatures it is dependant on the exertion of his power; in which respect God's essence is so single and incomparable as to occasion His saying, *I am he who am, 'Εγω εμι δ' ὁ ὢν*. That was not said to deny the entity of creatures, but only their self-sufficiency. Yet, so far as it goes, it is opposed to the entity of the creature and not to that of the deity.

The notion of a derivative or filial power intervening to connect man with that which is absolutely supreme was (in some sort of shape) very ancient and nearly universal. And it enters into these and similar mysteries. As the quintessential æther, the sublime candens, was the essence of the primary being, so the sun was the essence of the secondary being, of which latter the glory when veiled in human form and incarnate became "the concealed Christ" of Neo-Druidism. (The incarnation of the Crist Celi cannot be briefly discussed, and must stand over till its turn comes.) This power was the Mithras of the Magi, ὁ ἰκρονος and ὁ δευτερος of Plato, the Hercules, Bacchus, and Apollo of the Hellenistic pagans;

The motives and drift of Ammonius and his charlatan pupil are perhaps not impenetrable. They may have sought to express, exoterically, and under the guise of an hyperbolical veneration for deity, the mere atheism which in the purified acroasies of Ammonius rejected the essence of God. What exists? All substances. What does not exist, and ought not (at the same time) to be called *nothing*? All qualities or modes of being. The doctrine of the One, the Demiurgus, and the Anima, may have been but a specious tale, while the acroasies excluded even that spurious theism, which would make God be to the world as the intelligent and conscientious soul to the man, and reduced what the vulgar call God to be merely the whole world's inherent mode of being, like the roundness of that which is round or the smoothness of that which is smooth. We know, that there were certain "dogmas of Ammonius purified in the acroasies" which Plotinus would never divulge. Porph. Vit. Plotin. p. 3. In other instances we find Divine perfections owned in words, but nullified again by other words. Thus we are told in Enn. 2. B. 9. and elsewhere, that the First is the One and the Absolutely Good. But we presently learn, that the unity and the goodness are not two predicates, but synonymous and identical, whereby the latter falls to the ground, and we are in danger of being left to a Spinozan unitarianism without moral perfections.

But this very passage is damnatory of the Barddas. It is language partly borrowed from the old days of Neo-Druidism, but exaggerated and stripped of the veil of cyrrinach which was then worn. Nid dim ond Duw, and namyn Duw nid oes dim, are phrases used by Catwg the Wise in the days of Arthur. Arch. Myv. 3. p. 65. 69. But their literal sense, their English, is merely, "There is nothing besides God;" a totally different idiom of the words nid dim. Those phrases were pantheistic, but not atheistic except by inference.

and furnished to the nomenclature of Neo-Druidism its Emmrys Wledig, Arthur, Ercwlf, Alexander Mawr, Hu Gadarn, and Melen or Belenus. The person writing in the reign of Honorius under the names (all assumed, as I apprehend) of *Aurelius Ambrosius Theodosius Macrobius* devoted himself to the propagation of Apollinar Mysticism, and his works illustrate its character.

The perfection of the trinal number was a Pythagorean, and consequently would become a Druidic, doctrine. There is reason to think that the Magi, the increment or self-expansion of whose Oromazdes was into three deities, recognized in some sense their unity. In any case, the Druidist Bards, who were in contact with Christianity and affected to participate in its views, could not choose but have their sacred trias or trinity. They called it Trindawd and (sometimes) Trined; and oftener used it as a *name* of what they worshipped, i. e. without the article, then as a *description* or with the article. That being which ranked third in their trindawd was the alleged author of the Book of the Greal, and is there styled (in a phrase strictly Masonic) "the perfect third one of the Masters." What was the distinguishing name and what (on their pantheistic scheme) the natural essence of that being, I cannot pronounce and have never been able to collect. A certain Geraint surnamed the Green Bard of the Chair is said to have resided at the court of Alfred² in the capacity of a bard *telianw*, which I ap-

² E. David of Margam ap Arch. Myvyr. 3. 143. The author of Cambrian Biography fancied this person to have been Aser bishop of Menetia and Shireburne; as if Alfred had but one Welsh friend, and as if the famous Aser introduced none of his countrymen into Wessex. The only reason offered is that glas means blue, and Aser means azure. But we are not told, nor can I discover, in what language Aser is so used. Aser is simply the name of Jacob's son Asher, meaning Blessed; *alwodd ei enw ev Aser*. Gen. 30. 13. Moreover Bardd Glas seems to mean *green* bard, not blue; for *all* bards of privilege or of the chair were blue, as we are informed by all authorities. And this bard is distinguished in colour, as in other respects.

prehend means *harp-tuning*. Whatever his peculiar titles may mean, he does not appear to have been a genuine bard. His Counsels are a work of practical Christianity, founded on Scripture and the commandments. The church, its priests, and bishops are held in honour by him. And so estimable are its precepts, that he might have passed for a man free from taint, if he had not left on record his own pantheistic tenets. I cite them, by no means as receiving them for the faith of the Cynveirdd, but only as serving to illustrate the Trindawd. We have seen that the 5th element was the thing called heaven of which consisted the thing called God. The expansion of the quintessence into three furnishes the Trindawd; so that the elements are *seven* in respect of the Trindawd, though only *five* in respect of the unity of Oromazdes. This sounds well enough; but the Bardd Glas banishes Mithras out of his father's Empyrean, and contrives to degrade the sun into the lower elements. This is certainly wrong. But he was probably induced to it, by the unqualified condemnation of the worship of the sun in Holy Writ. For this amiable writer was devoted to the Christian scriptures and church, though he was unable to pierce through the clouds of Bardic philosophy which had overshadowed his very cradle; at least, until he found better teachers at the court of his incomparable patron. The 1st element, he^a says, is earth, the 2nd water, the 3rd air, and *the 4th is the sun, being the principle of heat and light*. The 5th is the firmament (so also says the Barddas), whence spring sensations, affections, and movements. The 6th is the Holy Ghost, whence come intellect, reason, genius, and knowledge. And the 7th is God, from whom is all existence and mightiness. This is the ascending scale of pantheism; stated in theological order, his Trindawd consists of Duw,

^a Geraint Bardd Glas. Arch. 3. 100.

Yspryd Glan, and nwyvre, God, Holy Ghost, and the firmament. This author, though he secedes from the Mithriac Druidists, shows plainly by what he retains of their doctrine how they obtained their Trindawd. It was by expanding nev or heaven into three beings, as the Persian Magi obtained theirs by the triple self-augmentation of Oromazdes.

Under the Trias, in this as in almost all heathen or gnostic mysteries, are ranged numbers of demons or spirits, peopling the inferior departments of the universe, and objects of superstition and magic.

And in this, as in all polytheism, the attributes of the beings invoked and worshipped are not perfections, but passions; and passions more dire than those of men, because unrestrained by law, and unrestrainable by power. The imaginary gods to whom a demonolatrous atheism paid honour were but as mirrors reflecting and magnifying the passions of man, and therefore took their colour^b from the worshippers who presented themselves before them; being soft and enervate in Cyprus, Antioch, or Babylon, and stormy and sanguinary among Celts and Scythians. The two characters were in some degree blended in the objects of our attention, inasmuch as the system arose out of the decayed refinement of the Roman Empire mixed with the fierceness of Celtica. As the former perished away and the latter began entirely to prevail, more grim and menacing phantoms began to pass over the magic glass. The sun, who had shone forth as Belenus and Aurelius Ambrosius, was transformed into Arthur, the charioteer

^b Julian maintained the exact converse, viz. that nations derived their character and propensities from those of the demons under whose tutelage they were respectively placed.

of the northern wain,^c the sword-bearer, and the sword, and became "dark as sackcloth of hair."

In all the systems derived into the west from those of the Magi or Chaldees, astrology formed an important feature. Nor were the Druidizing Apollinaries anywise behind-hand in this branch of magic. The Hanes Taliesin announces the existence of writings devoted to the science, the llyvrau seryddiaeth or books of astrology; and those who were adepts in it were spoken of as sywedyddion. The three chief astrologers of Britain were Idris the giant (Enoch?), Gwydion ap Don (Hermes), and Gwyn ap Nudd who was king of Hades and of all the infernal spirits that ministered to the art magic; and those three could foretell all future events, however remote, by their knowledge of the stars. The chronicle of Geoffrey mentions a college of 200 astrologers at Caerleon upon Usk, who used to prognosticate events during the Arthurian reign. In various Bardic remains the stellar influences and the interpretation thereof are alluded to with more or less detail. A superior spirit or deity, and also any superintendant or ruler, may be termed, in British, *Deon*, i. e. dean. That was a term taken from the Hermetic astrologers. For they divided each sign into thirty degrees, ten of which^d constituted a decanum or zodiacal deanery under the presidency of a daemon who was called its decanus. The thirty-six decani were governors and overseers of the universe. Hence the word deon, as used to express (besides deans of cathedrals) any sort of

^c The Scythian sword-worship introduced into Europe by Attila the Hun was the Arthurian superstition, and that conqueror and religious impostor was the Arthur of Britannia and Daniel of Armorica; as is shewn in the 4th chapter of Britannia A. R. and in the supplementary pages to that work.

^d Hermes Trism. ap. Stob. Ecl. I. c. 22. 9. c. 45. 2. Firm. Matern. Mathes. 2. c. 4. Jambl. de Myst. p. 160. Incerti (vulgò Manili) Astron. iv. 208.

tutetary power ; and hence also the phrase *deon-glur*, dean of revelation, for a prophet. The topic of astrology will prove valuable to us, as leading us to the very gates of the cave of Mithras. Celsus* relates that in the ceremonials of Mithras there was an image representing the movement of the fixed stars and that of the planets. The image was a high ladder composed of seven doors, with an eighth above them. And the seven doors were made of seven metals. Through those doors the souls of men were obliged to pass. The fourth, which belonged to Mercury, was the iron door. Now we find that in Gaul there was a temple erected in or before the 5th century, and inscribed on the architrave *Mercurio Sacrum*, but commonly called *Isarn-dor*, which is stated to have signified Iron-door ; and the corresponding name in the Welsh dialect *Haiarn-dor*, Iron-door, is bestowed upon one of the beings venerated in Bardism, and beyond doubt upon the same.

10. With these few preliminary remarks we may proceed to more particular characteristics, either common to the Druid and Neo-Druid, or subdistinguishing the latter.

The chief-bard Taliesin says, "I am a serpent," and again, "I have been a spotted snake of the mountain, I have been a viper in the lake." The ancient Druids relate that in the summer-time the snakes assembled, and twisted themselves together, and mixt together the spittle of their mouths and the sweat of their bodies, and by that process produced the anguine egg. They then threw it up into the air with hisses, and the Druids kept watch to catch it in their cloaks as it fell. Then they fled away on horseback, the serpents never ceasing to pursue them till they had crossed some river. Druids wore these eggs as badges of honour ; and Claudius Cæsar, who waged war against

* Apud Origen. contra Cels. vi. p. 290.

Druidism, put a Roman knight to death for having worn one in order to gain his lawsuit. One of the chief virtues of the anguinum was, that the possessor gained his lawsuits and was well received by kings. The serpents who met together were some of the Druids themselves. The blowing into the air was the process of glass-blowing. And the glass baubles called anguine eggs were badges and passports, which purported that the bearer was initiated, and which whoever purloined, or wore without authorization, was pursued by the deadly vengeance of the brotherhood. Pliny condemns¹ "the cunning sagacity of those "magicians in concealing their frauds, by pretending that the anguinum "must be taken upon a given moon; as if the serpents would assemble "at such precise times as men chose to dictate!" True enough, as to serpents; but a man, who was a serpent on the mountain and a viper in the lake, could keep his appointments with precision. The bearer of an anguinum gained his lawsuit, or at least had a much better chance of gaining it than his adversary. But the ancient Druids were themselves the sole judges in all matters of litigation! Hereby we may conceive the full extent of their villany and corruption. That the same imposture was revived with little or no alteration, appears from² one of the minor poems of the famous bard Aneurin.

Blaidde e vywyd,
Oedd bleidde at rhyd.
Eni dewredd
Bu bel peleidyr,
Pevyr pryd neidyr,
O lluch nadredd.

Vivid his aspect,
Impetuous was he over the ford.
That which exercised his prowess
Was the quick-glancing ball,
The adder's bright precious produce,
The ejaculation of serpents.

¹ Hist. Nat. 20. 12.

² Ap. Myvyr. 1. p. 21. ap. Davies Myth. p. 575. Beginning Arvanghynnull, and tacked on to the Dyhuddiant Elphin.

An adage is also used, against them who lay their heads together in close confabulation, *ai glain y maent*, "are they making the adder-stone?" That those who, like Aneurin, still cherished the system should retain the use of its distinguishing badges, is nothing wonderful. But the following extract from ^b a work published by Dr. Owen Pughe in the third year of the 19th century is a real phenomenon. "What-ever might have been the cause, the notion of their rare virtues was universal in all places where the Bardic religion was taught. It may still be questioned whether they are the productions of art or nature. Be that as it may, they are always to be found in great numbers; and there are people, who may aptly ^c be termed hunters, from whom they are to be had. But they insist on being credited, that the *gleiniau* are only to be had at one season of the year, and that they are blown by a knot of snakes." The question, thus submitted to the serious investigation of philosophers, amounts to this; whether or not certain balls of coloured glass are vitrified and blown by the snakes in Wales. Our author merely propounded it to others, modestly sub-joining, *be that as it may*.

The revival of the *glain* prepares us to expect a similar revival of the rites of the misletoe, and the cry raised in Brittany and some other parts of France on new year's day, *aguilaneuf!* i. e. *au gui l'an neuf!* implies ^k as much. To that custom, some modern Latin poet (who, I cannot discover) alluded in his verse,

"Ad viscum Druidæ!" Druidæ clamare quotannis.

^b See his Dict. *ibid.* and the like experiment upon our intellects in his *Llywarch*, p. 5.

^c This is very mysterious, and quite unintelligible. We have seen that the collectors of *gleiniau* were not the hunting but the hunted party.

^k The Gaelic name is *uile-les*, all-healing; the Welsh for which would be *oll-tach*, a title now transferred to the herb *panax*. But it was the ancient British name

Yet all mention of those rites seems to be omitted and all knowledge of them dissembled by the old bards, for what reasons I cannot pronounce; although it may not be impossible to conjecture some. Nothing less than a deliberate purpose can have excluded the name of that plant from the *Cad Godden*.

11. The Druids received from the Pythagoreans the scheme of metempsychosis, which was in effect a doctrine of future reward and penance held out to the people in order to controul their minds, but not really¹ believed in by the higher class of teachers in *Magna Græcia*. Such a scheme, published as a mere conjecture of human ingenuity and "a great perhaps," would have no force to curb the self-willedness of men. It stood in need of vouchers, and the voice of some more sacred *avon* than a mere poet's. Retrospective prophecy, the inspired reminiscences of those to whom it was given to look Janus-like upon two lives, was the remedy for this defect. That faculty is termed, in the *Triads*^m of Bardism, "the restoration of original memory," and is promised to all man who attain to the circle of Beatitude. Taliesin accordingly declared that he had been in the Court of Don before Gwydion was born, that he had been in Noah's ark and an architect at the tower of Babel, that he had been in Ireland with the father of Caractacus, that he had been Aedd the great, that he had been a fish, a dog, a bird, a dagger, a boat, a sponge, a harpstring, etc. etc. *Barddas*, by employing the phrase *cyd-vil*, affected to recognize merely

for mistletoe, since Pliny assures us that name signified *omnia sanans*. So that we must admit that its old name did not revive in this island. In Welsh *Cymraeg* it is termed *uchel-var*, lofty branch, *uchel-wydd*, lofty plant, *uchel-va*, high place, *uchel-val*, high point, *uchellawr* or *uchellawr*, lofty, *pren awyr*, tree of air, *gwyaglys*, the stream of the court, *heon-llys*, the god of the court; and in Armorican *Cymraeg*, *uchel-var*, lofty branch, *en-isel-var*, low branch, and *dour-dero* or *dour-derv*, water of the oak-tree.

¹ See the end of *Timæus* Locrus.

^m Tr. Bard. 24.

transmigration into the bodies of animals; esteeming, perhaps, that thus modified it might less offend the minds of the sixteenth century. But the cycle of changes, as taught by the *cynveirdd*, ran through all things as well inanimate as animate and artificial as natural. Messrs. Roberts and Owen were^a pleased to speak of these declarations as mere doctrines or opinions, but they are more. They are gross falsehoods, told in order to support a false doctrine by deceiving the credulous. Their author does not simply mean that, if the doctrine be true, he may have undergone these or any other changes; but his language is plainly equivalent to

Ipse etiam, *memini*, Trojani tempore belli

Panthoides Euphorbus eram.

Yet these were the persons whose favourite sentiment and device was "the truth against the whole world," and the 3rd of whose three primary^o privileges it was, "that their testimony be preferred to that of all other men."

The Mithriacs held the doctrine^p of transmigration, which is the *imago resurrectionis* that Tertullian^q ascribes to them. And they not only cherished that notion, but acted a representation of it while living. On the kalends of January (which was the Persian anniversary of the birth of Mithras) they appeared disguised in the skins of various animals, or with their heads disguised under the heads of horned and other beasts. These orgies, mentioned with complacency^r by Porphyry, called down the censures of St. Cæsarius of Arles and other fathers of

^a Coll. Camb. 313. Owen on Bardism, xxxi.

^o Tr. Bard. 6.

^p Porph. Abet. iv. 16.

^q Tert. Præscript. c. 40.

^r Porph. *ibid.* S. Cæsar. Sermon. 129 de Kal. Januar. 130 de *ibid.* ap. S. August. tom. 6. ed. Benedictin. Appx. 8^e. Eloi de Rect. Cathol. cit. Dom Martin 1. 70. S. Maxim. in Kal. Jan., Concile d'Auxerre, Rituel d'Angers. cit. *ibid.* p. 467.

the Gallican church. They were not unknown to Britannia in the 6th century. In the dialogue of Ugnach and Taliesin, the former is known for an adept by the horns on his head, but the latter dissembles for a while and then owns that he is one also, and in doing so uses this expression,

“ I Taliesin am likewise a horned beast.”

In this point (as in the *paternæ*, the iron door, and the *coracina sacra*) Neo-druidism is brought close home to the Mithriacs.

12. In this sect, the “ doctrine ” of universal peace and good will ” was yet more conspicuous than their love for truth, and even, by some of their admirers, it is “ considered as the foundation of the order.” It therefore deserves to be examined. Their pretensions to a character especially pacific and benevolent are made to rest upon two grounds, first, their mediatorial office, and secondly, their abstinence from the use of arms.

The Druids (says Strabo) “ formerly regulated wars, and have “ even been known ¹ to reconcile armies actually drawn out for battle.” Nothing can more clearly shew, that they enjoyed a sort of omnipotence in their own country. We know likewise, that whoever contravened their edicts was an excommunicated outcast. But whoever does not interfere to prevent, having full jurisdiction with ample power, permits. It follows, that the people who were under their influence ought to have been models of the pacific character, except as opposed to the foreign invader. The general conduct of the pupils is the trial of the teacher.

What was the fact? Year after year (says Cæsar) the Gaulish knights were engaged in war, either to resent injuries, or to commit aggressions upon others, until the interposition of the Romans began

¹ Owen on Bardism, xxv.

² Strabo, 4. p. 376. Diod. Sic. 5. c. 31.

to quiet the country. They were^a of such pugnacity that, "even in their banquets upon any verbal dispute arising they would spring up and provoke each other to single combat," and so vindictive, that they fastened to their horses manes, and nailed up to their door-posts, the heads of their slain enemies, nor would suffer them to be redeemed at any price. These things were not done in the absence of the holy mediator, but under his eye and sanction. At the banquet, the bard was a regular guest; and, as the bleeding head was carried in triumph, who but he raised the epinician hymn of which Diodorus speaks? The Britons (said^b Agricola) were still more fierce than the Gauls, as not having yet been softened by any long peace. Their people, he added, were distracted by the factions of their rulers, and nothing more aided the Romans than their mutual disunion; for it seldom happened that more than two or three tribes would join together even to avert a common danger. In fact, the druids and bards sometimes restrained such acts as were at variance with their own objects; but they were the corrupt and sanguinary teachers of people whose proneness to violence and civil war was never exceeded. The druidists of the Post-Roman period revived the mediatorial office in the persons of their bards. The third of their "*three attributes*" was "to prevail with peace over disorder and violence." And they wanted not for power if they had the will, for, we are told, "their word was a word over every man," *gair ei air ar baub*." Their success in pacification was equal to that of the ancient druids. The history of the British after the Romans left them is one of incessant blood-shedding and of a nation destroyed by its own intestine brawls. Picts bore arms against Cymmry and Lloegrians, and the two latter hated and destroyed each other. The Cymmry tore each other

^a Diod. 5. c. 28. c. 29.

^b Tacit. Agr. c. 11.

^c Owen Bardism, p. xxvi.

in pieces. The Ambrosian faction fought against Vortigern and Pasgen his son, Guitolin against the Ambrosians, and Melga and Medrawd against the Arthurians. Cystennin ap Cadwr was a murderer of British princes. Cynglas (a fanatical patron of bardism) delighted in bearing arms against his own countrymen, and Maelgwn obtained the unben-naeth by subduing and slaying the minor kings. Afterwards Maelgwn and Rhydderch were engaged in an exterminating war against Gwendolen, Peredur ap Eliffer, and other chiefs, in which war the bard Merddin was a combatant, and Taliesin vehemently espoused the cause of his own sovereign's opponents. And the party these bards supported was not only in rebellion against the insular monarch, but in actual league with the Northumbrian Saxons. Urien Rheged was murdered by Morgant another Cumbrian prince, in the midst of his victorious career. The same Morgant drove Rhydderch out of his dominions, and forced him to seek refuge in Ireland; and conjointly with Bran ap Mellyrn he (not "the Saxons," as Dr. Owen is pleased to say) ruined the territories of Llywarch Hên and drove him out of Cumbria. Dunawd ap Pabo and Gwallawg ap Lleylawg waged war against the surviving sons of Urien. Pasgen^{*} son of Urien, Sawyl Benuchel, and Rhun ap Einion, by their unheard of tyranny "laid waste the island, and the devastation cooperated with the Saxons and so the country passed into the hands of the Saxons." Aneurin was murdered by a Briton; the bard Avason ap Taliesin was such a man of blood, he was said even to slaughter men from his grave; Golyddan Vardd raised his hand against his sovereign and perished in his own treasonable outrage; and Trahaern Brydydd Mawr,^{*} an open and successful instigator of assassination and arson, is the reputed reorganizer of Bardism in South

^{*} Triad 74. series 3.

^{*} See Davies' Mythol. p. 66. Owen's Bardism, p. lxii.

Wales. One of his institutes (if his they be truly) was as follows. Whenever ^b a bard was expelled from the community, a naked sword was pointed at him, and the sword-bearer said, "the sword is naked against him," and thenceforth he was called, "a man deprived of privilege and *exposed to warfare*." Very pleasant indeed, and sweetly pacific.

The second claim for them to be numbered among the peacemakers is too disgusting to merit many words. It was their privilege to abstain from bearing the sword, or even being present when deadly weapons were employed. In other words, their own persons were sacred against violence and exempted from service, while by their war-songs they were kindling up wars both domestic and foreign at the expence of the blood of others, and declaring their own fellow-subjects "*exposed to warfare*." This is the *Æsopian* fable of the trumpeter. It was their privilege not to be killed, while it was distinctly expressed by themselves (if their advocates be entitled to belief) that every person not included in their number was *exposed*, i. e. liable, to be so. The shelter they obtained from the credulity of their countrymen can be no proof of their humanity. It conduced to their dignity and was valuable upon occasions; but probably there were few in those stormy days who were desirous to avail themselves of it. They seem to have been themselves a sect of warriors, who carried ferocity to a pitch scarcely human, but were more near to the impavid apathy of the North-man or the native Canadian than to any such skulking malignity as the alleged privilege might suggest. The words of the Cad Goddeu, "*cyn bum diaered*," "*ere I was thus rendered exempt from war*," are the only ones in which I have observed an allusion to it. The same author who

^b Owen, p. llii.

applauded their tenet of universal peace and good will had the inconsistency to print the following sentence. "That state of universal warfare,^c in which all animated nature seems to be involved, was not looked upon as a curse. On the contrary, the bards could survey it with more complacency than others. For in it they perceived the goodness of Providence, hastening^d the changes necessary to produce a more glorious existence." At this rate, the greatest kindness you could do a man was to cut his throat. These ancient bards were odd folks. Enamoured of truth, they imposed on themselves the reluctant duty of continual deception; and they desired universal peace, but looked upon universal warfare with a complacency quite peculiar to themselves.

Tysilio pretends that Arthur generously restored the bodies of his enemies to be interred by their friends. But it seems to have been otherwise. The Arthurian bards and their successors in the art bardic persecuted with bestial rage even the corpses of the slain. The image of ravens, eagles, wolves, etc. devouring the dead, and of warriors catering for those wild beasts, is of such perpetual iteration in Bardic song, and so frequently presented with delight and exultation, as to shew not only barrenness of imagination, but a mind feasting upon those carrion thoughts. Not valour, patriotism, and love of glory are what they depict, but an utter ferocity; not the love of war in spite of its horrors, but for them. In throwing together some examples, there is even danger lest we should seem to be selecting with much pains what may almost be referred to *passim*. Food for ravens. Gododin

^c Owen, p. xxxi.

^d According to Pythagoras, he who killed another man was verily as much his father, as he who begat him. There might be a slight difference in the process, but he equally introduced him into a new state of being, wherein consists the essence of paternity. Porphyrius de Styge ap. Stob. p. 1046.

by Probert, p. 56. Food for wolves and ravens. p. 58. The food of eagles he earnestly desired. p. 69. He gave food to ravens, he was advantageous to ravens. p. 72. Before the course of the dæmon of war the crows arise, hovering in the air. p. 89. Did he not cause, through fury, the banquet of birds? p. 91. He was in gore like the murky falcon. p. 95. The head of Dyvnwal ravens are devouring. p. 99 and 106. The purveyor of birds. Gorchayn Cynveln. Such were the delicate fancies of Aneurin of the Flowing Muse. I saw ravens feasting on entrails. Owen's Llywarch, p. 7. On his white bosom the sable raven doth glut. p. 25. The eagle of Eli, loud his cry, after drinking the fresh beverage, the throbbing fluid of the heart of Cynddylan (etc. etc. idea five times repeated) p. 83. Cadwallon made the eagles full. p. 115. Aloft the ravens scream for blood. Gwyddnau Garanhir. I will foretell a battle in every place and crows on the carcasses. Taliesin. The ravens were red from the war of men. idem in Argoed. In the blood-stained sword consists the honour with which I am pleased. idem. Ravens would devour mangled flesh. Meilyr. The hero . . . who nourished eagles. Cynddelw. The wolves were at liberty to glut upon the dead. ibid. The ravens of Owain feeding on prostrate bodies, a dainty gift to them is the signal of a carnage. ibid. The tribe of Madoc, alluring the ravens. ibid. On the bloody stream, on the bloody corpses, on the bloody field, kites appear, on the bloody surface of the blood-drenched Arvon. ibid. When the kites and the wild beasts of the wood are fed by the potent nobility, there will be profit and riches. Gwalchmai. The ravens cried for blood, they were accustomed to the prostrate corpses. Einiawn. The ravens croaked, they were greedy to suck the prostrate carcasses. ibid. Flesh-ravens flocking to the flesh-feast, butchers, and omens of carnage. Prydydd y Moch. His head conspicuously veiled in blood, blood and food for

ravens, and a raven on the corpse. *ibid.* The way I go, fiercely do the ravens scream. *ibid.* Thou wert seen alluring the flock of crows. Pryd. Bychan. The mild prince of mighty ones, keeping the festivals of songs, protecting songsters, the glad omen of the ravens surfeited with Bernicians, a present for the flock of crows whom the fair benefit supports. Llygad Gwr. Thou that feedest the fowls of the air, like Caeawg the hero. Anon. ap. Evans Sp. p. 33. The wild dogs have lost their caterer. *ibid.* p. 86. Such have been the annals of mankind from the days of Cain to these, that we cannot wonder if some nations admired sentiments like this,

* Blood of men up to the hips
Is the greatest lively excitement
That sports in the world ;

but it moves some wonder, that its author should instantly proceed to add (and concerning himself, as the end of the poem proves)

And one, who has made completion
Of the study of the deluge,
Is of Christ the cruciform
The deputy at the judgment day.

These flowers, so thickly strewed, can hardly have blossomed in the garden of peace. And, when the *Cyvoesi* was written, this notion, that the bards were essentially pacific beings, had not been yet invented ; for *Merddin Wyllt* is there complimented as being *anvynawg* (ruthless) *yn lluydd*, ' *yn cadu*, and *yn rhyvel* ! The *Triadists* never dreamt of such a thing ; three bards, the sons of bards, were surnamed

* *Cad Goddeu*, *vas.* 68—74.

' In warfare, in battles, in war. The interpolations, belonging to the middle bardism, contain this language as well as the ancient part of the poem.

bloody-spear, ("ac nis gellid * a'i deorai"), the first was Urien's bard, and the latest Cadwallon's ; and three others, Elmur, Cynhaval, and Taliesin's son Avaon, surnamed Bull kings of Britain, "were bards, and feared nothing in battle and tumult, but rushed into them, and feared not being slain." Catwg the Wise, a bard and teacher of bards, was styled marchawg, a horse-soldier or knight. But there is yet another method by which we may appreciate the benevolence and peacefulness of their ministry. There have been (say the Triads^b of Institution) three sorts of Bards in Britain, primitive bards instituted before Christianity, *the bards of Beli*, and the bards dissentient. The Beirdd Beli require our particular attention.

13. Dr. Owen's Essay¹ asserts as a fact in history, that one Beli formed a code of regulations for the Bards which many adopted, and so incurred the opprobrious title of Beirdd Beli ; but those who had the honour of the ancient institution at heart rejected them with disdain. In his Dict. art. *Beli* he adds, that he was a British prince who lived in the fourth century, and was son to Benlli Gawr. But in his Cambrian Biography he says, that Benlli Gawr himself lived no earlier than the middle of the fifth century and Beli in the close of it. One who had power to work so great a change in the state of society, as changing the whole Bardic or Neo-Druidic discipline, should have some notoriety and fame. He should not be so obscure, as to leave his historian in ignorance what century he lived in. The acts imputed to him seem to

* I cannot pronounce the meaning of this. May not the sense of deorai be, that no one could break off the shell or incrustation of blood from their spears, and so hatch them? Mr. Probert's version of this Triad (40) is astonishing. Translating bardd into son is an unheard-of outrage to language ; the English dictionary contains no noun which might not as well be selected. Nor will chronology be willing to admit that Cadwallon's bard was the inseparable companion of Urien's.

^b Triad IV. in Cambro-Briton.

¹ Preface to Llywarch, p. lx.

imply a controul over the whole nation; they would lead us to think he was *brenin ar yr ynys*. And the Song of Graves (where alone, that I know of, the bards even name him) appears to represent him as entombed in the awful monument of Emmrys, Pendragon, Constantine ap Cador, and other insular monarchs fabulous or real.

Whose the tomb upon the Maes Mawr?
Proud his hand upon the blade-spear,
There lieth Beli ap Benlli Gawr.

I have¹ before remarked the probability, that the Maes Mawr on which the Cor Emmrys is built was the unknown Maes Beli on which Emmrys gained his famous victory. The grave of Beli is said in a memorandum² without name or date, to have been upon a plain called Maes Mawr on the summit of a mountain in N. Wales, where he was slain by one Meilyr and buried by one Meirion, who erected two huge stones on the spot, which a certain Edward ap John had consumed in a lime-kiln some forty years then past. But the story is of little weight; and if there be such a place, it was not the place anciently denoted by the emphatic words³ *y maes mawr*. I have also before surmised, that Gwrthevyr and Beli may be titles of one fabulous being; and have shewn that Benlli is a reproachful epithet or nickname for the famous Vortigern, the same series of events being narrated indifferently under both names by different authors. Nennius speaks of the family of Benlli as being burnt with him, and one of his servants succeeding to his possessions; and has no allusion to a son Beli. But, in any case, where are the events of Beli's life to be read? Where is there an account in prose or verse of the bardic and other achievements of Beli ap Benlli Gawr? Perhaps the Cambrian Biography describes him. It

¹ See Br. A. R. p. 217.

² Greal, etc. p. 230.

³ See Brut Tyallo, p. 255. Warrington l. p. 87. ed. 4.

does; but only in these words. "Beli son of Benlli, a famous warrior in N. Wales, at the close of the fifth century." It does not hazard a single statement or a single remark. The same author who had (in his *Essay*) *narrated historically* the acts of Beli and the apostate bards named after him, first of all suppressed these matters in his *Biography*, and then in his *Dictionary* (art. *overvadd*) translated beirdd beli, bards of warfare! Benlli the Giant was a chieftain in Gwynedd who (as Nennius gives the fable) refused to receive St. German^a of Auxerre and was consequently burnt by fire from heaven with his family. Gwilym Rhyvel mentions him in his panegyric on David ap Owain;

Nothing is above God. Equal to the stature^a of Benlli Gawr,
Loudly thee the bards enlogize,
Battle foe, death of chieftains!
A consumer of mead-horns is the prince who resembles thee.

Of Beli ap Benlli no record in fable or chronicle, prose or rhyme, has yet been produced. His history (which Dr. Owen evaded in one work, and actually rejected in another) was given by him in his *Essay* with some detail and in the most positive unhesitating language of affirmation; and his friends, surviving depositaries of the learning he imparted liberally, will I hope not decline the summons to produce the authority for these statements. Whatever it be, we shall see at last, that it scarcely *can* be true; but the matter may thus be set straight in certain other respects.

Whether such a son existed or not, the son of Benlli is a mere stalking horse on this occasion. The beirdd Beli were not called in honour of any man who had compiled a code for them. But the beirdd Ynys Prydain were beirdd Beli for the same reason as Britain

^a Nennius, c. 30—3.

^a Gwrhyd Benlli Gawr. Arch. 1. p. 274.

was the isle of Beli and the Britons the people of Beli. From that conviction we shall not easily be shaken. Einion ap Gwalchmai did not think of the son of Benlli Gawr, when he called the British shores "the great boundary of the sons of Beli," *tervyn^p mawr meibion Beli*, nor Llywarch Pryd : y Moch when he called the Welsh soldiers "warriors of the land^q of Beli." For the phrase is as old as Taliesin Ben Beirdd ; and he invokes Beli the Victorious and Manogan to protect the honied *island of Beli* ; thereby indicating beyond doubt that Beli^r Mawr ap Manogan was the person thus honoured. And he also styles the sea^s which surrounds this island the sea of Beli,

"Usual are oars in the liquid brine of Beli."

The capital of the island was the city of Lludd and the island itself the island of Beli. Of what Beli ? Why, clearly, of Beli father of Lludd. The fable of this pretended king has already received some^t illustration. Manogan (otherwise Brithan) "the Painted Man," grandfather of Cassivellan, is a type of the manners and superstitions of the Britons before the visit of Cæsar and reign of Cassivellan ; not to say, of a ceremony connected therewith in the later orgies of Ceridwen. Three poems in Taliesin's remains are inscribed to Lludd ap Beli ap Manogan. The two longest, viz : the Ymarwar Lludd Mawr and the Gwawd Lludd (containing 201 lines) not only do not allude to any conciliation, or any praise, of Lludd, but they do not betray to the uninitiated reader any hint that such persons as Lludd or Beli ever existed. And the third, Ymarwar Bychan, has one line, alluding to the reconciliation

^p Marwn. y Nest p. 329.

^q Arch. 1. p. 307.

^r It was usual to carry noble pedigrees up to this personage. So that there were few illustrious persons of whom it might not be said, *Cymmro yw haelrhyw o hll Beli Hir*.

^s *Glasgawd Taliesin*.

^t Brit. A. R. p. lviii. p. 64—6.

of Lludd with his half-brother Llevelys the wizard and diviner, as an event of importance to the Britons in their war against the Romans. These circumstances shew, that Lludd ap Beli was a character of deep import in the British cryptography. Looking back to the history of his reign, we discern it to be no real tradition of an early monarch, but an allusion under feigned names to the period when Vortigern and the Neo-Druids contended for supremacy and the massacre of the Calan-Mai took place at the sanctuary. The hidden dragons of Lludd ap Beli (i. e. his lurking votaries, and their machinations) were the secret which the unhappy Vortigern revealed. By ascertaining this, we partly see in what sense the Gwawd is a praise of him and the greater Ymarwar an appeasing of him. *Llevelys* (the speech, voice, or utterance of the court) is a name^{*} signifying the bardic office, as his sorcery does the art bardic; and the mutual reconciling of Lludd with Llevelys seems to denote that intimate union of the *martial* system with the *magical*, of the *beirdd* with the *beli*, which existed in the regimens of Gwrtheyyr Vendigaid and Emmrys Wledig, but was perfected and fully revealed in that of Arthur. The words Lludd ap Beli are an enigma of which it is not very hard to imagine the solution. They express *lluodd*, armies, the children of *beli*, havoc. The bards of *Beli*, who succeeded those of pagan antiquity, and from whose institutes some were dissentient, were that famous college at whose persuasion,

The bull of conflict, guider of the war,
Support of the battle, bright elevated lamp,
Pervader of heaven, too long was listened to

by old Llywarch, and by those erring generations of Britons who themselves, more than their foreign enemies, destroyed Britannia. *Bel* appears to have signified war and havoc, and, as a proper name, *Mars*.

^{*} As Cynan does likewise.

Beli is havoc or devastation in Welsh, and fierce warriors are styled "the roaring bulls of Beli." The 16th and following stanzas of the old Cyvoesi Merddin (being the 90th and following printed stanzas, for all those from 14 to 89 are interpolated) indicate to us that the monarch styled Beli Mawr and Beli Hir was the dæmon of war. His fabulous reign was dated of the century B. C., but he is here introduced at a date following that of Maelgwn Gwynedd, not as a king, but as a different sort of being; and seemingly none other than that Arthur whose hounds and goblin huntsmen used to alarm the British forests.

- Gwend : I will ask my aggrandized brother
 Whom I have seen in his mead-feasting,
 From thenceforth who shall be the head man ?
- Merd : Let the outcry ring thro' the valley.
 Beli Hir and his warriors are a storm of wind.
 Cymmry prospers by reason of their hunting-party.
- Gwend : I will enquire of my glorious twin
 Unmerciful in battles,
 After Beli, whose the power ?
- Merd : Let the outcry ring thro' the æstuary.
 Beli Hir and his warriors are many.
 Cymmry prospers. Woe to the Irish !

Thus the prophet predicts two successive periods in some respects different, but both of them periods of Beli Hir, i. e. of the * fanatical

* Caesar's conquest was an oppression to the family of Beli Hir. So were the encroachments of the Saxons, the discoveries of the Corarianaid, the disclosures of Gwyrtheyrn Gwrthenan, and the fatal shriek of the Calanmai. A fable, wilder and absurder even than the Brut of Kings, describes the invasion of Britain by M. Clemens Maximus, in pursuance of a dream, and in quest of the lovely sister of Cynan Meriadawg; and he also deprived Beli and his sons of this island, ac y goresgynwys yr ynys ar *Veli* *tab Manogan a'i veribion* ! Dream of Maxen in *Y Greal*, p. 294. What ever wrought injury to Druidical or to Bardic Britain was a war against Beli and his, and whenever fanatical Britain raged triumphantly, then "Beli and his warriors were a storm."

tyranny. They occupy the time, or part of the time, alluded to in Brit. A. R. p. 148, and p. 170, lines 9—17, and p. 171, and in the Supplementary Pages. We need not be surprised, if Beli does not here take his chronological place as a Trojan king: for this poem was written before the extant Brut y Breninodd was compiled in Powys. Of Lludd also it appears, that he was no king, but a monster created by superstition. For in Gwyddnau's poems, Gwyn ap Nudd, (the king of Annwfn and of the dæmons, and ' lord of all glamour and prestige) declares,

I Gwyn ap Nudd am called *Illusion*,
Lover of Creurdilliad the daughter of Lludd.

This name is a compound of creu and ardilliad and means blood-enfolding, covering with blood, and is a suitable one for the granddaughter of Beli and daughter of the lord of "the hidden dragons." The time of the supposed dialogue between Gwyn and Gwyddnau is 600 years subsequent to the pretended reign of king Lludd.

The Beli who presided over Neo-Druidic Bardism is the god of blood-shed and slaughter, the deified sword of Scythia, and the Arthur of Britain. The same horrible object of veneration seems to have

[†] See the Life of St. Collen in Y Greal, etc. p. 339.

^{*} Allegorical fable assigns also to Lludd a son, named Taw-logau. It is a plural noun meaning "the compacts of silence;" the same which Vortigern of the Untoward Mouth violated, when he disclosed the dragons. See the Beddau Milwyr st. 60, hard of interpretation. I attempt the spelling and rendering of it thus,

Bedd Tawlogau mab Lludd

Yn treuerhudd traw, mal y mae yn y cystudd,

A'i llathai caffi budd.

The grave of Tawlogau son of Lludd is

In the wrongful-bloodshed yonder, as it were in the affliction;

Whoso takes the measure of it may obtain benefit.

The violation of the compacts of silence was the death of the man who personifies them, and the place of mysterious dimensions where it happened was his sepulchre.

been known to some under the name of Enigat the Great. At least, Enigat signifies the soul, or animating principle, of battle. But I am not aware that Mr. Edw. Williams ever adopted the suggestions of Mr. Edw. Davies, to produce before the public and^a substantiate by its evidences his mythology of Enigat; and therefore it remains uncertain by whom and when that name was introduced and in what manner it was applied. Enigat the Great, like Dr. Owen's Beli ap Benlli, seems to have been in a manner tacitly withdrawn.

The germ of this bloody creed, and of the Hunno-Celtic Arthurism and sword-worship, was probably latent in the Mithrasism of Julian (whose ineffable and secret dealings with Bellona are mentioned by Ammianus, and revealed in all their horror by Theodoret) of the Gaulish Apollinars, etc. Thus much may be conjectured from the words of Tertullian, who, writing in a style scarcely intelligible, has rather inflamed than satisfied our curiosity. Mithras, he^b says, *signat in fronte milites suos, celebrat et panis oblationem, et imaginem resurrectionis inducit, et sub gladio redimit coronam*. The crowning of the soldier under the sword of Mithras, and the redemption of the crown, are elsewhere described^c by him in terms so obscure, as to leave the meaning of the word *redimit* uncertain. It seems, the aspirant seized

^a See Davies' Myth. p. 43. 49. The editors of L. Glyn Cothi term Mr. Williams "a profound antiquarian," upon what grounds I am unaware. His printed works exhibit but little research. He had certainly never read the poems of Merddin Wyllt, nor even received his account of them from any person that had done so. For he states him to have been an honest Welsh bard, who recorded in verse the occurrences of his own time, without troubling himself with futurity, vol. 2. p. 8. The same editors (p. 200) seem distinctly to charge him with imposing on his friends by a gross forgery, which they term "an ingenious and clever invention." So grave a charge ought, surely, either to have been withheld, or made in a different tone. Bardism was formerly a war-whoop, but now it babbles of peace and philanthropy; whence we may suppose, that Enigat is not a name very recently composed.

^b Pr. Hæret. c. 40.

^c De Coronâ, c. 15.

the crown, in defiance of the mimic terrors of the sword, interposed like the Cherubic romphæa to bar his access to it. Having placed it on his head, he was warned by an outstretched hand (*obvia manus*) to take it off again, in doing which he exclaimed, "Mithras is my crown." By flinging down the crown, and declaring himself to be crowned with his God, he became an admitted soldier of Mithras. And from thenceforth he never wore any crown, not even those crowns of various denominations with which the Romans rewarded public service.

The overveirdd of the Institutional Triad were probably such as adhered (more or less correctly) to the Christian faith, and rejected the solar worship of Melyn, and the sanguinary rites of Beli. The beginnings of such over-bardism may be traced even in Geraint Bardd Glas. In the following^d quotation from a Lollard poet of the 15th century the bards of Christ are preferred to the bards of Hu, a name by which the Neo-Druids invoked their principal deity. "Certainly there are in the world two sorts of bardic-spirit (*awen*), manifest in their courses. "A spirit in connexion with Christ, joyful its subject-matter and "seasonable, a lively spirit. And another spirit, of no prudent singing, upon lies and foul prognostications of the future, which the men "of Hu have obtained, the usurping poets of Cymru." They called this same Hu their *secret God*, Duw^e Celi, to whom (as they complained) the world in general did not pay honour, and "after the deluge^f he held the strong-beamed plough," and was surnamed *cadarn* or mighty in battle. Bards of Hu and bards of Beli are all as one. The^g chief-bard termed *Mona* "the island of the praise of Hu," and *Britannia* "Beli's isle of honey." Some individuals who studied

^d *Ston Cent* (allàs Dr. John Kent) cit. *Davies' Myth.* p. 100.

^e *Rhys* cit. *ibid.* p. 110.

^f *Iolo Goch* cit. *ibid.* p. 108.

^g *Marwnad Aeddon*, v. 1. *Marwnad Uthyr*, v. penult.

bardism as mere amateurs, and not professionally (such as Rhyawd and king Cadwallon) were certainly described by the word *overveirdd*. But the Triad which applies that word to a distinct class or order is better explained as above. Mr. E. Williams by his version of the word, "bards dissentient," seems to sanction such a construction. But the word, it must be owned, expresses nothing of *dissent*; and it would be better rendered *irregular*. The recklessness of Dr. Owen Pughe passes all bounds, when he represents^b the *Beirdd Beli* and the *overveirdd* as the same people under two names, although they form two out of the three units in the institutional *triad*!

The Institutional Triadist did by no means intend to praise the *overveirdd*, or to represent himself as one of them. The word is one of unequivocal disparagement, and denotes bards *who are, in effect, or properly speaking, no bards at all*. The authors of that triad could not have meant to ridicule and condemn themselves as *overveirdd*; neither were they ancient bards, anterior to Christianity. Therefore it is an absolute certainty that they professed themselves *Beirdd Beli*; because their institution recognizes no fourth denomination. That consideration finally crushes and destroys the fable of *Beli ap Benlli*. We may regret that Mr. Hughes, in his *Horæ Britannicæ*, should have been misled on this topic.

14. Two more peculiarities, no-wise honourable, marked even the highest and most eminent members of this once formidable order, their avowed delight in obtaining gifts, and in drinking to an excess. Luernius, a wealthy Gaul, squandered his fortune among the people by scattering gold and silver; and by a public banquet of several days to which all were admitted. A bard arrived too late, but chaunted

^b Essay on Bardism, p. lx. note.

the praises of Luernius and his own disappointment. The prodigal flung gold to him, in acknowledgment of which he ran by the side of his chariot, saying, "that the earth brought forth gold, and beneficence to men, along the track of his chariot wheels." Bards of later times shew the like disposition to prey upon the¹ profuseness of their neighbours. "He that loves a bard let him be a generous giver." Owen's *Llywarch*, p. 51. "I never return (says the bard of the misguided Llewelyn) empty-handed from the North. . . He generously distributeth wealth and riches. . . Thou art the king of the mighty, entertainer and encourager of bards." *Llygad Gwr*. "The willing boon is distributed by the expert hewer with the red notched blade," says the ferocious parasite *Cynddelw*. And again, "round our ruler we are, round the chief of the fierce ones the bards shall congregate to get riches." If ever the horse-leech had daughters, the bardic muse was of their number. Two little books of triads, the *Triads of the Miser*, and the *Triads of the Niggard*, would surprise a reader, not aware of their real drift, by the excessive virulence with which they harp upon one topic. But their object was to intimidate all housekeepers from closing their purses, cellars, or larders, against an impudent importunity. The rapacious and parasitical character is a moral evil to which every such body of men, unendowed, and not having a portion in the

¹ From *rhag*, a gift, comes *rhaged*, profuse liberality, or the habit of giving. It may be doubted whether there was, in proper geography, any such kingdom as *Rhaged*; and whether the territories of *Urien Rhaged* and *Owain ap Urien* were not so styled, by a conventional compliment from the sect whose rapacity was gorged with their profusion, and whose feelings invented the names of *Lloegria*, *Gwynedd*, *Powys*, etc. Geoffrey terms him *Urianus rex Murefensium* (ix. c. 9. c. 12), evidently translating, with his usual want of skill, some word totally distinct from *Rhaged*. *Murseferuys*, or the *Murseferiaid*, may have been the phrase thus disfigured. At any rate it seems to allude to the wall of Severus, and so fixes the latitude of the bardic *Rhaged* in Cumbria.

land, are subject by nature. Subsisting upon what they could pick up, they became both subtle and sturdy mendicants. But no gift was so acceptable to them as an excessive quantity of strong drink. The omen of salvation to the country was "the liquor, the treasure of the breast." Taliesin Arch. p. 77. "To me these are delicacies, mead from the buffalo horns, and exhaustless benefits from a splendid prince." Tal. cit. Owen in *Bual*. The bard pleads for Elphin because "he gave him wine, and ale, and mead;" and he then devoutly prays thus to the supreme Gwledig who supports the heavens and rules the universe, "may Maelgwn be intoxicated with mead, and may he intoxicate us with his horns of mead, the noble and shining froth!" Canu y Medd. "He gave me both wine and mead from a glass bowl." Mic Dinb. The same author deplores Aeddon, because "with him he used to swallow draughts of wine and bragget." Iolo Goch thought it a delicate compliment to Lady Margaret Glendower,

Gwyn vy myd o'i gwin a'i medd,
Her wine and her mead are the delight of my life.

"After drink (observed Llywarch Hên) derangement of the senses is usual," and Aneurin declared that "a cupbearer is the saviour of every country." All this was not said loosely and in despite or neglect of religion, but in some deplorable association with it. No man (says the religious poet Gwynvardd of Brecon) who does not join in hymning the praises of St. Dewi or David, is entitled to

"The mead-horn and the ecstasies of inebriation;"

and then, advancing from the doctrinal to the practical, he describes the church or sanctuary of that ambiguous Saint as the proper, nay the actual, scene of festive orgies,

There, is a carousal of mead in the mead-feasts.

Yet these sentiments came well from the men of Hu; for he was to them as Bacchus, and their rhoddwr gwin or giver of wine. The praises of wassail and inebriety, the wine-feast and the mead-feast, were often sung, but (somehow) without the joyous vein of those who in happier countries devoted their lyres to Bacchus. Fierceness and horror seem to frown over the convivial board, and a gloomy mystery to be connected with its delights. One feature is to be remarked in these Bacchanalian bursts and wears a forbidding aspect, that they are seldom if ever erotic. The all-pervading passion, which tamed the savage Scots at the feet of Comala and DARTHULA, seems to have been almost stifled by the intensity of other thoughts^k and cares in this sect of lyric poets, and we may not hear from them

Τὸ ῥοδὸν τοῦ τῶν Ἑρωτων
Ἀναμῖκτον Διωνυσῶ.

Where so few virtues are to be traced, it is not untrue that we want one vice more, to humanize and soften the barbarous licentiousness. The pretended Molmutian^l laws are well adapted to the morals of the Beirdd Beli, but must have been truly grievous to their poor or sober neighbours. On three accounts men were not amenable to law for their actions, 1st. *drunkenness*, 2dly. *tender age*, and 3dly. *duress*. Those who were continually tipsy enjoyed a life of irresponsibility; and by drinking a few cups any man might secure impunity for any crime.

15. That Apollinar Mysticism in its outset was exactly Bardism does not appear; but rather the contrary. There being no independent territory in Gaul, as there was in the British isles, nothing prevailed

^k "Commit not thy secret to a maiden." Above, p. 40.

^l Dyvnwal Series 2. Triad 108.

there in the days of Gratian but Roman manners and discourse. It was the Apollinar Mysticism, which first obtained influence in Britain. In that, the foundations of the apostasy were laid. As Celtic manners and discourse gained ground and half-savage clans got the better of the Provincials, the power of the Beirdd Beli arose out of it. It cannot be said with certainty, at what time that power received its complete organization. But we may approximate to the time of the event if we can fix upon any of the persons concerned in it. The 58th and 92nd Triads inform us that the three primary bards of Britain were Plennydd, Alawn, and Gwron, by whom the privileges, customs, and institutes of *the bards and bardism* (beirdd a barddoniaeth) were first formed and organized; although the bards and bardism had been previously introduced in a less organic form by Gwyddon Ganhebon, Hu Gadarn, and Tydain Tad Awen. These latter three are fabulous names of deities and heroes. But Plennydd, Alawn, and Gwron are those of whom we are in search. Lilius Giraldus (as elsewhere^m observed) gives part of the substance of this triad, that is to say, he gives the names of the three primary British poets, substituting that of Gildas for Alawn. Therefore we have his authority, or rather that of the sourceⁿ from which he borrowed, for thinking that Alawn was Gildas. The triad adds that the laws of the three primary bards were organized in the remotest antiquity, and either in the reign of Prydain himself or that of Dyvnwal Moelmud. Dates either fabulous and imaginary, or cryptographic and allegorical. Those three were actively engaged in moulding the system

^m Brit. A. R. pp. xiv. 179. For Plennydd Mr. E. Williams printed Rhuawn, upon what authority I cannot tell. Poems, etc. vol. 2. p. 4. It is probably a slip of the memory.

ⁿ The 58th triad, as now extant, was certainly not that source; for it had Gwron's name following a consonant, and thereby acephalous and written Wron.

of the Beirdd Ynys Prydain, Beirdd Byd, or Beirdd Beli in the close of the 5th or commencement of the 6th century. The *chronology* of Beli ap Benlli is not vastly remote from the truth. Their names have been interpreted Light, Harmony, and Energy, (which three are in free-masonry, wisdom, love, power) and they have indeed * such an allusion. It is therefore obvious that they are mere Bardic appellations, assumed according to a custom not even yet abandoned, and not the real names of the three persons. But Lilius places Gildas third, not second as the triad places Alawn; and Lilius is clearly right, for every one knows that the three attributes of the mystic trias are wisdom, power,^p love, not wisdom, love, power.

Thus much being premised, we will turn to the poem called Angar Cyrundawd, the Covenant or Compact of Angar. That covenant is the bardic association. We find that it is the work of three persons: that one of them is Angar ap Caw: that he was third in order of the three: and that the period which he spent among the immensely numerous family of his father Caw was 60 years. This curious and important information may seem slightly discrepant with what I have said, since Angar ap Caw is not Gildas ap Caw, but only his brother. But let

* Gwron however is an energetic man, not energy; alaw is harmony, and Alawn no word, but a name formed from it; plenig is radiant, but plenydd, radiance, rests upon no authority but the following. "Tri chyntevigion beirdd Ynys Prydain, plenydd, alawn, a gwron. *Barddas*. The three primordialls of the Bards of the Isle of Britain, light, harmony, and energy." Owen Dict. in *Plenydd*. The names are indeed derived from those words or from their roots, but they are not those same words. As for Barddas, the words here quoted as from it, and thus warped from their sense, are merely the first sentence of the 58th historical triad!

^p That is to say, Love *always* holds the third place. The two first are occasionally transposed, owing (I believe) to a confusion of ideas produced by a misapprehension of the word *Λογός* as applied to the Demiurge. So in a series of Triads of Instruction (Arch. 3. 214) we find that the three necessities of God are "nerth, gwybod, a chariad," of the combination of which three consists all being or existence.

the reader consider the meaning of the name Angar; it is unbeloved or friendless. Would any father give his child such an appellation, or any man be willing to bear it? Gildas at last returned to Christianity, became an ascetic monk, and abominated the work of his own hands; and in that spirit he wrote his extant works, reviling the Britons for their apostasy and multiplied enormities. In return, the bards detested him and spoke of him with hatred, though still with some sort of honour as being their constitutor. The Engl. y Clyweit quoting from his bardic poetry styles him *cas milwr*,

Hast thou heard how sang Gildas
Son of Caw, the *detested*⁴ warrior;

“From a blow to a servant long is the hatred.”

But there is nothing material to choose between *cas* and *angar*, except that unbeloved is more decent than detested, and more suited to the purport of the poem, which is not to insult him.

That which guides thy course
Concerning the deep-spoken minstrelsy,
Truly it is the covenant of Angar,
Whose the method is.

Came he not, after their usage,
The third of the equal judges?
Threescore years
He bore this earthly scene

⁴ This language adds much force to the reasons adduced (Brit. A. R. xiv.) against the fantastic notion of Aneurin being Gildas. The bardic appellation Aneurin, not-golden, seems to boast of simplicity and unadornment, and to be assumed in contrast to that of his native home, the Golden Grove. If Gildas were a Saxon appellation it would have the meaning exactly contrary to Aneurin; and not the same, as Mr. Rice Rees has asserted. *Welsh Saints*, p. 225. I incline to think that father O'Connor has correctly explained the title of Gildas. See *Brit. A. R.* p. 177.

In the flood of Caw and his multitude
 In the lands of the earth,
 A hundred prompt ministers,
 A hundred princely progenies.
 Fair was their going,
 Fair was their coming,
 Fair their hundred melodies
 And this their prophesying, etc.

The song of the primary bards, which follows, throws no farther light on the matter. It appears that Gildas called himself Alawn while engaged in this great work; but that afterwards, when he became hated, some of the brotherhood preferred to call him^r Angar ap Caw.

I do not think that Taliesin would have cared to enquire or have been able to state in what year the penitent old monk of Rhuis died in Armorica. But I understand him, as saying, that he was sixty years old when he abandoned his 23 brothers, his numerous sisters, and all the princely progenies who formed the flood and multitude of prolific Caw, and with them his native island and the pursuits of secular life. That event should be placed at the Camlan epoch or A.D. 542, and two years, or nearly so, before he wrote his epistle. If so, he was born in^v about 482; and the Bardic organization of which he was the prin-

^r Concerning Angar ap Caw, the Cambrian Biography offers nothing, except that he was a warrior in the early part of the 6th century.

^v See Br. A. R. p. xx. The pedigree which represents Caw as the son of Geraint ap Erbin (the naval commander who fell in a land engagement at Longborth, probably Plymouth, about A. D. 530) and Gildas as his grandson, must be rejected as a very gross and unlikely fiction. It deserves to rank with the pedigrees of Vortigern, Llywarch Hên, Gwgawn Cleddyvrudd, Braint Hir, the bard Melgant, and divers other blunders of the inventive arwydd-veirdd; though, Geraint being no uncommon name, it may have been that of Caw's father.

Tigernach of Clonmacnols says, A. D. 570 Cluan Credil and Gildas went to their rest, and the Ulster Annalist, A. D. 560 Gildas died. To recede from Tigernach's authority (says the learned O'Connor) nec valeo nec volo. Nor is there occasion so to

principal author cannot with any probability be given to the 5th century. The year 517, in which the reign of Arthur is said to have commenced and the cauldron of Ceridwen to have been instituted, naturally offer itself to us. In short, it may be supposed that the great covenant of the Beirdd Beli, and the Arthurian regimen, were one and the same thing.

Talhaiarn Talangwen¹ and Cian Gweinchwant (whom the Appx.

do. But I do not conceive why it should be referred to Gildas ap Caw the Briton. The title or degree of a *gildas* was obtained by numbers of the old Irish scholars and devotees; by not less than 1000, within Mr. Connor's knowledge. Tigernach is evidently speaking of two Irishmen and of an occurrence in Ireland; indeed he rarely alludes to any others. And I see not the least probability, that the one Briton, who having in his youth visited Ireland and studied there obtained that title, and who long after died in Armorican Gaul, is the person here named.

If Gildas meant to say that his own birth and the battle of Badon had both occurred 43 years ago, he must have been born and the battle fought in or just about A. D. 500. But it is impossible he should have stated, that nearly the *latest* victory of the Britons had been gained 43 years ago, and that *foreign* (i. e. Saxon) *Wars* had *ceased ever since*. Therefore he must mean that he was 43 years and one month old when the battle was fought. The words themselves cannot be said in strict grammar to signify anything; "usque annum obsessionis Badonici montis novissimasque ferme de furciferis non minime stragis quique quadragesimus quartus (ut novi) oritur annus mense jam uno emenso qui et meæ nativitatis est." Beda, perceiving that, has altered the sentence into sense, but into no possible truth; being a mere fiction of his own, it is not worth refuting. Hist. I. 16. The Cambrian annals in the Llyvr Coch Hergest are a document scarce worthy of citation. But they place the Badonian battle 22 years before that of Camlan; which would be A. D. 520, provided the writer knew the date of the Camlan revolution, which he gives us some reason to doubt. The calculation from the Angur Cyvundawd would bring it down to about A. D. 525. For that is 17 years before Camlan, and 43 years one month added thereto will make 60 years complete. And 18 years is full long enough to throw back the latest victory of a brave people; although we couple together novissima with non minima, so as to mean the last *great* victory.

¹ This appellation, Iron-front *Dark-front*, or more exactly, *of a front not white*, has been wantonly changed into Tat-Tangwn, father of Tangwn, by Mr. E. Evans, an author who though not ancient was among the earliest promoters of these researches. Tal-angwen seems to be the direct opposite of Tal-iesin. Gweinchwant, of lively de-

to Nennius enumerates) and, besides Angar, they alone are honoured in the Cyvundawd ; in such manner as to shew us pretty well that they are the other two " of the equal judges."

Thro' the speech of Taliesin
The day was postponed
In which Cian surceased
From his abundant eulogies.

In God, who is, I have believed,
Thro' the speech of Talhaiarn.

Talhaiarn is the greatest of astrologers
Whose imagination hath knowledge
From the muse of the day of covenant.

Talhaiarn was a bard who sang before Arthur ; and had previously been (as we are told) domestic chaplain to Aurelius Ambrosius. But what more especially justifies us in regarding him as one of the three primary

sires, is the surname spelt (with but one redundant letter) *gweinchwant*, in the mention of Cian by the suppletor of Nennius. But he has with similar license transformed it into the utterly discrepant word *Gwyngwn* ; in order to identify him with the Cian mentioned by Aneurin in a line which he misconstrued.

Un maban y Cian o waen gwyngwn,

The only son of Cian from the white-summitted rock.

This he translated, *unicus Ciani filius ex valido Gwyngwn ortus!* It was the ready resource both of E. Evans and E. Davies to render nouns common as proper names, when at any loss for their meaning. Holding for certain the opinions I have previously maintained concerning the Gododin, I conclude the Cian thus particularized to be distinct from Cian Gweinchwant. But, same or different, the epithet *gwyngwn* can have nothing to do with his surname. The supplement to Nennius mentions the bard Bluchbar, otherwise forgotten and unknown. And Nuevin, for which Mr. Evans very probably suggests Aneurin.

There is extant a set of trite apophthegms delivered by seven sages, in answer to queries put by Catwg, the Wise Knight of Arthur ; a palpable mimicry of the seven men of Greece and their apophthegms. Of these seven, three were Talhaiarn Talan-gwen, Gildas of the Golden Grove, and Taliesin ben beirdd. See *Doethineb y Cymmry*, p. 38, 9.

institutors is, that a deistical or pantheistical composition ascribed to him is always rehearsed at the meetings of the Glamorgan bards. By thus fixing to a moral certainty one of the Bardic institutors, Alawn, with strong suspicion of the other two, we are enabled nearly to discover the period at which the bardic blasphemy and tyranny was perfected.

This topic will derive great illustration, from contemplating the behaviour of Gildas. He wrote his Latin in the hyperbolical style of the lyric bards, which degenerated into bombast when thus transfused. But whoever reads Gildas, and then casts his eye on the Britannia of his days, as she appears in her own written monuments, will perceive through all the zeal and violence of his denunciations, a disinclination to specify what was and had been passing in that country. Nobody, otherwise unaware of it, could learn it from his pages. The tyrants of Britannia, as he writes from Armorica, "do not openly sacrifice to the heathen deities," (*non gentium diis perspicuè litant*) but what they did, he does not explain, nor unfold the tale which he might. As a dog set on to attack a toad or snake, rushes forward, and barks aloud, but, when the moment arrives for biting, avoids the cold and nauseous gripe, even such was the conduct of the *cas milwr*. The fact was, that the indignant declaimer had himself been deeply concerned in the sad transactions by which his country had been brought to ruin and moral degradation. He could not speak out the whole, without telling the world what it was a painful duty to disclose even in the confessional. As long as he kept back the more specific allegations that he might have made against the spiritualities of Britain, he kept a hold on his countrymen, that they could not recriminate upon him and assail him in his vulnerable parts. Lastly, he was himself held in the trammels of the rhydyngiad, i. e. the bardic oaths and self-imprecated curses.

For some or all of these reasons, he most imperfectly fulfilled the menace in his preface, that he would write a treatise "distressing and intolerable to the infatuated apostates." He constantly recoiled from describing in perspicuous language, what sort of apostasy had taken place, what horrors had been openly, and what privily, committed.

16. It is morally certain that considerable change was made by the Druidizing Mithriaes in the nomenclature of the ancient Druids. The former did not profess open polytheism, but they rather professed (Rosicrucian-like) to deal with potent dæmons, while they kept the name of God in the singular number.

Cæsar says, the Druids worshipped Mercury, Apollo, Mars, Jove, and "Minerva, and ascribed to them the same attributes as other nations did. But although they ascribed to Jove "the empire over all things celestial," they honoured Mercury by far the most. The bloody orgies of Bacchus were solemnized in a sacred islet by the nine Gallienæ. In another sacred islet the mysteries of Ceres^a and Proserpine were administered as in Samothrace. Boadicea and her subjects were assiduous worshippers^b of Andate, who was Victoria. Saturn lay sleeping in a cave, in an island off the western coast of Britain, peopled^c with the ghosts of heroes, where he was guarded by Briareus and a legion of demons. The Druids had therefore nearly all the apparatus of the Egyptian and Grecian paganism.

^a Cæsar B. G. 6. 17. ^b Strabo, 4. p. 277. ^c Dion. Cass. 62. p. 1007, 8.

^d I know not how late that tradition survived. But the interpolator of the prophecies in the *Cyvoesi* alludes to the death of Owen Glendower in these words,

When Owain shall be in the isle of Man.

There is good reason to conjecture that the sleeping giant of Man is the Saturn mentioned by Plutarch. See G. Waldron's *Isle of Man*, p. 11. p. 135. Faber *Pagan Idol.* 3. 324.

But it is in few instances made clearly apparent to us by what names they called those various powers.

Mercury, the favourite God of the Druids, was resuscitated in the pure Mithriac title of Haiarndor; in that of Gwion, perhaps both his oldest Celtic title, and the oldest of the country itself; and in that of Gwydion son of Don (i. e. Dominus) whose city *Caer-Wydion* was the galaeth or milky way, and whose land *Gwlad-Wydion* was either Mona or all Britannia. He is famed for his creations by magic, his feats of artifice and prestige, and his combats with demons; and more generally, as the renovator and purifier of Britannia. In him (as in Gwion also) we discover the patron of alchemy and Elias Artista of the Hermetic adepts; for the period and system of which we treat included those mysteries. We see Mercury the planet expressed by the double titles of *Marca Mercedus* and *Marca Marcarucia*. But the bardic names of planets differ from those of the same powers when considered apart from their stellar mansions.

Melen or Melyn, in construction Velen or Velyn, was the Druidical title of Apollo, and signified yellow, golden-coloured; being equivalent to his Gaelic name Buidhe, also meaning yellow. It is of undoubted antiquity, and was used among the Gauls who settled at Aquileia two centuries B. C., as well as in Gaul itself four centuries A. C. From its mutation (as the Romans had not the Welsh F, or English and Modern Welsh V) came Belenus* or Belinus; and it is radically and utterly distinct from Baal, Bel, etc. Aramaic words for Lord. Melyn was mab Cyn-velyn.

We find the title Cyno-belinus, in British Cynvelyn, bestowed upon a British king of the first century. That the god of fire was worshipped

* Belen, beau, clair. Belin, sorcier, enchauteur. Langue Romane.

under that title, *having a yellow front*, appears from two strange and ancient productions, the *Gorchan Cynvelyn*, and the *Dialogue of Merddin with Taliesin*. Since the name *Melyn* is surely of some considerable antiquity, it is very likely that the ancient Druids gave the name of *Cynvelyn* to that igneous ethereal principle "*quem invocant omnes Jovem*." With the Druidists he was also^b *Gorlassar* (the *Æther*), *Uthyr Pendragon*, *Don* or *Dominus*, and probably *Heilyn*. Jupiter the planet was styled *Severus*; a remarkable phrase, perhaps introduced into Britain upon occasion of the peculiarly splendid^c apotheosis of that emperor (who died at York) and in imitation of the *Julium sidus*. Since the great circle of the *Stan-Hengest* was the sanctuary of *Gorlassar* and *Heilyn*, and *Severus* was *Jupiter*, I think it most likely that *Wiltshire* obtained its name of *Severia* or *Semernia*, (*m* for *v*, the usual mutation) its people that of *Severii*, and *Salisbury Plain* that of *Ager Severianus*, from that British title of *Jove*. *Hen* bears two senses, old, as *Llywarch Hen*, or the more ancient of two, as *Meigant Hen*. And possibly *Hen-Velen*, to whom that sanctuary is ascribed, signifies *Belenus senior* or *pater* (i. e. *Cynvelyn*) and not merely *Belenus priscus*. I consider the point doubtful.

Mars was anciently *Camulus* as appears from the Gaulish inscriptions *Marti Camulo*. To him were sacred the British towns of *Camulodunum*, *Maldon* in *Essex*, and *Camelot* in *Pictland*. He was also *Belatucader*; or rather *Bel*, i. e. *War*, for I cannot but believe as *Dr. Owen* did that *Belatucader* is one word made out of *Bel y Duw Cadyr*, *Bel* the god mighty in battle. The name of *Camulus* is formed from *cam*, wrong, injury. But as *Bel* means war, it is incredible^d that

^b See *Brit. A. R.* p. 69. p. 114, 5.

^c See the curious and instructive description of it in *Herodian*.

^d Because *bellum* and *Bellona* are popular corruptions of *duellum* and *Duellona*. *Varro*, vi. p. 91. *Festus* in *Duellum*. *Cicero Orat.* c. 45. *Quintilian*, l. 4. 15. So,

any martial deity in Gaul or Britain was so called before the introduction of Latin into those countries. *Beli* is a form of the same word. These names are radically unconnected with *Melen* or *Velen*, and equally so with *Baal* and *Belus*. The titles *Buddwas* and *Buddugre*, which denote god of victory, are found in *Aneurin* and *Taliesin*, and contain nothing to indicate a recent origin. There is yet a place called *Swydd Buddugre*, i. e. that deity's fief or jurisdiction. I know not where the god *Gwaed-nerth* (Bloody Strength)* is to be sought for; and perhaps he was only imagined by way of diverting attention from *Beli* and so preventing a sore place from being touched. *Camulus* or *Bel* was dissembled in bardism; but appears dimly in king *Beli* (i. e. havoc and slaughter) who presided over the fortunes of this island and was honoured by the *Beirdd Beli*. *St. Cad-van* (i. e. hand of battle) figures as the patron saint of war, and is the god of war in disguise. *Arthur*†

even the proper name *Duellius* was familiarly expressed *Bellus*. This proves that *bel* was not one of the ancient affinities of Celtic and Pelagic, or so forth, but just a Latinism.

* See *Hynafion Cymreig*, p. 20.

† *Arth-ur*, Bear aloft; if *ur* be really any thing more than a termination. *Arth-gwrys*, Bear of violence, or ardency. *Arth-nevawn*, Bear-celestial.

Pan ddyvu Cadwallawn
Dros eigiawn Iwerddon
Ydd attrewnwys norwy ym Arthnevon,
When Cadwallon returned
From over Erin's ocean
He renovated the heaven of my bear-celestial,

saith *Avan Red-spear Golyddan*, or some one of his fierce eulogists. And presently again,

When Cadwallon returned
From over Erin's ocean
Woefully he prepared the culmination of my bear-celestial.
Tru trewnwys newn ym Arthnevon.

Arch. Myv. 1. p. 74.

These passages support Mr. Turner in his remark that an *Arthur* was thought to have revived in *Cadwallon*; but they are any thing but favourable to the assertors of historical *Arthur*.

and Trin Tarw may be mentioned as equivocal titles of the god of war, seldom distinctly and in express terms acknowledged as such. The planet Mars is called by the names of Mawrth, Mars, and Venerus, which latter seems to mean the lover of Venus.

Gwener, the planetary Venus, is formed from that Latin name inflected. But that very name appears to be Gaulish and to have crossed the Rubicon in Rome's early days, being the ordinary truncation of Gwen or Gwenus. St. Dwyn-Wen (a compound of uncertain force) was the patron saint of lovers, and no nice or scrupulous patroness; and was merely a canonization of the goddess. Ol-wen daughter of the Hawthorn was a demon of these mysteries, and expresses in her name the title more ancient than seemly of Venus Callipyge. Wherever she trod the shamrock used to spring up. That plant, which is represented by the ace of clubs, was a sacred thing and a mystery, uncertain of import. A heathenish mock-saint has made it the badge^a or symbol of a British kingdom.

Of the *religious* orgies of Bacchus, once celebrated by Druidesses with such appalling atrocity, but slender traces are now to be observed; though the orgies of convivial excess never wanted for enthusiasts. It may be remarked (or has been) that the bardic love for ebriety was ostentatious and seems almost ritual. Taliesin uses these remarks,

I have been dead, I have been alive,^b
Mine is the branch of ivy.

Llewelyn was deluded into revolt against Edward the First by the false

^a Perhaps sacred edifices were adorned with it. Llywarch Hên says,

Bassa's-Churches are bedizen'd to-night,

For blood-bestain'd are their shamrocks.—p. 110. Myrtyr.

But he may allude to the fields surrounding that edifice.

^b Angar Cyvund. p. 37.

prophecies of his bards, who had promised him that he should be crowned king of all Britain with the crown of Brute the Trojan. Therefore when his head was brought to the conqueror, he ordered it to be nailed up at the Tower of London, crowned with a ¹ crown of ivy. This seems to imply, that the crown of the fabled kings of Troynovant, that which crowned the brenin coronawg ar yr ynys after the Romans were gone, was a representation of ivy leaves. The crown of Brutus, according to the Brut of Kings, was made of vine leaves; which comes very near to it. Hu Gadarn was styled rhoddwr gwin, the giver of wine, which might seem to point him out as the Neo-Drauidic Bacchus. But it is right to remember, that two ideas predominated through all these varied rites, the Sun, and war. His surname of Cadarn stamps him to be a Duw Cadyr or demon of war. While the god of war was notoriously "the bright elevated lamp." Hu Gadarn was the commander of the elements and the inhabitant² of the Sun. He was the Duw Celi, (God the concealed) and was invoked as creator, son of Mary, and Christ. His oxen dragged out of the Lake of the Flood the monster that occasioned the inundation, and were driven by him through the heavens harnessed with lightning. He was not only the giver of wine, but the first cultivator of the earth after the deluge. It is impossible not to discern the combination of Bacchus and Noah in his character.

I know not if there be any memorial of the Gaulish Minerva, other than the³ inscription *Minervæ Belisanæ sacrum O. Valerius Montanus*. Belisana has such a resemblance to Belis Sant, Bellona Sancta, as to discredit her antiquity. Andate Victoria of Dion Cassius,

¹ See Florent. Wigorn. p. 411.

² Iolo Goch cit. Davies Myth. p. 164. and see *ibid.* p. 111. Triad 97.

³ Dom. Martin Rel. Gaul. 1. 504.

and Dea Augusta Andarta of an inscription, exhibit the war-goddess and possibly also the Minerva of British antiquity. They do not reappear in our intermediate period, but the feminine name Buddug is said to have replaced them. In Britain the city of Bath was sacred to Minerva, as were indeed^m all the hot wells in the island. In Domitian's time the Romans called itⁿ Aquæ Palladiæ, but its best known title was Aquæ Solis. In Mr. Lysons's fine work of Roman Antiquities we see the inscriptions of the temple of Sulis Minerva at Bath, and find the epithet Suline applied to her devotees. The front of her temple was adorned with the Mithriac visage (the drem Dremrudd) and her name Sulis (in the orthography of this day, Sules) is a feminine of Sul, the British way of writing Sol. This relates to the solar mysticism, or philosophy and heresy of the Mithriacs, and to the androgyneity of their deity; "sicut (as saith the great^o champion of that mysticism) et Porphyrius testatur Minervam esse virtutem Solis." Aquæ Palladiæ and Aquæ Solis are terms united in Aquæ Sulis-Minervæ.

Ceridwen by whom Gwion (the Hermes of alchemical permutations) was both devoured and brought forth, from whose cauldron the bards derived their magical inspiration, whose strange legend is given in the Hanes Taliesin, and whom the bards (even so late as the 12th century) delighted in more than any of their dæmons, is supposed by Mr. Davies to be the Ceres of the British orgies. I believe him to be in the right; and also that her name signifies *the Lady of Grain*, from *ceri*, grain, and *wen* a fair one or lady. Cuhelyn seems^p to point out to us that etymology and to play upon it, when he styles her, "goddess of various seeds, seeds of harmony." Her swallowing Gwion, in his assumed

^m Solinus, c. 22.

ⁿ Macrobius Sat. 1 c. 17.

^o Musgrave Ant. Britanno-Belgica, p. 62.

^p Arch. Myvyr. p. 186. and Davies Myth. p. 8.

shape of a grain of corn, confirms it. I further believe, that the same personage was more briefly called Cerin (which is merely *ceri* with an affix,) because, in a passage relating to the enemies of Ceridwen's orgies, her bard says,

They are seeking for the two arts
Round *Caer Cerindan Cerindydd*,

that is to say, the sanctuary of the fire of Cerin upon the day of Cerin. It is a verse of *cyvrinach*, not meant to be understood. We shall find Ceridwen again in the mystic sow of Coll, which introduced wheat and the other sorts of grain. Ceridwen's^a daughter Creirvyw, otherwise styled Creirwy, and Llywy, fills by analogy the place of Proserpine. Of the cauldron of Ceridwen much remains to be said hereafter; this is but a nomenclature of gods. The king of Annwn or the infernal abyss (who appears under various names such as Arawn, Gwyn ap Nudd etc.) should be the equivalent for Pluto.

Neither the opinion of Lactantius, nor any thing else that I have read, has persuaded my mind that the three names Theutates or Teutates, Hesus, and Taranis, preserved in Lucan, were the names of either Gallic or British deities. The former of them seems, probably, to be of the same force as Teuton, Theudrick, Deutsch, etc. being formed from *thioda*, *theut*, etc. tribe or nation. No such Celtic word is to be found but in Rostrenen, where *teut* stands for people. But, if there be such a word at all, it was received by the Armoric Britons from their Norman neighbours and superiors, if not from those earlier theuds of Germans with whom Procopius^c informs us that they blended themselves by a regular treaty of intermarriages. No reliance may be placed on that very debased dialect, when it exhibits terms of a Latin, French,

^a See Davies Myth. p. 189. 190. etc.

^c Procop. Goth. 1. p. 80. ed. Latii.

or Teutonic character, which have no correspondents in the insular British. But no such word, I believe, does exist. Dom Lepelletier, as willing as him to appropriate Theutates, is obliged entirely to drop Rostrenen's *teut*, and to content himself with *tut* (and that is properly *tud*) the irregular plural of *den*, a man. *Tud*, however, signifies land, place, country, surface of the earth, etc; and it only denotes the men who inhabit it by a second intention, which latter, though introduced into an irregular declension by the Bretons, is unknown to the pure Cymmaeag. To finish this dispute with the estimable Rostrenen, and to shew what *teut* really does mean in Armorican, we may cite his own glosses, *langue Allemande*, *langue Tudesque*, *languaich teut*.

Theutates may have attributes identifying him with Mercury, or he may not. There is no reason to suppose it. And the assertion that he was so, and called after the Egyptian Thoth, Tat, Taautes, etc. is an idle fiction of etymologists, who have to that effect interpolated a passage^a of Livy, in the real text of which there is no mention of Theutates. The name of Hesus has no apparent derivation from the Celtic dialects. But it is asserted by Vossius^b that Tuesday, dies Martis, and the Scandinavian *Thiisdag* or *Tyrsdag*, is termed *Heesdag* in some parts of Germany. The inscription *Esus*^c said to have been found on a votive tablet made by the Roman sailors of the flotilla on the Seine, in combination with a farrago of other names, such as Volcanus, Jovis, Tarvos Trigaranos, Castor, and Cernunnos, and of the date of Tiberius, can prove nothing, except that an omnivorous superstition had found the name somewhere or other. But the most remarkable has been the fate of the goddess^d Taranis. No other author, not even Lactantius, and

^a See Livy, L. 26. c. 44.

^b De Idololatriâ, p. 480.

^c Dom Martin, 2. p. 44. and the same in Montfaucon.

^d See Mr. Herbert's Attila, p. 16, where the vulgar error is pointed out.

no inscription, commemorates her. The verses of Lucan are sufficiently perspicuous ;

“ Ye also, by whom with dire blood is appeased the ungentle
Thentates, and Hesus horrid by reason of his cruel raised-altars,
And the flat-altar, not more humane, of Taranis the Scythian Diana !”

The whole body of Lucan’s interpreters, having found that *taran* was a Celtic word for thunder, have by main force converted Taranis into Jupiter Tonans. Ever since that fatal discovery, Priscian’s head has worn a plaister. They must either translate the line

Et Taranis Scythicæ non mitior ara Dianæ,

by setting Taranis in apposition to *ara* (which is admissible) and then by supplying mentally a most violent and ungrammatical ellipsis, as follows,

And Taranis an altar not milder [*than the altar of*] Scythian Diana,
or else they must render it,

And Taranis not milder [*ard*] than the altar of Scythian Diana ;
arrangements of syntax and prosody, from which no gravity of learned names can avert the ¹ derision of boys. This plainest of all plain verses informs us that some people worshipped the barbarian Dians by the title of Taranis, as others did by those of Taurica and Tauropolos. Jupiter Taranwr and his thunder can have nothing to do with it ; nor, I believe, has any Celtic nation.

¹ An altar erected by one Titus Elupius Præsens Jovi Optimo Maximo *Tanaro* has been thought to be an error of the sculptor for *Tarano*, i. e. tonanti. Such may be the case. But such a correction is not necessary. See Horsley Brit. Roman. p. 316.

² Mr. Finn Magnussen in a long rhapsody about Thor, Taranis, etc. has the hardihood to print,

Et Tharanis Scythicæ non mitior arâ Dianæ.

Lexicon Boreale. p. 605.

Lucan was enumerating the nations with whom Cæsar had been concerned in Gaul and its vicinage; and among them he mentions several known Teutonic or Germanic nations, such as are the Vangiones, the Batavi, and the Cayci or Chauci. There is, therefore, no reason for presuming that the ministers of Theutates, Hesus, and Taranis, were Gaulish priests. But we know thus much, that they were not Druidical. For Lucan, after citing those who sacrificed to Theutates etc. subjoins, "And ye, oh Bards! did sing your hymns in peace, and ye, oh Druids! did resume your sinister sacrifices, when the war was ended." The human victims offered to Theutates, Hesus, and Taranis, were not the Druidical *mos sinister sacrorum*, but something different. That is plain. But then we have no account that any tribe of Gauls were dissentient from the Druidical institutes, and had sacrifices distinct from theirs.

These three deities should be ascribed to the Ubii, Sicambri, Suevi, or some other theud of the Germans, if not rather to the Germans in general. The best construction is, that the ministers of German barbarism are here mentioned, as distinguishable from the Druids. No trace of the three names exists in the nomenclature of Neo-Druidism.

17. The conduct of those who composed that nomenclature was partly similar to that of the Manichean and other gnostical sects of heathens; who, to use the words of Gildas, *non gentium Dies perspicuè litabant*. Their pretended and ostensible conformity to Christ precluded them from avowing in terms that they worshipped several deities, although they professed to tamper with various spirits. And so paganism (*alter et idem*) melted away into sorcery or magic. For the same reason they avoided the use of those names by which open gentilism had invoked its objects of adoration, and substituted strange titles, such as Ialdabaoth, Barbelo, Leusibora, Barcabbas, etc. in the place of Apollo,

Venus, or Bacchus. The Manicheans disused the names of Mithras and Arimanes to employ hypocritically those of Christ and Satan. It is I believe on the same plan, that the evil and gloomy power corresponding to Arimanes or Demogorgon does not appear by any famous name in the Beli Bardism. Satanas and Lucifer or Luciffer were the appellations bestowed by it upon the chief god of the opposing and chaotic influences. Affecting to avoid (what the Beirdd Beli rather affected, in their own manner, to adopt) scriptural phraseology, the professors of low bardism have in more modern days invented their cythraul.

The eulogists of Druidism have been cautious, in general, to avoid the topics of its polytheism and idolatry. Yet for the former even St. Paul gives us some authority, saying to the Gauls of Asia, "when ye knew not God, ye did service unto them which by nature are no gods." And that, with which he taxes them, was not the result of their emigration into Phrygia; for we learn from Cæsar, that the countries of the Druids were full of idols, and those of Mercury more frequent than any others. In the purlieus of Marseilles and age of Julius Cæsar, their structure was rude and the materials of them wood,

Simulacraque mæsta Deorum^a

Arte carent cæsisque extant informia truncis.

Yet Britannia had numerous idols of more durable materials and of great reputed antiquity, of which some were still standing in the days of Gildas. "I will not enumerate (he^b says) those diabolical portents of my country, almost more numerous than those of Egypt, of which we still behold some with deformed lineaments and grim countenances standing with their wonted rigidity, either within or without the walls

^a Lucan, 3. 412.

^b Gildas Hist. c. 2. p. 2.

of our ruined cities." These idols (which he describes) were either urban or suburban not rural. Proclianus Vicar of the Quinque Provinciæ, as the Roman part of this island was called by the successors of Theodosius, ordered publicorum operum ornamenta servari, but sacrifices to be nowhere permitted. An immediately succeeding edict commanded the entire demolition of *rural* temples. But the rescript of Honorius and Theodosius II. for the demolition of all simulacra whatsoever, whether in town or country, was not published till some time after the final separation of this island from the Roman empire, by the formal abdication of Honorius. These documents^c account for the circumstances mentioned by Gildas.

But the Druidists or Neo-Druids dissembled and ostensibly abandoned the practice of idol-worship. Their veneration of images was concealed in various ways. It was either confined to secret places, like that of Christ which the Carpocratians kept, that of the Templars who adored Baphometus, and of the more recent sect who adored the head of Nembroth. Or, it was disguised under the somewhat different shape of a magic talisman, such as the Drem Dremrudd (or visage of the red-visaged) and the Red Dragon, that were woven upon the enchanted banner of the Mael-Derw. If the concealed head of Bran ap Llyr was analogous to those of Baphomet and Nembroth, the disclosure of Bran's head by Arthur may lead us to think that the Britons were more open idolators in his days than in the earlier epochs of their apostasy. Probably these fanatics were rather^d *Imaginaries* than simple idolators; that is to say, their images were really informed with a spirit of Python by magical compact, or so artfully placed and constructed as to seem to give effata and perform other false miracles, and were not

^c Gothofred. de Statu Paganorum, tit. xix. p. 27.

^d See Johan. Sarisb. Polycrat. l. c. 12. Gul. Alvern. de Leg. p. 64.

merely the similitudes forbidden in the second commandment, but apparently the* tenements of an indwelling spirit. We should know more, could we anywhere find and dig out their "*specum Mithræ et omnia portentosa simulacra.*"

18. The Neo-Platonists or syncretists, who in a manner revived the Pythagorical union, were of equal date with the Neo-Magi of Artaxares son of Sassan. Then the Mithriac heresy took its grand start, and struck roots which have never been extirpated, and probably never will be till all hidden things are brought forth to judgment. The Sun, displacing Mercury from his old superiority over Apollo, became the Gwledig, or national deity, of nascent Druidism. Mithras (Melyn) was the son of Oromazdes (Cynvelyn), of the æther, "*sublime candens,*" quintessentia, or super-elemental fire. The Polyhistor of Solinus mentions perpetual fires in the temples of Minerva in Britain, but as that author informs us in the same breath that those fires *went out* from time to time it is hard to say wherein their perpetuity consisted; "*in cujus æde perpetui ignes numquam canescunt in favillas, sed ubi ignis tabuit vertit in globos saxeos.*" Hector Boethius informs us that the fire of dignity was carried before the chief-priest of the Gael, when their college was established in Man; and, though that statement bears a fabulous date, it is really illustrative of the times subsequent to the Roman conquest if not to the departure of the Romans. Fire-worship was of the essence of Neo-Druidism; and in it, as in Magianism, and in Neo-Magianism, a horse was the symbol of that sublime substance. Afaon son of Taliesin wrote a† Song of Horses, from the remains of

* Such was the idolatry of the Ammonian Neo-Pythagorics, as taught by Iamblichus of Chalcis. See Photius cod. 215.

† Solin. c. 22.

‡ Arch. Myyr. l. 43.

which it is apparent that the horses are mystical or allegorical, and connected with pyrolatry.

SONG OF THE HORSES.

Inimitably bursts forth
 The vehement *fast-speeding*^b fire.
 Him we worship, above the earth.
 The fire! the fire! fierce his dawning,
 High above the bard's inspiration,
 Higher than every element.
 The^c great one is unequal to him.
 No loiterer in warfare, no more than at the wedding feast of Llyr.
 To the course of the sea shall be compared
 Thy rage in^d the chief-oracular-sanctuary.
 Thy fair dawning opposes the gloom.
 At every equalization,
 At the changes of the equalization,^e
 At these four seasons, I Avaon
 Will extol the ardent judge,
 Mighty in tumult, of deep wrath.
 Not timid is my hero, though grey
 As the froth on the Clyde.
 Mysterious are my^m two friends.
 There shall come a wrath of profuse fury
 From my hand to thy hand,
 A day cementing nothing.ⁿ
 A ninefold protection

^b Literally, *fast-trotting*.

^c The Sun.

^d Cyn-cbyr, the cbyr Henvelen or Stone-Hengest; the famous banquet at which place is the wedding-feast of Llyr. See Brit. A. R. p. 45. The fire-horse is here extolled for the havoc he made of the Saxons; but the Triads reproach him for his tardiness on that occasion, as the march malaen or snail-paced horse. Tr. 11.

^e At the equinoxes and the solstices.

^m Cyn-Velyn and Melyn, Ormuzd and Mithras.

ⁿ Dydd dwb dim. A day when the cerdd cyvrenad, cemented stone-work, of the bardic union shall be dissolved.

Will be the return in old age
 Of the horse of the field
 [The horse ° of the maiden,
 The horse of Caradoc]
 Qualified to advance,^p
 The horse of the fierce one,
 The horse of the prohibitor,
 The horse of Arthur,
 Bold in bestowing care;
 The horse of Taliesin,
 The horse of the half-tamed lion,
 The utterance of the gloomy grove;
 And the fiery horse of the chiefs,
 Cornan the contentious
 Eager in his eagerness.
 And the three with forked hoofs
 Do they not run a productive course?
 Terrific the horse of Ceidio
 (Who is under the horn of injustice)
 Shelter'd by the party coloured^q shield,
 The prancing courser.
 Very wrathful is Rhydderch's horse
 Grey of the colour of pears,
 And^r Llamrhai the fully animated,
 And the horse of Saturninus^s
 Bearing high his snorting nostrils,
 And the horse of Constantine,

* Cited by Davies Myth. 611. as if they occurred in this place, but not in the published text.

^p Or, to promote the general advantage.

^q Cornan carried the chiefs to the fire-mysteries of Gwenddoleu. He was Ceidio's son, and was protected with great zeal by the Picts. Their protection is the ysgwyddwrth.

^r i. e. with radiating steps or strides. Said to have been king Arthur's mare.

^s Father of Morgant prince of Cumbria, who compassed the death of Urien.

And others of mysterious virtue
 Against the affliction of the land.
 This is ancient, good to produce,
 A tale that is brought from long ago :
 I have been a ploughshare, I have been a buck, .
 I have been a sage, I have been a ploughshare,
 I have been a horn, I have been a wild hog,
 I have been a shout in a gap,
 I have been a flood on the garths,
 I have been one of the shoreless waves,
 I have remember'd the drippings of the deluge,
 I have been a cat with a spotted head upon the triple tree,
 I have been afar off, I have been the head
 Of a goat upon an elder tree,
 I have been a full-fed crane to behold,
 A beast of most ardent aspect. How clear
 They preserved the best lineage
 That there is under the sky !
 After the hateful men
 There survives not a vast quantity of my heroes
 Cœtera desiderantur.

I have before said, and an examination of the Gorchan Cynvelyn will
 shew, that the fire Cynvelyn is the gwarchan (i. e. talisman, thing "of
 mysterious virtue against the afflictions of the land") of that deity.
 Merddin in his Dialogue with Taliesin says,

Seven fires of the essential-fire
 Are seven opposing battles,
 The seventh is Cynvelyn
 For every front station.

This fire (being the æther or luminous firmament) was distinguished
 from elemental fire and the golden sun by its candour and paleness,
 wherefore it is above said to be as grey as froth, and Heilyn, the æthe-
 rial Jove, is invoked as "the driver of the pale horses, the royal,

the ancient;" and that is the solution of Taliesin's lines in Cad Goddeu,

Than six *yellow* horses
A hundred times better is
My *pale-yellow* horse
As swift as the sea-mew.

But this doctrine, of the six fires with a seventh superior to all, actually brings us home to the Neo-Magi of the east. Behram was¹ the name given by the Neo-Magi and Ghebers to their god of war, and the fire of Behram was the seventh of the seven fires; and in the fire of Behram are united (according to the Zendavesta) all the seven fires of the world. So in the Mithriac doctrine of the seven gates, the gate of Mars was a fusion or mixture of all the metals. It is quite impossible not to recognize the fire of Behram in that of Cynvelyn, and Neo-Magianism in the Neo-Druidic veneration of fire. Behram was styled² both "the horse" and "the rider of the horse;" and both of those epithets were likewise applied to Mithras. That is, why the mysterious grave of Arthur is termed "the grave of the horse;" why the insults offered to the tutelary power of the Stonehenge are called (in the Talisman of Stones) "an injury to the war-horse;" and why the alchemical Midas of Cornwall had horse's ears, was named *March ap Meirchion* (horse son of horses,) and had the white-maned mare (*Fyngwen*) for his wife. The nine triads of horses, viz: horse-load-bearers, gift horses, chief steeds, robber horses, adulterous horses, lively steeds, *mound horses*, running horses, and battle horses, bear the stamp of mysticism and fable, but are not worth transcribing; one of the most singular names

¹ Behram means victor. This was the "angel Victor" who appeared to Patrick in the shape of fire and in a burning bush.

² Zendavesta, 2. 206. 212. 292. G. Pisides Herac. 1. 24.

in them is Rhuddvron Tuth-bleidd, the Red-breasted Trotting Wolt. Merddin's lines immediately previous to his mention of the seven fires of Cynvelyn are as follows,

The seven sons of Eliffer
Are seven mighty ones when proved,
Their seven spears are no skulkers
At their seven posts.

Those seven sons of Eliffer had one horse in common (like Bayard, horse of les quatre fils Aymon) by name Cornan; and Cornan bore upon² his back four persons, two sons of Eliffer, Dunawd son of Pabo, and Cynvelyn³ *Drws-cyl*, to visit the pyre of Gwenddolen ap Ceidio, after the overcad of Arderydd. Now, *Drws-cyl* signifies *door of the furnace*, and the epithet, as it is here used, implies that Cynvelyn, as hierophant of the mysteries of fire, admitted the sons of Eliffer and Pabo to them. Cornan is, above, commemorated in the song of the horses. The nine persons who accompanied the elder Merddin, otherwise called Aurelius Ambrosius, when he sailed away in his house of glass, were the nine *cylveirdd*, i. e. bards of the furnace. It may be observed that Owain ap Einion, one of the very early Cynethian

² Triads of Horses, l. p. 20. Cornan was one of the three horses who bore the three horse-loads by the sea-side. The others were, 1st, the horse of Elidir the Courteous, who carried on his back $7\frac{1}{2}$ persons from Elidir's flat head-stone in the north to Elidir's flat head-stone in Mona, and the seven persons were Elidir and Burgain his wife, daughter of Maelgwn Gwynedd, and Gwyndda the Carouser, and Gwyndda the Spearman, and the monk Nawmod the Councillor, and Prydelw the butler, and Arianvagyl his servant, and the half person was Celbenevin his cook, who swam with his hands on the horse's crupper. And 2nd, Hald the horse of Gwrthmwl Wledig, who bore Gwair and Glais and Arthanad when they went against the hill of Maelwg in Cardigan to avenge their father.

³ So spelt; and not *trws-gyl*, the bungler. Nor was he ever considered a bungler, but one of the most consummate tacticians the country ever produced; see Triad 71.

princes of N. Wales, had the surname of Danwyn, i. e. Owen of the Bright Fire, while an inscription of the 7th or 8th century styles him Aivinus *Odinus*, i. e. of the *Furnace*. The following passage of the *Priv Gyvarch*,

*Before the fire to praise thee is my diversion,
O royal king of glory, whom I salute in my art,*

and this from the *Meib Llyr*,

Perfect is my cathedra in the Caer Sidi,

Three utterances round the fire shall be sung before it,

will illustrate the above remarks. The sacred fires kept by the Magi and Neo-Druids were probably obtained from the sun by a lens, from lightning, or by other such unusual means as might minister to superstition.

19. Kine rank next (if second to any) among the sacred and symbolical animals of the sect. That symbol pervaded all heathendom, and is thought to have originated in the form of the Cherubim who were the door-keepers of paradise. With respect to the Druidists, I apprehend that, as their horse was ætherial, igneous, solar, and of the male energy, their mare *Eassyllt Fyngwen* * (daughter of the Narrow Extension, and wife to the Horse of Horses) was lunar, terrene, and of the female capacity. It was the like with their bull and cow; but the cow was their chief and favourite symbol of feminine divinity.

Gervas of Tilbury, in a remarkable passage, relates the aphanism of Arthur and the annual healing of his wound; yet he does not term the island of his sojourn *Avallon*, but the isle of *Damalis*, i. e. of the Heifer. *Morgana*, chief of the nine *Gallicenæ* and Arthur's sister, to

* See Brit. A. R. p. 111. and the note *ibid*.

whom that island belonged, was herself that Damalis. Taliesin's Cad Goddeu has these lines to our purpose,

Brychwn trym ddieu.	The speckled one is energetic indeed.
Dyar gardei bun,	May the fair one banish clamour,
Buddiant buch anhun,	The cow vigilant for good,
Blaen blin, blaen bun.	Chief of tumult, chief of fair ones!
Tarddei, a'm atgun.	May she burst forth, again loving towards me!

Of St. Elian the Wanderer, a sanguinary mock-saint of the expiring 5th century, it is recorded in ancient verse that

Elian wrought affliction unto many*
In his fury for his cow and her calf;

and this, I suppose, is not said in literal sense. Dr. Owen observed that *henvon*, a milch cow, was a word used in the "bardic theology;" and, in his habitual way, translated it in one place "cow of renovation" and in another "cow of progression," whereas it expresses nothing more or less than "old cow." Two old proverbs clearly relate to the bardic theology of the *henvon*. "Every man to the tail of his milch cow." "Whoso owns a milch cow, let him firmly attach himself to her tail." It is a known superstition of the Hindoos, at the approach of death, to attach themselves to a cow's tail; a disgusting ceremony, of which it is needless to detail the particulars. There is a Triad of Cows, entitled the Chief Cows of Britain; and they were *Brech* (speckled) the cow of Maelgwn Gwynedd, *Ton-llwyd* (grey-wave) the cow of the sons of Eliffer Gosgorddvawr, and *Cornillo* the cow of Llawvrodedd Varvawg. Let us observe that the seven sons of Eliffer, who had one mysterious horse between them, had also one cow. The sanctuary of the Goddess bore an analogous title. A poem called "the Cow-yard of the Bards" has these lines,

* MS. Ode cit. Rowland's Mona, p. 163.

The cow-yard of the bards, he who knows it not,
On him shall be fifteen thousand
Visiting him with affliction ;

and one of the middle period, by Iolo Goch bard of Owen Glendower, styles the court and residence of that chief the buarth beirdd or cow-yard of the bards. Arthur's isle of the heifer^b seems to be termed his cow-pen, in the song composed

Am gwr deu awdwr,		Concerning the hero with two authors,
O echen lladdwr,		Of the generation of the slayer,
A'i vonsai, a'i vur, etc.		And his cow-pen, and his rampart, etc.

And in the Praise of Lludd it is said,

Hebeppa, hebhenvonva,		Without the ape, and the milch-cow's stall,
Heb ovur byd,		Without the incomplete-wall of the world,
Byd a vydd difaith.		The world will become desolate.

It is remarkable that, in the Triads of Horses, one of the three robber horses is named Buches-llan, i. e. the enclosure (or the sanctuary) of milch cows. The assembly at the great sanctuary, which met there for some solemn purpose after the massacre by Hengist, is styled by Meigant

The speckled-headed host from^c Cadvan's cow-pen.

In the male gender and representing the war-god and what to him appertains, we meet with the Tarw Trin or Bull of Battle, styled teyrn byd or king of the world. He was avowedly the Spirit of the Sun, the god Mithras ; for he was "the bull of conflict. . . the bright elevated lamp, pervader of heaven." The greater Song of Graves in stanza 7. mentions that of "the Bull of Conflict (Tarw Torment) in the

^b Môn, the name of Anglesca, has no meaning whatever, in Welsh, except a cow. But in Gaelic muin contracted m'on is a mountain.

^c Cadvan, patron of war, a mock-saint, if not a canonized god.

monument of the circle of the mount," y mynwent cor-bre, and in stanza 69 that of the Tarw Trin "upon the height yonder." The Songs of Graves are filled with imaginary sepultures of divine or mythological beings that never lived or died; such is the first, and probably ⁴ the second, of the above cited englynion. The spirit of war was the bull of battle, and combatants were bulls of battle. It is almost a commonplace. To this superstition and phraseology I have referred the calf title of Lloegyr (staggering, or scampering, calf) applied to the Latin country between Humber, Severn, and the two seas, after the decline of the Roman power. Three British chiefs form a triad of bulls of battle. There were also three goblin (or dæmon) bulls, and three bards were bull monarchs. As Mithras was both horse and horseman (and Arthur, both sword and swordsman) so Hu the Battle-Mighty (himself the Tarw Trin, the spirit of the sun, and the chief of the elements) was the driver of the two Conspicuous Oxen, who dragged the flood-producing monster out of the Lake of the Floods, and were harnessed with the lightnings of heaven. To this topic also belongs the triad of the chief oxen of Britain; who were Melyn Gwanwyn (the Vernal Yellow, or *Belenus* at the vernal equinox), and Gwinau (the bay, or reddish brown) oxen of Gwlwllwyd, and thirdly, the ych brych bras ei benrhwy or "spotted ox with the thick head-band," which are words taken out of Preiddeu Annwvn. And equally so, the triad of herdsmen of the tribes of Britain, viz. Benrhen herdsman of Caradoc son of Bran, Gwydion ap Don herdsman of North Wales, and Llawvrodded

⁴ The concluding words, "Mercy on him!" furnish no sound argument to the contrary. It is the language of an age either forced to dissemble, or beginning to waver and believing in false gods but mistrusting their supremacy. There are parallel instances of that language in the Dialogue with Ellwlad, the Dirge of Ercwlf, and the initiation of Alexander Mawr.

• Brit. A. R. p. lxxxi.

herdsman^f of Nudd Hael; and each of the three herds consisted^z of 21,000 milch cows! Here the mysticism is conspicuous in the mention of the mythical Gwydion, the British Hermes; not to repeat that Caradoc ap Bran is equally mythical, though under an historical pretext.

20. Thus far, the symbols borrowed from animal nature are matters of common learning, which it would be equally easy and useless to encumber with a parade of instances. But the case is different with the raven. I have formerly^h observed upon that bird, and the proper names derived from it, as of pre-eminent sanctity in the language of the art bardic. Bran ap Llyr (the raven, son of the sea) was the owner of the cauldron of regeneration; and his head was the secret palladium of Britannia, which he himself bequeathed for that use, which Owain ap Maxim consecrated, and which Arthur with fatal rashness revealed to the public gaze. Those by whom the nature of the name Arthur is appreciated will understand that in revealing Bran's head he revealedⁱ his own; by the ministers of the septem-trional mysteries too boldly shewing what they worshipped and how. Ceridwen (goddess of the cauldron, and wife of Tacitus) was mother of Mor-vran (sea-raven) a person unapproachably hideous. The bards assembled in their Cyn-ebyr or the Ebyr Hen-Velen, to feast with Vortigern, were sons of Llyr, i. e. brethren of Bran, ravens. Llyr, surnamed Llediaith or of the *Half-speech*, is the same person as *Tacitus* father of Mor-vran; and

^f Above cited, as owner of the cow Cornillo.

^z The digits of this imaginary number give the real number, 3.

^h Brit. A. R. pp. 49, 54. 191, 2. 210. 216.

ⁱ Cervantes says it was an ancient and received tradition in Britain that Arthur was turned by enchantment into a crow, and in process of time shall return to reign; and that ever since, the bird had been held sacred in this island. See Don Quix. book 2. c. 5.

that feast is called the wedding-feast of^k Llyr in mystic allusion to the marriage of Ceridwen. If we listen to the "endless genealogies" we shall find that this Llyr had a grandfather Ceri the Tall (alias, Ceri Long-sword) of the White Lake, for whom his bard *Corvinnwr* (vir Corvinus, the Raven man) built the first ship; the word Ceri, we have observed, is the root of Ceridwen. A feast proverbial among bards for splendour and bloody violence (the same feast, beyond rational doubt) was that of Mor-vran. When the Ambrosian prophecies should come to pass, all bards were to appear before the son of Bran, their patron; and the secret methods of their discourse were styled "the motley jargon of the raven." One of the most ancient, Sir Catwg the Wise, Taliesin's preceptor, has left a poem called the Sayings of the Raven. The trampling of the Arderydd persecutions, in which the Culdees raged against the bards, is said to have^l been "over and over the only-wise Bran with^m Cel-gan;" that is, over the doctrine of the Raven with the mysterious-song. The dream of Gruffydd ap Adamⁿ relates, I rather believe, to the overcad of Arderydd; at any rate, it contains a passage in which the Cymmrû seems to be termed the Raven-land. I beheld, he says, Merlin prophesying, and red spears alluring the ravens with gore, and the Raven-land conquering, consuming Logres-land, and Bernicia abandoning it, and ravens destroying, and Angles trampled upon, etc: "a dovi *Brannwys*, a diva *Lloegrwys*, a gudo *Brynaich*," etc. To this head we must refer the perpetual, nauseous, and almost unaccountable recurrence to the glutting of ravens with human flesh.

^k Above, p. 106.

The policy of Maximus was an exhaustion of the country,

A grievous oppression, beyond that of Llyr at Henvelen.

Mawrdraws drais, tra Llyr Henvelen.—*Cynddelw*, p. 228.

^l Dial. of Merddin with Taliesin.

^m Or El-gan, i. e. the spirit of song.

ⁿ *Y Greal*, etc. p. 344.

The raven was a symbol of the dæmon of war, the sword was the knife of the sacrifice, and the field of carnage his altar. The earliest-fabled king Beli was the brother of king Bran; and both were children of Dyvnwal Moelmud the great law-giver of bardism, whose disciples were bards of Beli and bards of Bran. The peculiar sanctity of that unclean bird is a characteristic of the Mithriac^o heresy, properly so called. Its ministers were termed the Coraces and Hierocoraces, Ravens, and Sacred-Ravens; and the system itself, the Coracina and Hierocoracica Sacra, sacred rites or sacrifices of the raven. In the various bas-reliefs that exhibit Mithras sacrificing the bull, a raven is always represented as present and watching his procedure. Aneurin seems to allude to the coracine immolation of the bull, in one of the three minor Gododins.

° Bull of rapine!
 I bewail the death of thee
 (Who wert^q fond of tranquillity)
 On the shore of the sea overweening in its humour
 And near the battle-pool in the raven's antediluvian place.
 There came a wave
 From the middle-places
 Turning the world awry,
 Which did deny
 To the people of the land
 The use of their feet.

^o S. Hieronym. ad Lantam, l. f. 19. Paris, 1546. S. Ambros. in Paul. Rom. Op. Tum. 5. p. 174. Porph. de Abst. iv. c. 10. Montfaucon, 2. p. 17.

^p Arch. Myv. l. 21. Camhwrawg, taking unjustly. Bull of the *Cymnery*!

^q This contradiction frequently recurs. We lately saw the speckled cow praised as the "banisher of clamour," and the next moment as the "chief of tumult." So the tarw trin, the bull of combat and rapine, is a lover of quiet. The secret of it is, that the objects of the war-priests of Beli were often marred by the intestine brawls and discords of a people whom they had themselves goaded into a frenzy of ferociousness

The allusions to the sea and to the out-break of the flood leave no doubt that the raven of Genesis is mixt up in these gloomy fancies, and held up to veneration on the antithetical scheme of the Marcionites, Ophites, and others. Nothing more clearly identifies Neo-Druidism with the initia of Mithras than its hierocoracic rites.

21. Neo-Druidism exhibits a striking peculiarity in its signal veneration of swine; the abomination of Israel, and one of the least honoured of the creation either as an object of symbolical worship, or as a beast of pagan sacrifice. In Britannia after the time of the Romans, it was otherwise; and there the family of Marcus Grunnius Porcellus was indeed of patrician dignity. The deity that was chiefly worshipped, the solar spirit, was a boar or hog; the chief goddess was a sow; the spirits or dæmons were pigs, and so were the adepts initiated in the occult doctrines and practices; and, perhaps, those of inferior initiation were little pigs.

At the head of this class stands Twrc³ Trwyth, i. e. Perrumpent or Prorumpent Hog (son to king Taredd, i. e. the Pervader), who seems to be the dæmon of solar fire, Melyn mab Cyn-Velyn. In the Gorchan Cynvelyn, his gwarchan or talisman (being the sacred fire) is styled

The clasp of the golden chain of Twrc Trwyth.

and therefore they were induced to allp in some hints of a pacific nature. Our God (they said) desires at your hands such mutual harmony as produces unity of action, without which you can effect but little, and his ravens will be scantily fed.

rustica Phidyle
Si thure placaris et hornâ
Frugo lares avidâque porci
Nam quæ nivali pascitur Alcido
Aut crescit Albanis in hortis
Victima, pontificum escæres
Cervice tinget.

³ See E. Lloyd Cornish Grammar, p. 236. Owen Dict. in *Trwyth* and in *Twrc*.

Llywarch Hen refers to the porcine character of this personage, by saying,

In necessity Twrc himself will crack pig-nuts,
and to his igneous character, by saying of the burning of Cyuddylan's palace "Twrc penetrated through his head." It is or was a custom on All Saints' day styled the Kalends of Winter, for persons to approach the 'coelcerth or omen-fire and fling a stone into it; and then to fly precipitately for fear of being caught by the hwch ddu gwta, the black short-tailed pig, who (as they supposed) was pursuing them. The *ma-binogi* of Culhwch is sometimes entitled the History of Twrc Trwyth, and Twrc is there represented as the leader of a herd of swine; the name Culhwch signifies the lean pig. The Ambrosian prophecies, designate Arthur as the wild boar of Cornwall; and under that designation, and as revealer of Bran's head, the *Canu y Cwrwv* alludes to him,

Ev gobryn ^a carawg	The wild boar it is who deserves
Cymmry carneddawg	The stone-piled Cymmr
Y tat Caradawg.	Of the father of Caradoc.

The following verses of the *Cad Goddeu* are in a loftier strain,

When I shall come to the grass-plat of the boar,
He shall explain, and again render inexplicable,
He again shall explain the languages,
Radianee is his name, the strong-handed;
Of the hue of light his numbers
Sprinkle themselves in the furnace;

^a Y Greal, p. 123.

^a The ancient name *Caractacus* (which subsequent contrivance has endeavoured to Celtify from the Latin into the unanalogous essentially dissimilar word *Caradoc*, *Amabills*) exhibits plainly enough the British words spelt *carawg* teg now, but some years back, *caroc* tec, *aper* pulcher.

and they are interesting, as they not merely allude to foolish allegories, but to some dark transactions and ingenious operations of magic or imposture. But the longest flight of porcine mysticism is the triad of Sturdy Swineberds. "The first was Pryderi (Meditation), son to Pwyll * Pendaran (Intellect with the Thunderous Head) the Demetian, who kept his father's swine for him while he was down in Annwvn (the infernal regions), and he kept them in the Glyn Cwch in Emlyn. The second was Coll son of Collvrewi who kept the sow of † Dallwran Dallben (Blind Authority with a Blind-Head) that went burrowing under ground to Penrhyn ‡ Penwedig in Cornwall, and then she went into the sea, and the place she landed at was Aber-Tarogi in Gwent Is-coed. And Coll ap Collvrewi held her fast by her bristles wherever she went by land or sea. And in the Maes Gwenith (Wheat Field) she deposited three wheat grains and three bees; and therefore the best wheat and honey are in Gwent. She walked on to Dyved, and deposited a barley grain and a little pig; and therefore the best barley and pigs are in Dyved. And in Llonnio Llonwen she deposited spears. After that she walked on to Arvon, and in Lleyen she deposited a grain of rye; and therefore the best rye is in Lleyen and Eivionydd. On the borders of Rhiwgyverthwch she deposited a wolf's cub and an eagle's pullet. And she caused the eagle to be given to the Gwyddelian •

* The 2nd series (which contains this triad in a shorter form) makes Pendaran foster father to Pryderi mab Pwyll, and of course distinct from Pwyll.

† A pregnant sow by name Hen-wen (the Old Lady) concerning whom there was a prophecy that her litter would produce evil to Britain. And Arthur assembled his army to destroy her. And then the sow went burrowing, etc. 2nd series. From the exoteric and popular custom of treating Arthur as a real, historical, virtuous, and (in the ordinary sense) Christian king, it arises that Arthur is sometimes mentioned as opposed to Arthurism. Not so Belenus, Hu, Ceridwen, etc. for those names have not such a pseudo-historical character as the Brudists have conferred on his.

‡ Penrhyn Austin, 2nd series.

• To Breat prince of the North, 2nd series.

Brynach of the Dinas Faraon (sanctuary of the Spirits) and she gave the wolf to Men-waed (bloody-minded) Lord of Arllechwedd; and much mention ^b is made of the eagle of Brynach and the wolf of Men-waed. Thence she went to the black rock in Arvon, where she deposited a kitten, and Coll ap Collvrewi flung it into the Menai; and this was the glossy-coated cat which afterwards became a molestation to the isle of Mona. The third swineherd was Trystan ap Tallwch who kept the pigs of March ap Meirchion, while his swineherd was gone on an errand to Essyllt to ask an assignation with her. And Arthur, Marchell, Cai, and Bedwyr were the four who repeatedly endeavoured, but were not able, to get so much as one pig from them, either by gift, or purchase, or stratagem, or violence, or theft. Therefore they were called the sturdy swineherds, since it was not possible to get the better of them, or conquer them, as to one of the pigs they kept; but they restored them with their whole increase to their owners." The history of Pwyll, who reigned for one year in Annwvn, (and perhaps of Pryderi) is contained in a mabinogi, of which the Cambro-Briton (vol. 2) furnishes a garbled extract; several portions of it "not absolutely essential" being omitted "for reasons which need not be explained." It may however ^c be collected from other sources, that Pwyll prince of Dyved obtained pigs, animals previously unknown, from Arawn king of hell or the regions of Annwvn, and that Gwydion ap Don contrived to procure some of them and convey them away into Gwynedd. We shall hereafter advert to the adventures of one of those symbolical swine. That Henwen, the all-productive sow, is a character of Cerid-

^b The eagle of Dinas Faraon in Snowdon is, no doubt, the famous Eryr Eryri, or Eagle of Snowdon, who sits on its highest rock screaming for battle and whetting his beak for the carnage.

^c See the Mabinogi of Math ap Mathonwy in Camb. Mag. vol. 1.

wen (*Lady-of-Grain*), the goddess of nature, can hardly be mistaken or doubted; and the blind-ruler with the blind head, to whom she belonged, reminds us of Morda the blind to whom the heating of Ceridwen's furnace was entrusted. Her fable acquaints us with the spirit and character of her mysteries; for her benefactions in grain, bees, etc. are merely *natural* and no more than that which "fundit humo justissima tellus," while her *moral* attributes are those of a bloody Bellona or Hecate, typified in the wolf, the eagle, the cat, and the spears. We possess a remarkable porcine history of the foundation of the British sanctuary and "perpetual^d choir" of Ynys Avallon, Ynys Wydrin, or Bangor Wydrin; but it comes somewhat disfigured, through Saxon channels. One * *Glasteing* (for they were not aware that Glas-ton is a mere translation of *Caer Wydrin*) the youngest of twelve brothers had a sow with eight feet, and he followed her, along a track called (on that account) the Sugewege or Scrofae Via, to the town of Wells, and from thence on to a certain apple tree, under which he found her suckling her pigs. At this apple tree, called the caldcyrcenes epple or old-church apple, he founded Glastonbury abbey. The names of his eleven brothers are all either Welsh or Gaelic; and we may flatter ourselves with having traced the sow of Coll into the sanctuary. Of Merddin Wyllys' two famous poems composed in an ancient and probably Pictish or half-Pictish dialect, the Avallenau contains and the interpolated Hoianau is quite full of this imagery. The members of the sect are styled pigs and little pigs, which phrases indicate initiates of different degree. *In what capacity* the men of Merddin's connexion were pigs is not made to appear; but it does appear not to have been as prophets, preachers, songsters, or otherwise in respect of the oral functions of bardism, for

^d See Triad 84.

* Gul. Malma. Eccl. Glaston. p. 295.

in such respects the same poems characterize them as birds, and the foreign preachers from Ireland, (who were in crusade against Merddin) as sea-birds. The Song of Apple Trees has this exclamation,

Hoian borchellan pwyllud di hun,
Andaw di adar divyr yn eu hymeu tun,
Give ear, little pig, bethink thyself,
Attend to thy birds, vivid in the tone of their hymns !

The following are genuine samples from the Hoianau,

Give ear, little pig, and pig having knowledge,
Burrow not, in thy impulsive course, on the mountain's head !
Burrow in a secret place in the neighbouring woodlands,
Which Rhydderch Hael, leader of the faith, hath not search'd out.

Give ear, little pig, listen to the music
Which the birds make near Caer Rheon !

Give ear, little pig, strong of arm,
Hearken to the notes of the sea-birds, great their clamour,
Out-door songsters with no portion of dignity, *etc.*

The bardic faction did not altogether abandon their porcine style and title, till the fall of Llewelyn ap Gruffudd gave the death-blow to Celtic independence, and brought upon them the persecution immortalized by Gray. For shortly before that catastrophe we find the poet Llywarch ap Llewelyn assuming to himself the title (by which he was as well known as by his own name) of Prydydd y Moch, *Poet of the Pigs*. Since that time, I rather believe this enigma, indecorous in its wording, if not in its[†] solution, has been banished from poetry into the Mabino-

[†] We have not yet laid the foundations for attempting any conjecture on that subject. The name moch, one of the various Welsh names for swine, was especially bestowed upon them, and for the first time, by Gwydion ap Don. That intimates, that the word moch furnishes some allusion or analogy to the mystic meaning. How, is more than I discern.

gion. It deserves to be remarked, that the sow of Dallwran and Coll and likewise the pigs of Merddin Wyllt possess an attribute belonging neither to wild nor domestic swine, but obviously typical of secret societies and Masonic occultation, viz : that of burrowing under ground to avoid pursuit.

22. Little as the porcine mysteries may seem suited to a Judaizing mind, it is no less true that the Druidists devoted themselves to the cabala of the Rabbins and to various errors of Judaism in its degradation, though without any tinge of its purer theism and sublime devotion. The metrical Hanes Taliesin says, " I have^c been in the city of the grave of the Lord *Tetragrammaton*." But the Tetragrammaton signified the ineffable name Jehovah, according to the superstition of the cabalists. Although in Druidizing they retained the use of that word, which means the four letters, they adapted that Jewish fantasy to their own of making triads, and^b taught that the three letters O I W formed the unutterable name of God. O was uttered when the world commenced, I is the continuing sound by which all things remain as they are, and W is the future consummation of happiness and approximation to the Deity. The chief of bards may have alluded to some such gibberish when he said (in his Angar Cyvundawd)

My sentiments are to be discoursed of
In Hebrew, in Hebraic ;
In Hebraic, in Hebrew,
Laudate dominum Iessu!

What distinction is intended by yn Evroeg, yn Evrai, I cannot tell ;

^c *Ml a vum ynghaer bedd Ion Tetragrammaton.*

^b *Cyvrinach y Beirdd* in notes to *Glyn Cothi*, p. 260. The name, when expanded into its meaning, would occupy twenty letters. See *ibid.* The Irish (as Vallancey somewhere mentions) used the same cabala and interpreted it as in the text above.

but perhaps he alludes to Cabalism, or the doctrine of the auditors of Moses, as distinguished from plain exoteric Judaism. An ancient manuscript (preserved in the Chateau de Vitre) attests, that at Nantes in Armorica its bishop Eumelius¹ destroyed the image of Boulianus, a god with three heads, seated on a globe, and inscribed with the three Greek letters ANΩ,² which were meant, singly, to characterize the beginning, middle, and end, while formed into a Greek word they signify what is exalted and celestial. There exists also an inscription at Nantes belonging to the times of the Empire,³ *numinibus Augustorum Deo Voliano M. Gemellus Secundus et C. Sedat. Florus Actor. Vican. Portensium C. M. locis stipe conlatâ posuerunt.* The next oldest record (if not as old) of the god Boulianus is in the verses of the poet Ausonius⁴ of Bordeaux.

Hoc si impetratum munus ab te accepero,
Prior colere quam Ceres;
Triptolemon olim, sive Epimenidem vocant,
Aut *Bulianum* Buzygen,
Tuo locabo postferendos numini.

The three Greek homonymes for the dæmon of war and agriculture at Eleusis are given⁵ by Servius, on the authority of Aristotle; but *Bulianus* is not a word of Greek formation, nor yet one of Latin signification, and is no where to be heard of but in Gaul, where Ausonius received it from his acquaintance the Apollinares Mystici. That cabalistic monster is the personage so often invoked in druidizing poetry by the name of trindawd or the triad. Finding him conjoined with Ceres, and identified with Triptolemus, and styled Buzyges or the yoker of

¹ Consecrated A. D. 537.

² Albert Le Grand, *Evesques de Nantes*, p. 6. Dom Martin, tom. 2. p. 8.

³ Lobineau *Hist. Bret.* 2. p. 2.

⁴ *Epist.* 22.

⁵ Serv. in *Geo.* 1. 19. Hesych. in *Buzyges*.

oxen, we are irresistibly reminded of Hu Gadarn, (whom the bards termed their concealed god) the husbandman who first ploughed the post-diluvian earth, and the yoker of the two ychain banawg, by whose aid he destroyed the evil genius of the llyn llion, or lake of the flood. Bw and bo are Celtic terms for a terror or portent (*terriculamentum*), and, thence, for a surveyor or governor of others to whom they look up with awe; and llion and liant signify a flood or deluge. Bw-liion or Bo-liion, Bw-liant or Bo-liant, signify the awful lord of the flood. And this I believe to be the solution of a name, for the orthography of which the Gaul Ausonius, a consummate scholar, and the friend of the Apollinars (if not secretly one himself), is a far better authority than the unknown^{*} Gemellus and Sedatus. Taliesin said there were *three utterances*, round the fire, and before the chair of dignity in the Caer Sidi; Meigant declares that there were uttered "*three words* round the three cauldrons of the three tribes;" and, in a triad of mythological beings called the illusory knights of Arthur, one was Menw ap *Teir-gwaedd*, Intellect son of the *Three Shouts*. The sister of Merlin the Wild is said to have delivered this effatum,

¶ When there shall be a cry of murder in the land of Constantine,
When broken shall be the rod of the people hemm'd up in their asylum,
Blessed his lips who, in the tearing which attends tumult,
Shall speak *three words of the old primeval language*.

We may therefore with all probability refer these words, utterances, and shouts, to the Hebrew cabala of the three mundane letters, past, present, and future, initial, continuing, and consummate. The memory

^{*} With respect to Volian it may possibly be the B in mutation. For W or WH, the Latin Vau, was ultimately changed into the modern pronunciation of V; and the universality of that change in the modern Latin, or Romance, tongues, argues that it must have been in vernacular and vulgar use before the classical tongue was extirpated.

¶ See Arch. Myv. i. p. 149.

of that superstition, among the head-worshipping Imaginarii, is preserved to us in the three utterances of Friar Bacon's brazen head. "The rod of the people," mentioned by Gwendydd, will appear to be the theurgic rod of Moses. The antique author of the Praise of Lludd judaizes in his exclamation, "Let us all unto Adonai, unto the field of apples!" and there is a stronger instance in the Divregwawd,

Most-high is his name in Hebrew,
Eli, Eloï, and Adonai, and O, and Alpha.

The book of the Greal (which the poet Guto of Glyn^a describes as

Llyvyr o greft yr holl vord-gron,
The book of the art of the whole Round-table)

deduces the Arthurian sword-magic and mystery of Excalibar from the sword of David^b king of Judah, which with his crown was preserved and destined to be conveyed in the magic ship of Solomon, and reappear "in a far other country and far distant time." That book indeed nearly insinuates, that the renewed British monarchy was a restoration of the theocracy of Judah. The Awdyl Vraith equally discloses, that Neo-druidic doctrine is a species of rabbinical cabalism.

There shall be made the perfect body
Of Christ son of Alpha.
The wafer is the flesh,
And the wine is the blood,
And the words of the Trinity
(Which consecrate them)

^a Cit. Cambro-Briton, 3. p. 302.

^b That, which in the Bruts and previously was the fable of Emmrys the Gwledig or Ambrosius the Aurelian, became under an ecclesiastical disguise the legend of David the champion saint. But I must reserve this matter, and abstain from ever-lengthening digressions.

Are the book of all occult science,
Which Raphael brought
From the hands of Emanuel,
And gave to Adam

In his old age
When he was above his gills
In the water of Jordan
While he was fasting.

Twelve youths
And four angels
Sent forth their voices
To the court of Eva,
To minister support
Against all severe tribulations,
When oppression prevail
Over Brutannia.*

Wine red as sinople
Is grown in the sun-shine ;
On a moonshine night is produced
The wine of Alpha.

Moses did receive,
Against urgent necessities,
The three rods
On the Sabbath day,

Solomon did receive
In the tower of Babylon
All the mysteries
Of the ark of covenant,
Greatly have I likewise received
In my bard-books
All the mysteries
Of the land of Europe.

* So spelt in allusion to Brutus the Trojan.

That the fortunes of Britain are here made to descend from the first woman Eve, will not surprise those who know the book of the Greal, and the mode in which David's sword and crown arrived in Britain; nor will it, that Moses is said to have *thres* rods. "The Wand of Moses" is the title of an antique poem, wanting its commencement, and divided into two by the editors, as if they were two fragments of a larger whole.

At every returning,	
The crowd of brethren	
He did meet with;	
A confessed gain	
To Christ the ^a sovereign	5
And a sufficing praise.	
Bright God did place	
In Mary's lap one like herself,	
The way of truth,	
Perfect in governance.	10
Marked with the indisputable	
Mark of Jesse,	
Thy people, Judah!	
He came to meet.	
He is called Hu, the lion	15
Of radiance imperfectly given	
By reason of their sins,	
Lord of the south,	
Mountain without fault,	
Mild bond of concord	50
In the partition of the country,	
In Solomon's temple	
The foundation of activity,	
Consecrated minister,	

^a Or "the Aurelian," Gwledig.

Pillar of tumult ¹	25
Fiercely flaming	
At the door of paradise,	
The chosen shepherd	
With the gift of sovereignty.	
Surely may be heard of	30
From the learned prophets	
The nativity of Jesus ;	
And surely came to an end	
The duration of his life ;	
And his life is	35
A life prepared for all his kingdom ;	
Ere it is prepared, be there of whatsoever I have composed	
dangerously	
A clear removal !	
The earth hath no respite,	
Precipitate over the sea	40
When descendeth	
Thy impetuosity,	
Owner of the land,	
No courteous conveyer !	
May there be to me verily	45
The amount of thy sufferings,	
And let be to me thy grace,	
The mark of Jesse,	
And the grace of Jesus,	
Bright their blossoms.	50
Very pure in his mind,	
Of the gifts of God	
He is the judge,	
The judge he is,	

¹ Here is Hu Gadarn, the Bardic Christ, the Mithras of the Britons and their shore-shielding Ercwlf, not merely wielding the fiery Cherubic sword, but being himself that sword, the horn of battle blazing in the gateway of Uffern, the "acute-edged form of Arthur." See Brit. A. R. p. 117, 8. *Paradisi janitrix romphæa*. Tertull.

Enchanter of the south,	55
Potent in counsel	
For all expedients against falsehood.	
He doth obtain	
The clear number of houses,	
Source of the armies of the south,	60
The mild appeased enchanter.	
Of the multitude of armies	
Hu will be the opponent, son of Mary.	
Praise the Lord,	
Hu the minister of aid	65
To whoso hath emerged from darkness,	
Whether lively, or imbecile.	
Thine ^a was the previous possession of the coeval perfect trees.	
Red are our ovens, quick the learning.	
Slain hath been a fair one from the lap of Jesus,	70
And may the King of children give him grace.	
Little attention to a new song	
Do mortals pay.	
True is His grace, minister of sustenance,	
Lord of utterance. ^b	75
Each exalted woman's praise hath been spun	
By some of the Druids;	
Of our Nurse they knew the mild ways;	
In visiting her Son	
They brought frankincense	80
And pure gold from Ethiopia.	
O God of destiny,	
O God of energy,	
King of the men of ^c Menai!	

^a Thou art he, whom the ancient Druids used to worship in the groves.

^b Hebwr, the same as pebyrwr; lord of the oracle, Henvelen of the Ebyr or Cyn-Ebyr. See above, p. 106.

^c Meneivon, the Menaivians or people of Mona on the Menai. So in the Cwrf, Ddear Meneivon, Ddear mynawg Môn.

Herod the cruel	85
Was no longer wrathful	
When in the gushing wave.	
Very grievous his mischance	
In the land of the Lord of children,	
When God came prepared, when irresistible,	90
To the chances of the Nile.	
What led Herod	
Into the winter of his passions	
Was the perfect lineage	
In Caer Nazareth.	95
The lord of song comes not to the country ;	
The world's evil course	
Hu ! is food to thy wrath.	
To the land of the noble retinues	
God's nativity brings the owner	100
Of the legion of angels.	
.	
And thou God, our May-father, ^a	
God the institutor,	
Wert a benign enchanter	
Very energetic,	105
When thou didst preserve	
Through the waves	
The multitudes of Moses,	
Pervading sovereign,	
Woe to his enemy !	110
(Hath he practised witchcraft	
Against the Creator and his host,	
Cursing in his fury?)	
And didst send into the sea	
His freshly-excited fury.	115
Truly he enticed him	
Through the raging waters	

^a Meiddad. Patron of our great festival of the Calanmai.

And the drowning and the noise,
 And caused the Sun to fail
 Till it was west of the earth. 120
 Thon didst preserve, and lovingly save
 Out of every prison,
 All but the violent multitudes.
 Their dawning was sad for their country ;
 And the refuge for us also 125
 From the unruly passions
 Of unmerciful hell
 Was unto God our May-father,
 God the institutor,
 The benign enchanter. 130
 Strong is thy land of heaven,
 Heavenly peace is joined
 To thee, *the Cery*.^a
 There is no over-shadowing,
 And there are no wants, 135
 To thy land, O God !
 There shall not be made,
 Nor shall there be, a foe to enter thy refuge.
 I have known,
 I have understood, the ford 140
 By which to avoid shame ;
 (viz.) Loving in earnest
 The sanctuary of the Trinity.
 If there be any artists who
 Like the ^bwind to come 145
 Near to the prophesy of bards,
 To all eternity
 They are but vile ones.

^a Perhaps it should be, *iti y Cell*. But see the Song of Graves, st. 7. and above, p. 100.

^b Publicity, a promulgation of its occult import. See above, p. 40. and the *Mar. Aeddon*, v. 25, 6.

Thou gavest Israel	
Into the hand of David.	150
Tho' Alexander may * have had greater	
Numbers of men under him,	
It was not his fortitude,	
But only that he had	
The favour of God.	155
When they went into the earth,	
Earth they became	
For all time to come.	
Solomon the judge	
Who received the land	160
Was better than them,	
The princely son.	
Riches were the usual portion	
Of his coadjutors	
The sons of Jacob,	165
And there were riches	
Over their country,	
Concerning which they agreed	
And made partition of them,	
Through the word of God.	170
Abel was innocent	
And was of the blessed ones	
That supported the faith.	
Cain his brother	
Was ungentle,	175
Evil his counsel,	
Starless, unlively	
In the sky resplendent	
With its company	
Of stellar angels	180
That will bring a numerous host	

* This is merely the Macedonian king; not the Alexander Mawr of bardism,
who is its Crist Cell.

Against his soldiers,
 And the wand of Moses,
 It, and its multitudes,
 Upon their country. 185
 Exceeding red its foliage
 Above the leaves of Eden.
 It will be among us
 Eloquent and mute,
 Learned and bold. 190
 Undegenerate is the plain
 Of the sovereign of the encompassing shelter.
 At one such shelter they earn eternity.
 I also will praise the dwelling
 Of the troops of the house of wisdom, 195
 I also will praise
 The supreme place called "the World" in the secondary
 sense of that word.
 The chief of the kingdom,
 Who conducted Jonas 200
 Out of the cetaceous^d entrails
 To the city of Nineveh,
 Was supremely glad
 That there had been preaching unto
 The ladies beyond the seas. 205
 It was eternal sleep
 He had been delivered from
 Near * Amasia.
 Mary daughter of Anne,
 Great was his penitence 210
 Thro' thy generosity
 And compassion,
 Vicegerent of the world !

^d Cyd, in this line, probably represents the Latin word cetus.

^e Not so very near. It is difficult to imagine how the name of this place crept in.

May we also be
 Into the heaven of the caers
 Admitted by thee.

215

In the *Wand of Moses* it may not only be observed that Hu is identified with Christ, but that Herod seems to be identified with Pharaoh and drowned, Christ with Moses and preserved in the river Nile, and the innocents of Bethlehem with the infants in Goshen. All these relate to some one thing, entirely different from their plain apparent meaning. The fusion of Christ with Moses (as one power or virtue, if not one person) and the transfer of both into Britannia appear also in the fabulous legend of Patricius the Cumbrian. The wand of Moses or its counterpart passed into the hands of Jesus of Nazareth, and was carried by him during his sojourn on earth, and Jesus delivered it to Patrick, who was thus empowered to work all manner of wonders as Moses had done, and became a second Moses not inferior to the first. The Judaism of the *Llath Moesen* or wand of Moses, the Christianity of the *Crist Celi*, and ' Neo-druidism all resolve themselves into one spiritual energy, viz: the art magic; and what that is or was seems to be very ill ascertained. The sanctuary of the *Trindawd* was no sooner named (c. 143) than the intimation was added, that the real meaning of those words was a secret never to be divulged. As to what is said of the *Llath Moesen* bearing foliage redder than the leaves in Eden,

Rhuddach ddalen
 Udd deill Aden,

that is the doctrine of the Saint Greal, afterwards (viz: in A. D. 717) embodied in the book of blasphemy and mystery which bears that name. The poem *Praise of the Men of Israel* proceeds to the identi-

¹ So Pliny used "the art magic" as a direct synonyme of *Druidism*. Above, p. 27.

fication of Jacob's twelve sons with the twelve apostles, for his twelve sons "nurselings of three mothers, by one man begotten," were those who "bore testimony of the mission of Jesus and had one fire." Thus combining both, they meant neither; for their twelve gwyr Israel and apostles were the twelve knights of the Saint Greal seated at the Arthurian table around the seat perilous. The *Plagues of Egypt* sounds like a Paschal poem, since it begins,

The Hebrew re-festival for the sons of Israel,
And the lofty imaginations
That attend upon it in numbers,
Are surely approaching,

and, in these words only does it mention the 10th plague, or that of the first-born,

The tenth, the fine night
Very blessed indeed
To the people of the tribes;

and if so, it illustrates the Quartodeciman Easter of the Neo-Druids. It is a very curious morsel. Its third plague is the gwydd-vedd, wood-sepulchre or sepulchral wood, introduced without any explanation, but of which more hereafter. To obtain a place for it, the third plague (of lice) is consolidated with the fourth of flies.

Pedwar (i Cewr	The fourth (to the Devil ^s
Am ystyr cwr)	The circumscription of his knowledge)
Edenogion;	Of winged insects;
Ail, cygnoes	And another such (that gnawed
Frwyth coed a maes	The fruit from trees and from fields
Cnwd, cylion.	The harvest) of flies.

That consolidation was not the whim or fancy of a single poet, but it was once a settled thing; insomuch that the fourth plague, though as

^s *Placau yr Aiphth. Arch. 1. p. 40. See Exod. c. 8, v. 18.*

distinct and single as any, is to this day styled the ^b *cymmysgbla*, the mixt or compound plague. That there once existed an express doctrine (and that a false one) concerning the two plagues, and its existence in such force as to imprint its form for ever on the language, are circumstances proving how important the secrets of the Mosaic wand were in the British doctrine, and that of the *gwydd-redd* in particular. The closing prayer in some sort avows that the people spoken of as Israelites and Egyptians were people then in existence, themselves in short and their adversaries;

Christ Jesu ! Christians are prostrate before thee,
Until are lodged in shelter
The six hundred thousand
Of the hunted Hebrews.

The prevalence of Hebrew and Arabic names in Post-Roman Britain or early Wales, such as Solomon, David, Nathan, Baruch, Idris, Samson, Iona, Simeon, Asher, Daniel, Ishmael, and Asaph, belongs to their Judaism; which, in some way or other, also gave rise to a peculiarity in their language, that they do not call 'circumcision' by any word expressing its nature or the idea of cutting, but *enwaidiad*, the giving of a name. I would fain know whether that occurs in any other language of the world.

The Mithriac heresy became conspicuous in Gaul in the 4th century, and obtained power in Britannia early in the 5th. Its Judaism is no unimportant or isolated fact, but connects itself with an extraordinary ferment of the Jewish nation, at variance with their antecedent and subsequent habits, and dissembled by their rabbins. In or about A. D. 354 a certain Patricius revolted against Constantius in Syria,

^b Exod. 8. 21. Psalm 78, v. 45. 105, v. 31.

^c Whether that be "the mark of Jesse" is more than I can say.

and, placing himself at the head of the Jews, was proclaimed sovereign by them, in *regni specie sublatus*. Two lines of Victor^k attest this extraordinary fact. Patricius seems to have been a Roman tyrannus, affecting the purple; and the Jews to have chosen a pagan adventurer for their king, and a Roman Cæsar to sit in the seat of David! The subsequent proceedings of Julian (who then was at Athens) furnish the best comment upon this passage.

Before his defection he had played a double hypocrisy, adoring the Galilæan whom he secretly despised, and denying in public the powers whom he secretly worshipped. He was by far the most eminent man that ever in Europe was avowedly and completely^l devoted to the *Sacra Mithriaca*; and we could suggest no æra so likely to have given them prevalency in Gaul and Britain, as the years of his government over those provinces. He did not live long enough openly to abolish the gods and religion of Rome, and establish by law the rites of Mithras and his periodical feasts. But in A. D. 361 he entered into treaty with the leading Jews^m to repair and adorn their city, and re-establish it as the capital of their nation. This he promised to accomplish after the termination of his Persian war. And he began to reconstruct the Temple with the declared intention of therein worshipping, conjointly with the Jews, that God to whom the new structure was dedicated (*τὸν ἐκ' ἀντρῶν κληθέντα θεόν*) whom he describes as the mighty one, the great one, and the demiurge. The Being whom he thus designates had, he says, "condescended to crown him with his own undefiled right-hand." This expression is not a mere absurdity, but an allusion to Mithras and

^k S. A. Victor de Cæsar. c. 42.

^l Julian, p. 130, 1, 2, 3. 143. 145. 155. 179, 3. 314. etc.

^m See Julian. Epist. ad Judæos, p. 398.

ⁿ Epist. ad Pontificem Gentilem, p. 296.

the Mithriaca. It describes the mysterious coronation of the soldier of^o Mithras by the god himself and his "obvia manus." His undertakings were checked by a well known occurrence, which he pronounced to be^p an apparition of the *Great Light* of Mithras to auspicate his work. The Jews beheld in it a token of divine wrath, and likened it to the romphaia or fiery sword of the cherubim; and the fathers of the Church took the same view of it. Modern rationalists ascribe it to ignited gas. It may also be conjectured, that Alypius and others, disgusted with his proceedings, arranged a pyrotechnical contrivance to deter him from them; or, rather that Julian himself, knave as well as fanatic, directed his magi and alchemists to exhibit the Great Light, and that an explosion full of mischief ensued from their want of skill. He certainly was much incensed at the consternation of the Jews, (who, as he says, "seeing the Great Light not clearly nor certainly, but as it were "through a cloud, and thinking it not to be pure light^q but fire, and "discerning nothing clearly that was round about them, cried aloud, "shudder! tremble! fire! flame! death! the sword! the romphaia! "using many words to denote one thing, viz. the destroying power of "fire") but he was not induced to desist. And his purpose was,^r on his return from Persia to Jerusalem, to gratify the Jews by a persecution of the Christians in the new amphitheatre he was erecting at Jeru-

^o See Tertullian de Coronâ, c. ult. and above, p. 79.

^p Julian. *ibid.* The Great Light was a technical term for some magical portent exhibited by the hierophants of Mithras, a sort of shechinah. The kings of Persia swore by it, and illuminati still dream of its appearance. See Plut. Vit. Alex. p. 682. *Revealed Knowledge, etc.* by John Wright, p. 25. *Miraculous Prophecies, etc.* p. 168. *British Magazine*, vol. 1. p. 565.

^q As well they might, since many were burnt to death and otherwise destroyed. Here we detect him in the practice of knavery and untruth.

^r Orosius, vii. c. 30.

salem. The excesses of crime and folly^{*} to which he lent himself at Carrhæ on his march into Persia, give reason to believe the worst as to his intentions. He was willing enough to turn Jew, if the Jews would (in effect) turn heathens and "come over" to Hellenism and pagan sacrifices." He was not unwilling to be, nay, perhaps it would do that sect little injustice to say, he was an Essenian. Their dealings with him, undisguised as were his own doctrine and principles, and inconsistent as were his attempt and that of Patricius with their prophetic scriptures, shew how far advanced they were towards apostasy. Indeed if they did not mean to receive him as a Messiah, it is difficult to conceive in what light they were disposed to regard him. That which had budded in Patricius expanded into blossom in Julian, and would have borne fruit had not the Persian arrows cropped it untimely. It is observable that he speaks of his dealings with *the prophets* of the Jews, and complains of their conduct in misinterpreting the phenomenon of the Great Light, and of their imperfect knowledge of the encyclic mathemata. So we find, on undeniable authority, that the gift which departed with Malachi was revived by imposture in the 4th century and "their prophets prophesied by Baal." This affords proof, to show that the affair was not regarded by them as a mere municipal ordinance of their Roman sovereign, but was a mystery of spiritual iniquity between them and him. These acts were those of the ex-governor of Gaul and Britannia; an approximation to our foregoing topic. But a closer one may be found. The round-table represented the world, and the siege perilleux was its central point and the seat of the bardic Christ himself. To sit therein was the noblest of all achieve-

^{*} Theodoretus Hist. 3. c. 26. Those horrible sorceries, and his placata ritû secretiore Bellona at the commencement of his civil war, were nearly if not exactly similar transactions. Ammian. 21. c. 5.

[†] Sozomen. 5. c. 22.

ments, but the rashest of all attempts. It was, in fact, for one to personate the Crist Celi, to declare himself the man Mithras or solar virtue incarnate; to which personation, or incarnation, their scheme annexed the promulgation of the doctrine now known as Copernican philosophy, but then a high secret of mysticism. Julian (not as an astronomer, but in language of fanaticism) again and again "inculcates it; and he first, I imagine, since Philolaus the pupil of Pythagoras. "The king "the Sun proceeded from one God, one from one intelligible world, "being central among the intelligent gods, and placed in the centre in "every sense of the word central." "It is evident that the planets "move round the Sun in a dance," etc. Now we read in * the Book of the Greal that the bishop of Jerusalem said there was great danger in sitting in that seat, for it was Christ's. But the *twenty four men of Jerusalem* said there was no danger. And a certain *Moses* made the attempt, when straightway seven fiery hands carried him off enveloped in flames into a forest. None other but *Moses* made the attempt. Indeed to call himself *Moses* was in effect to claim the seat perilous, seeing that the bardic *Moses* and the Bardic Christ are as one. The doctrine of the central seat is peculiarly Julian's, the men of Jerusalem are those to whom he wrote and by whom he was encouraged, *Moses* is Julian as the second liberator and new lawgiver of Israel, and his fate is a compound of the fiery eruption at the temple, and the dreary wilderness in which Julian soon after perished. But this may be shewn another way. *La Table Ronde de Lancelot* † agrees with the original book in mentioning one man by whom the seat was invaded, and who was presently consumed by fire. But it describes him as the prince Brumant; and

* Julian, p. 132. 141. 143. 146.

† Saint Greal. 103 b.

‡ fol. 38 a.

that name and Julian's^a are, or are meant for, actual synonymes. Brumantius is belonging to the mid-winter or solstice, called in Latin bruma, and in the Romance tongue, la brume, and ^a jours brumaux; and Julianus is exactly the same thing. Jul, festum hiemale, (Ihre) Jula-maen, December, Jula-dag, Christmas, (Wachter) Julia nox, Christmas Eve, etc. (Keyssler). We have, I think, made a fair progress in the illustration of Druidistic Judaism. Jerusalem, when occupied, and as occupied, by the Apostate, was the centre of Joseph of Arimathea's round-table, the same table that afterwards was in Britain and became Arthur's table. But the strange episode in Jewish history is not yet concluded. There remains a third chapter of it.

Socrates of Byzantium, an eminent historian, gives this^b account of an event in his own days. A deceitful Jew in Crete pretended to be Moses, sent from heaven to conduct the Jews out of that island through the sea. For he said, he was the same who of old led Israel through the Red Sea. For a whole year he perambulated the island persuading them to follow him, and offering to lead them through the dry sea to the land of promise. When the day came which he had announced, he led the way, and the Cretan Jews followed with their women and children. So he took them to a certain promontory projecting into the sea, and ordered them to jump off. And the foremost of them did so and were

^a Brumant was known as the nephew of Claudas, and Julian, of Constantine; the fathers of both being as forgotten personages. Claudas (the wise and brave, but perfidious, king of the kingdom of Deserta, so called from being entirely desolated by Uthyr Pendragon) seems to be the founder of the temporal Church, nicknamed from claudus, a bardic term of reproach to those who came short of their doctrine:

Claudes in Sion
O rhwyvanuslon,
A lame one in the Zion
Of the dominators.

^a Roquefort Gloss. Lingus Romane.

^b Socrat. vii. fol. 378. Paris 1544.

all dashed to pieces or drowned : and others would have shared their fate had they not been saved by some sailors. When the Jews sought to lay hold on the Pseudo-Moses he could not be found, for he had become invisible, and many thought he was the foul fiend. Isidorus of Seville^c copies the same story in abridgement. It is hard to conceive a more ridiculous history than this. Such machinations could not occur in Crete, without attracting the severe animadversion of Theodosius II. and the notice of many of the profane and clerical writers that abounded in Greece ; and especially without being known in the capital, and at the court, to such a contemporary as Socrates, in some rational and historical shape and as facts of political notoriety and judicial cognizance. For absurdity cannot surpass the notion of the Jews walking *into the sea*, because Moses had walked where *there was no sea* ! He could not have been so misinformed of it, and others so ignorant of it, if there had been such an affair in Greece.

The scene of the proceedings, whatever they were that the fable relates to, must be sought in Britain, which had then been separated more than twenty years from the western empire ; unless we are willing to suppose more than one Pseudo-Moses at the same precise time.

But I will first shew that those whose language misled Socrates, are not unlikely to have used Creta for Britannia. For some ill ascertained reason the idea of Crete was early connected with that of fiction. Ulysses began his tissue of untruths by saying that he was come from Crete ; and the Homeric Ceres, when she launched out into a similar strain of falsehood, also began thus,

Doe is my name, so my good mother called me,
And now I am come from Crete beyond the sea.

^c Isidor. in Roncalli Latinorum Chronica. 2. p. 452. See Mr. Herbert's Attila, p. 359. and Gothofred. Viterb. in Muratori, vii. p. 376. Sabellicus, L. 1. Ennead. viii. p. 323. cit. ibid.

It was an island sacred to lies and liars, both divine and human; and never more so than when the school of Ammonius had brought the Cretan art to its highest perfection. Proclus^d the head of that school tells us that, in their *theology*, the word Crete was understood to mean what he calls *το νοητον*, the intelligible; which is an avowal, that the name of that island was mystically misapplied by them. We collect from Ravennas that the eastern sophists did not neglect this island in their jargon, but termed it *Microcosmis*, a phrase belonging to the Hermetic^e philosophy. In the same spirit, they may have called it by the name in question. Indeed the same^f Proclus argues that the ocean on whose borders the Islands of the Blest are situate is a type of that philosophical oceanus which divides intelligible space (*noeton topon*) from the kingdom of Hades. Hence it flows, that the philosophical Creta is the termination of the Noeton, and that the sensible Creta corresponding to it is the Oceanic Macaronnesos. That title travelled westward, in the wake of discovery; having once halted as far east as true Crete. But it was certainly in the Atlantic, when Proclus wrote, and so, consequently, was the Crete of his "theologians." The word *creta* moreover, chalk, is descriptive of our cliffs, and a synonyme for Albion as spelt and understood by the Romans; and it was the object of a traffic by merchants called the *Cretarii* ^g*Britannici*. Lastly, the word Crete was actually put in the place of Britain by the author of a most ignorant and barbarous piece of trash^h called *Philopatria*, who

^d Proclus in *Timæum*, p. 56.

^e And which will appear to have been with reason so applied. See Br. A. R. p. lxxx.

^f Proclus in *Hesiodum*, v. 160.

^g *Keyser Ant. Sept.* 280-4.

^h *Philopatr.* ap. *Lucian*, ix. p. 247. This tract seems to be of the low date at which the laws of metre had ceased to be known or studied. Its poetry resembles that of Theodorus Prodromus.

thus ridicules the martyrdom of the virgins, quoting at the same time one of Ulysses's lines ; “ why should the beheading of one virgin be a “ thing to frighten the people ? I know that there were ten thousand “ virgins cut all to pieces

“ In that circumfluous isle which men call Crete.”

Nobody can fail to recognize the 11000 virgins of Britain who embarked for the *colonia*¹ of Britanny, and are said to have been massacred. Here then is Crete for Britain, once at least. In the *Essay on the Sacred Isles in the West* it is shewn that the places thus described in the Puranas, are situated north by west of Romaka. The Indians call the Roman empire Romaka, i. e. *την Ρωμαϊκην*, after the phrase of the Byzantine Greeks. Since the author condemns them for placing it on the shores of the Western ocean, we must infer that they sometimes speak of Romaka as the ¹ city. But the error lay with those who confounded the city with its territories ; and they had been quite correctly informed that *ἡ Ρωμαϊκή* was bounded by that ocean, and that the islands (after Honorius) lay north-west of Romaka. The place of the principal island called *White Island* is determined by Sanskreet values, equivalent to the space between 50 and 55 north latitude ; which is the precise situation of England. There is¹ therefore, in my opinion, no

¹ Not the colonia Agrippina.

² For which their proper terms are Romakapoorā and Romakapatam.

³ See *Asiat. Res.* xi. p. 13. 15. 18. 87. etc. That long work is rich and learned in extracts from the Sanskreet, which form its data. Its allusions to the ancient literature and the languages of the West form the arguments upon those data ; and are so inexact and fanciful, that I do not find in them any other reasonings of moment that can be quoted as solid ones. Fortunately those are cogent, and, barring Brahminic forgery, sufficient. The White Island in 50–55 n. lat. is called sometimes Avartana, which slightly resembles Brettannia ; and another is thought to be Ireland from having two names not unlike to Iernla and Juverna. Those names are indeed distorted into Sanskreet meanings as well as sounds ; but that is no material

doubt, that these islands (though said to be *three*) are the British isles. If so, White Island is clearly called after the Roman interpretation of Albion, as they termed the ancient island of Alouion. Among the many superstitions for which India has venerated Britain, one is the sanctity of its chalk. The Brahminical ceremony of marking the forehead with chalk can only be performed with the holy chalk of White Island. And (to evade this necessity) they have invented the most audacious fictions to prove that Indian chalk is British chalk! Here, if we have not again the name Creta for Britannia, we have the noun creta; if not Creta insula, there is cretæ insula. And cretæ insula, not in description of its south-eastern cliff, or in allusion to its cretarian merchants, but in a strange and deep mysticism dating (as I should conjecture) not later than the close of the very century in question.

To proceed, I will observe that the date of the Cretan Moses is that of the consuls Bassus and Antiochus, which according to Stampà's *Fasti* was A. D. 431. It is the very year in which the famous^m Patricius of Alclyde (a personage alike conspicuous in British and Irish legend) is reported to have commenced his Irish mission. The chronology of Werner Rolewinckⁿ places them thus side by side in the year 432.

Patricius the nephew of S. Martinus goes to Ireland; works miracles; lives 120 years.

Many Jews are drowned in the sea by the fraud of the Devil appearing in the form of Moses.

Here is no mention of Crete; while the two facts are not only made to synchronize, but are placed in double column, as if he considered them

objection. Other considerations induce me to believe that such is the case; and even to suspect that this island may once have received a visit from some Brahmins, and that they may have beheld the famous Stonehenge within, probably, some 30 or 40 years after its completion.

^m Patricius missus, A. D. 431. O'Connor Supplem. *Hiatús Tigernach*.

ⁿ Fascic. Temp. in Pist. Scr. Germ. 2. fol. 24 b.

much connected together. Now, what do we read of Patricius? He was descended ^p from the Jews, of whom a colony had settled in Armorica. He received the rod of Christ by which he exercised power over all created nature, “and it was in the hand of *the second Moses* as the “rod of the first Moses.” He was considered an antitype of Moses, being assimilated^q to him in five ways, by possessing his rod or its equivalent, by fasting forty days in a mountain, by conversing^r with God in a burning bush, by living the same number of years, and by the place of his sepulture being a secret. For all which reasons he was termed^s *Secundus Moses*. The assembling of the Jews upon the promontory and ordering them to jump into the sea, and the assembling of all the serpents who jumped into the sea from the summit of Cruach-Phadruig, have only such a fanciful similitude as we ought to avoid, too many enquirers having thus erred. But it is not so of an additional particular, in which the two stories have been made to correspond. One^t writer says, that the serpents twined and coiled themselves together and so made one jump of it; and another, in repeating the Cretan tale, adds, that the Jews twisted and fastened themselves one to another by the hair of their heads, and so jumped down together.

^p Vita IV. Colgan, p. 35.

^q See Colgan Trias, p. 2. p. 138. Nennius and Tirechan ap. Betham, p. 387.

^r Otherwise, with the angel Victor. But see Exod. 3. 2. Acts 7. 30. and above, p. 100, note.

^s He was for many years a swine-herd, was miraculously fed with pork, and his legend otherwise abounds in porcine circumstances. The porcine mysteries were not only compatible with, but an actual part of, this new-fangled Judaism. King Arthur is said to have permitted the use of the hare, the goose, and other such viands as the ancient Druids had thought unclean. Forcatulus de Gallorum Imp. p. 462 b. This tradition clearly admits the Arthurian system to be a modification of Druidism.

^t Very unluckily, the references to both these authors have eluded my search among my papers, and escaped from my memory.

If Patricius of Britannia was, as from date and circumstances he seems to have been, the Pseudo-Moses "of the circumfluous isle *which men called Crete*," for two reasons he should also have been the bardic Crist Celi or mithriacal Christ; first, because Moses, in Neo-Druidism, is virtually Christ; and secondly, because we have seen that Julian was, in his capacity of a new Moses, an invader of the seat perilous in the Round-Table, which is Christ's seat. And so it was. The rod which Patricius wielded in the power of Moses was actually the rod of Jesus, and he wrought his portentous miracles as much in the power of the latter as of the former; but his eulogists (as Catholics) shrink from carrying forth the blasphemies involved in his Celtic legend. They tell us, however, that he died and was raised up again by the power of Elias on the "third day; and when he died in earnest, he obtained these privileges, that his * soul should not remain in Hades, that he should † sit on the right hand of God, and that whoever called on his name by day or night should have eternal salvation. To these surprising details, I will add one yet more appalling. When he was consecrated a bishop, all the clergy present were moved to exclaim as with one voice, "tu es sacerdos in æternum secundum ordinem Melchisedech!" The name Patricius, twice occurring in the three successive movements of Jewish apostasy, is a Mithriac title, and signifies him who presideth over the sacra Patrica, and is ministered to by the Pateres and Pateræ.

Although Romanists and Protestants have equally failed in their endeavours to convert this ominous phantom into a real father of the Church, his legend does closely connect him (to their dishonour) with

* Hymn in Messingham's Florilegium.

† Tirechan ap. Betham, p. 386.

‡ See Colgan, Trias, p. 48, 9.

some real and famous ecclesiastics. Germanus, who got violent possession of the see of Antisiodorum, is invariably spoken of as his preceptor and patron; and that powerful prelate came over to Britannia in company with Lupus (another bishop of note, but devoted to him) to arrange the spiritual concerns of this island. Without digressing now into the biography of these men, it is quite to our purpose to observe the strange and offensive but unexplained words addressed by Sidonius Apollinaris to Lupus, calling him "a junior Moses rather than an inferior Moses." What was meant by that person, I cannot pretend to fathom. But it is no trifling coincidence, that the same imperious Gaul should have supplied these islands with two missionaries, the one a "secundus Moses," and the other a "junior Moses," at the exact epoch assigned to the alter Moses in Cretâ. He himself was known in Britain about the close of the 7th century by the Hebrew name of Simeon, Simiawn² esgob a Lippys, "the bishop Simeon and Lupus;" for what particular reason, I cannot guess. But his legend under the name of St. Simeon, as it existed six centuries ago at Caerleon in Gwent, tended (though no doubt improperly) to identify the bishop of Auxerre himself with St. Patricius.

The crown and sword of David, the ship of Solomon, the wand of Moses, the perilous seat of Julian at Jerusalem, all transferred into Britannia, and the legend of the false Moses (drawn from cotemporary Greek accounts, as well as Celtic tradition) seem to shew us, that the Judaism mixt up with bardism was not merely doctrinal in its rise, or borrowed from cabalistic books, but historical and connected with some actual movements in the Jewish community. Further than that, I cannot attempt to define or conclude anything, until

² Brat Tysilio, p. 241. Gervas. Tilbur. 3. 983.

exacter studies or fortunate discovery shall have furnished * ampler data.

This heresy, or rather apostasy, (consisting of the ^b sacra Mithriaca adapted to Druidism) was similar enough to many, or most, of the gnosticizing and oriental sects in its views and tendency. But it distinguishes itself from those obscure and vile confraternities, and derives a higher claim to attention, from the extent and duration of its success, from its exploits, and its acquirement of national power in a fair province of Europe and the empire. Not to mention its influence over romance and poetry, in which Arthurian Britannia replaced the worn out themes of Ilion and Thebes. In our progress, we shall see it engaged in atchieving the St. Greal, and in the construction of stupendous monuments.

* One should wish to see the contents of the rabbinical MS. in Hebrew quoted by Bartolocci under the Latin title, *Artus Regis Historia qui ad mensam rotundam sedebat et casu confracta est*. Bibl. Rabbin. 1. p. 431. At the close of the 5th century Britain had a saint who bears the bardic appellation Mei-gant (the May-singer) but is styled "the man of Israel." Genealogy represents him as son to one Gwyndav, who (being then adult) accompanied and assisted his great-uncle Germanus in his visit to this island in A. D. 447. It is true that the said pedigree is attached to the name of the younger Melgant; but is perfectly adapted to the date of Melgant Hên, and an absurdity, as applied to the other, who died more than 200 years after 447. Though undoubtedly meant for him, it is not very credible or consistent; but still it is one instance of a Jew figuring in Britain, and reputed to have some connexion with the proceedings of Germanus.

^b We may here repeat some of the peculiar habits by which this important identity is fixt. The use of words relating to the sacra Patrica. The mysteries of the raven, and the coracine immolation of the bull. The title and worship of Mercury Iron-door. Wearing bestial masks, with horns, upon the birthday of Mithras. The exact and specific identification of the Behram and Cyuvelyn fires.

THE END. ✓

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